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Ronald E. Emmerick Memorial Volume

Edited by Maria Macuch, Mauro Maggi and Werner Sundermann

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Ronald R. Lawrence

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Foreword

The idea of a volume on Iranian studies in memory of Ronald E. Emmerick arose spontaneously at the time of his death and was prompted by a desire not only to testify to the appreciation by his colleagues and friends for his distinguished scholarly work, but also to reciprocate, in some way, the stimuli and teachings which he always generously offered.

On the occasion of the academic memorial service held in Hamburg on 14 December 2001 in his honour Maria Macuch proposed to Mauro Maggi that such a volume be included in the "Iranica" series of which she is editor, and Werner Sundermann also offered to help with the editing. Thus, it was natural that we edit this volume together.

The thirty-three papers collected here are essentially concerned with Old, New and, above all, Middle Iranian languages and texts, and they thus reflect the predominant scholarly interests of Ronald Emmerick, whose researches were also directed towards Indian and Tibetan studies, especially classical medical texts. Nine papers deal with the Khotanese (and Tumshuquese) language and texts, thus paying homage to Emmerick's main field of research.

Of course the contributions in this collection should have been far more numerous but, much to our regret, constraints of space have forced us to limit the number of contributors, with the consequence that many colleagues and friends who would have gladly participated in honouring the memory of Ronald Emmerick, and whose names one would expect to find here, are unfortunately not represented by a paper. We trust they will understand, and we are sure that they participate in the sentiments that induced us to publish this volume.

We would like to express our thanks to all the colleagues who have enthusiastically contributed their papers and waited patiently for the appearance of the volume; to Ann Emmerick for providing for publication a photograph of her husband that was taken at a reception at the Rijks Universiteit Groningen in 1999; to Barbara Goss, a fellow countrywoman of Emmerick's, for accurately revising and polishing the English of the papers by non-English speakers; to Claudius Naumann for his usual and competent care in the preparation of the volume; and to Geraint Evans for a final help with the English after Barbara Goss fell seriously ill.

Finally, we would like to thank our colleague Ehsan Yarshater (Persian Heritage Foundation) for his generous subvention towards the publication costs of this volume.

The Editors

Ronald Eric Emmerick (1937–2001)[1]

Professor Ronald Eric Emmerick was born in Sydney, Australia, on 9 March 1937. He died on 31 August 2001, sixty-four years old. With his untimely death, Iranian, Indian and Tibetan studies have lost one of their most eminent and esteemed scholars. Yet, those who had the good fortune of knowing him know that his learning, interests and activities were much wider than is apparent from his works. The energy and intensity with which he applied himself to his work and to life in general, his moral uprightness and scholarly integrity, and his reservedness, combined with his sense of humour, aroused one's admiration for him both as a scholar and as a person. Ample witness to this is borne by the booklet containing the recollections and tributes of twenty-six friends and colleagues that was prepared on the occasion of the academic memorial service held in Hamburg on 14 December 2001 to honour him.

He had a keen interest in languages and their history. Even as a child, he invented an imaginary language that was spoken in an imaginary town. Thus, it was only natural that, after high school, his love of languages lead him to the study of Latin, Greek, French and German at Sydney University, where he studied from 1955 to 1958, also attending an unofficial Sanskrit course, and took his B.A. degree with First Class Honours and University Medal for Classics with a thesis on "Mycenaean morphology". There he stayed on as teaching fellow in the Latin Department in 1959. His choice to write his thesis on Mycenaean Greek, whose script, the Linear B, had been deciphered only in 1953, attests to his intellectual curiosity. It has been revealed ever since how he was attracted by new and little explored subjects whose study could open up new perspectives and deepen our knowledge of history of mankind. However, the chosen field of research of Ronald Emmerick was Khotanese, the fascinating Eastern Middle Iranian language used in the first millennium in the Buddhist Saka kingdom of Khotan on the southern branch of the Silk Route in the present-day Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of the People's Republic of China. To the elucidation of the Khotanese language and texts Ronald Emmerick has devoted the best part of his life and research activity. He had not yet heard of this language when in Sydney, at the age of twenty-two, he read the inaugural lecture that had been delivered in 1938 by the scholar who was to become his teacher. This reading made him so enthusiastic that he decided to study Khotanese with Harold

1 This is a revised and slightly modified version of the obituary published in *East and West* 51/3–4 (December 2001), pp. 408–415.

WALTER BAILEY at Cambridge University. At first, he completed his studies in Classics and was instructed in Iranian and Indian studies by BAILEY, receiving the Brotherton Sanskrit Prize, the Bhaonagar Medal for Sanskrit and the Rapson Scholarship. Then, in the years 1962–1965, he wrote his doctoral dissertation entitled "Indo-Iranian studies: Saka grammar" and took his M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in 1965. In the meantime, he had been elected research fellow of St. John's College (1964–1967) and appointed lecturer in Iranian studies at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London (1964–1971). In addition, he taught Sanskrit in Cambridge during BAILEY's sabbatical leave (1965–1966). He subsequently revised and enlarged his dissertation and published it under the title *Saka Grammatical Studies* (London 1968), a veritable milestone in Khotanese and Iranian studies on account of its thoroughness.

In fact, all the scientific activity carried out by Professor EMMERICK was characterised by its thoroughness, and his vast scholarly production, which includes many ground-breaking publications, is of astonishingly high quality. To my mind, his teaching is summarised in a simple sentence he said toward the end of my stay in Hamburg in 1991: "Whatever I do, I try to do it as thoroughly as possible." In my eyes he embodied the ideal scholar, who pays great and respectful attention to the texts and to the sources available for the historical study of languages, with an eye to detail, and at the same time approaches his research themes on a grand scale. Thus, his *Saka Grammatical Studies* were based not only on the reading of a large number of Old and Late Khotanese texts, but also on a fresh close study of the *Book of Zambasta*, the longest extant Old Khotanese text, that was intended to provide a firm basis for the grammatical study of Khotanese. Research on this text was carried out jointly by EMMERICK and BAILEY and their collaboration resulted in BAILEY's *Prolexis to the Book of Zambasta* dealing with the vocabulary (Cambridge 1967) and in EMMERICK's opus *The Book of Zambasta* containing a new edition and translation of the text (London 1968).

Even before his two 1968 books had appeared, this young Iranianist, paradoxically enough, published a book on *Tibetan Texts Concerning Khotan* (London 1967), a research which had been prompted by his need for historical information on Khotan. This was typical of EMMERICK's way of doing things.

In a few years he had acquired a deep knowledge of Khotanese and other Iranian languages as well as of Sanskrit and Tibetan, and this he had combined with his creativity and accuracy to produce a number of outstanding publications. In recognition of his prodigious achievements, he was invited to the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago as visiting associate professor of Old and Middle Iranian in 1967–1968, and, after the publication of two further monographs in 1970, was to be invited, in 1971, to hold the professorship of Iranian Philology at Hamburg University, a position he held until his death.

But RONALD EMMERICK was not only a great scholar. He was also a fine man with a full family life. In Cambridge, in 1962, he had married ANN FROHNSDORFF, his gentle, steadfast, lifetime companion, and when he was invited to Hamburg,

they already had two children, Paul and Catherine, while their daughter Veronica was to be born towards the end of that year. It is significant that, in a free afternoon during a conference we were attending in Cambridge in 1995, he gave me a tour around the town and university and showed me not only his college but also a place related to a dear memory of his sentimental life.

And he was a sportsman. He played tennis and table tennis in a team. Many Iranianists, including myself, remember being defeated by him in table tennis matches in his garden. It was typical of him that, soon after a serious operation in 1993, he was back at playing tennis and only a few months later he announced to me with delight that he had begun winning again.

Professor Emmerick's teaching, to which he devoted himself as seriously as to his research activity, was centred on languages and covered the history of the Iranian languages and all Old and Middle and some New Iranian languages and literatures (Avestan, Old Persian, Khotanese, Tumshuqese, Sogdian, Middle Persian, Parthian, Choresmian, Bactrian, Ossetic, Pashto, Pamir languages, Tajiki and Kurdish), as well as Iranian religions in so far as they were required to interpret the source material. He was also visiting professor in several universities and at the Collège de France, where he gave a course on the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa* in March 1988. His fame attracted students who came to him not only from Germany and other European countries, but also from Asia and America, and some of them wrote their doctoral dissertations under his guidance and now hold university positions all round the world. Professor Emmerick was constantly ready to advise all those who sought his opinion, particularly his students, with kindness and discretion, but he always left them free to make their own choice, a quality he himself credited to his teacher Harold Bailey. It may be mentioned that the Late Khotanese *Aparimitāyuḥsūtra* and the Old Khotanese *Saṅghāṭasūtra* were edited and interpreted in detail by two of Emmerick's students – Duan Qing (1992) and Giotto Canevascini (1993) respectively – and that my editions of the Old Khotanese *Karmavibhaṅga* and the so-called *Love Story* in Late Khotanese (1995 and 1997) were stimulated by Emmerick: all three of us made full use of suggestions proposed by Emmerick himself. Another important work that originated as a doctoral dissertation under Emmerick's guidance was the thorough study of Khotanese suffixes by Almuth Degener (1989), which was conceived as a further contribution to the detailed grammar of Khotanese launched with the *Saka Grammatical Studies*.

When Ronald Emmerick entered the field of Khotanese studies, not all the texts contained in the large number of Khotanese manuscripts that had been recovered by expeditions from the West and from Japan between the end of the nineteenth and the first decades of the twentieth century had yet been satisfactorily interpreted, notwithstanding pioneer work done chiefly by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, Ernst Leumann, Sten Konow and Harold W. Bailey. Although Bailey's monumental editions had roughed out the material, most Khotanese texts were in need of accurate editions and a number of extensive texts had not

even been translated. EMMERICK applied his great energy and scientific rigour to their study. This resulted in an impressive number of articles and an admirable series of invaluable books. These include, besides the aforementioned works, facsimile and text editions and translations of texts in Khotanese and Tumshuqese (*The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, London 1970; *Saka Documents V–VI*, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, pt. 2, vol. 5, Portfolios 5–6, London 1971 and 1973; *The Tumshuqese Karmavācanā Text*, Mainz 1985; *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg Collections*, CII, pt. 2, vol. 5, Plates 7, London 1993, with MARGARITA I. VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA; *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg Collections*, CII, pt. 2, vol. 5, Texts 3, London 1995, with VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA), studies on Khotanese lexicon and phonology (*Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese I–III*, Wien 1982, 1987 and 1997, with PRODS O. SKJÆRVØ; *A Chinese Text in Central Asian Brahmi Script, New Evidence for the Pronunciation of Late Middle Chinese and Khotanese*, Roma 1993, with EDWIN G. PULLEYBLANK), an introduction to Khotanese studies (*A Guide to the Literature of Khotan*, Tokyo 1979, 2nd ed. 1992), and editions and translations of Sanskrit and Tibetan texts that were meant as preliminary work toward the interpretation of important Khotanese texts (*The Sūtra of Golden Light, Being a Translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, London 1970, repr. 1979, 2nd rev. ed. 1990, repr. with corrections 1992, 3rd rev. ed. 1996; *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*, vol. 1, *The Sanskrit Text*, Wiesbaden 1980, and vol. 2, *The Tibetan Version with Facing English Translation*, Wiesbaden 1982; *Vāgbhaṭa's Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā: the Romanised Text Accompanied by Line and Word Indexes*, Groningen 1998, with RAHUL P. DAS).

In consideration of the large number of articles written by RONALD EMMERICK, it is only possible to refer to a selection of them. The numerous articles devoted to the edition and translation of Khotanese texts include those on the *Nandāvadāna* (1970 and 1973), the *Karmāṃ deśana* (1977), the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra* (1977 [two articles], 1988, 1997 and 1998), the *Verses of Prince Tcūṃ-ttehi*: (1980), the *Jīvakapustaka* (1979, 1992, 1994 and 1997), and the *Sumukhasūtra* (1997–1998). Among the articles on the Khotanese language, mention must be made of those on the syntax of the cases (1965), the vowel and consonant phonemes (1979 and 1981), the auxiliaries and periphrastic tenses (1987) and the prohibitive particle *ma* (1990), as well as of the outline of Khotanese and Tumshuqese in the *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden 1989).

To come back to his books, it may be remarked that the *Sūtra of Golden Light*, the first translation of the *Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra* into a European language, which ran to three editions and two reprints, was the result of only six weeks of work that he undertook in order to lay a sound foundation for the comprehensive edition and translation of the substantially preserved Khotanese versions. His work contributed to the improvement of the Sanskrit critical text as established by JOHANNES NOBEL in 1937 and, in agreement with EMMERICK himself, was eventually carried on by PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ who prepared

a thorough study of the Khotanese versions as his habilitation thesis at Mainz University (submitted in 1983 and published in 2004).

Also the Late Khotanese medical text entitled *Siddhasāra*, in which Emmerick first became interested at the time of his grammatical studies and which was to lead him to follow its traces in Arabic literature too, prompted him to undertake immense preliminary work. Since "the key to a proper understanding of the Khotanese version lies in large part in the correct interpretation of the Sanskrit original and of its Tibetan rendering, both of which were used by the Khotanese translator" (*Siddhasāra*, vol. 1, p. vii), he produced a critical edition of the Sanskrit, that was also based on three newly discovered manuscripts (1980), and a critical edition and translation of the Tibetan (1982) – two books that were aptly styled by Dominik Wujastik "one of the most exciting recent developments in the study of Indian medicine" (BSOAS 48, 1985, p. 75). Work on the *Siddhasāra* opened up for Emmerick a new research subject – Indian and Tibetan medicine – to which he devoted some forty articles corresponding to more than four hundred printed pages. Moreover, together with Das, he launched the *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* (1990) and edited Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*. Unfortunately, few results of Emmerick's efforts on the Khotanese *Siddhāsara* have been published compared with the huge amount of work he did on it. However, he has left us a virtually finished edition and translation of the whole text. In fact, Emmerick attached the utmost importance to the Khotanese *Siddhasāra* and continued working on it until the last days before going to the hospital, leaving behind several other works he had already brought to an advanced stage of preparation such as an edition and translation of most of the *Mañjuśrīnairātmyāvatārasūtra*, text-critical remarks on and a new translation of the *Vajracchedikā*, a new edition of the *Jātakastava* and a new edition and translation of the Khotanese *Rāmāyaṇa*, a work in which he took great delight.

As is apparent from some of his aforementioned works, Emmerick was always willing to cooperate with other scholars both on Khotanese matters and on interdisciplinary subjects. Thus, he compiled Bailey's bibliography with D.M. Johnson (1970), studied some Khotanese and Chinese inscriptions on a Dunhuang painting with Glen Dudbridge (1978), edited the series of *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* and wrote on Khotanese literature with Skjærvø (1982, 1987, 1997 and 1990), wrote an article on Khotanese phonology with me (1991), offered a new interpretation of the Turkish-Khotanese word list with András Róna-Tas (1992), published *Saka Documents VII* and *Saka Documents Text Volume III* with Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja (1993 and 1995), studied the use of the Late Khotanese script for writing Chinese with Pulleyblank (1993), and edited Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā* with Das (1998). In fact, his main concern was the advancement of research to the highest possible standard of scholarship.

This is the reason why, with his usual frankness in voicing criticism and directness in expressing his thoughts, he reacted to the serious limitations of

BAILEY's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* (Cambridge 1979) not only by writing a severe review (IIJ 23, 1981, pp. 66–71) but also initiating the series of *Studies in the Vocabulary of Khotanese* to correct the mistakes in BAILEY's *Dictionary* and to gather information on the progress of research on the Khotanese lexicon. This does not mean, however, that he was ungrateful to and did not feel affection and esteem for his teacher, whom indeed he regarded as a father, as is evident from the epigraph in the article he contributed to the 1970 issue of *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* celebrating BAILEY's seventieth birthday. In fact, immediately after BAILEY's death, he felt bound to write an obituary in *The Guardian* (25 Jan. 1996) to pay tribute to him as a scholar, and subsequently wrote a short but intense biography presenting BAILEY's personal history and scholarly achievements (1998).

It is a well-known fact that RONALD EMMERICK mastered computers perfectly. In the sixties, he had already initiated a project in Cambridge that made use of a mainframe for a concordance of the whole corpus of Khotanese texts. When, in the eighties, personal computers became affordable and powerful enough, EMMERICK switched to them. He once told me of BAILEY's conviction that it is impossible to learn new languages if one is older than thirty-five: EMMERICK was proud that he had been able to learn the "language of computers" after that age. In fact, he began writing himself the programmes he needed, and developed, among other things, programmes for the automatic treatment of Sanskrit and Khotanese texts and a number of ancillary programmes. In 2000, he also began developing a database programme for a dictionary of Khotanese that we were planning together. He generously made his expertise available to colleagues and, in order to comply with their computing needs, collaborated with several academic institutions and research projects, among which the "Dictionary of written Tibetan" of the Kommission für zentralasiatische Studien of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. In this field, he did much more than he published: two articles on Sanskrit computing (1979 and 1984) and one on Tibetan computing (1992).

On account of his high academic standing, his prudent farsightedness and sure competence, his advice was also widely sought in editorial matters. In fact, he was member of the editorial and advisory boards of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (New York), of the series Buddhica Britannica (Tring), Gonda Indological Studies (Groningen), Groningen Oriental Studies (Groningen) and Silk Road Studies (Turnhout), and of *Indo-Iranian Journal* (Dordrecht), *Journal asiatique* (Paris), *Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society* (Reinbek, later *Traditional South Asian Medicine*, Wiesbaden), *Manuscripta Orientalia* (St. Petersburg), *Tocharian and Indo-European Studies* (Reykjavík) and *WordPerfect Journal* (Hamburg, later *WordPerfect Newsletter*).

In recognition of his outstanding scholarly achievements, Professor EMMERICK was elected corresponding fellow of the British Academy (1990), corresponding member of the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente

(1990, later Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente) and of the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften (1997), and honorary fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities (1999). Moreover, he was member of the Council of the Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum, director of the "Turfanforschung Project" for the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften since 1994, and honorary president of the Deutsch-Iranische Gesellschaft, Hamburg.

While we were sitting in a restaurant in Göttingen in December 1999, he told me proudly of his election as honorary fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. That fellowship gave him great pleasure because he had never lost his attachment to his native land. He always spoke enthusiastically about Australia, which he visited several times, including a few long visits in recent years, and where he attended two conferences, in Canberra (1979) and Melbourne (1994). And I remember seeing, in his library, a collection of Australian stamps and many books on Australia including, of course, a dictionary of Australian English, a language about whose peculiarities he conversed with me on several occasions. He had applied to resume his Australian citizenship recently, and would have wished to spend more time in Australia after his retirement.

With him, I have lost a teacher and a friend with whom I used to share the joy of new discoveries. But his memory will always accompany me, and I will never forget his smile and the words he uttered, to my surprise, while we were endeavouring to interpret a difficult Khotanese verse: "Very interesting! I cannot understand it." His quest to reach the utmost limit in the comprehension of human expression is enclosed in these simple words.

Mauro Maggi

Bibliography of Ronald Eric Emmerick

Edited by Mauro Maggi

This bibliography of the works of Ronald E. Emmerick is based upon a bibliography of books, articles and reviews which was compiled by Emmerick himself up to early 2001 and published by him with biographical information on the Internet (http://www.rrz.uni-hamburg.de/emmerick/biblio.html) where it is, however, no longer available. Previous printed bibliographies of books and articles are found in *A guide to the literature of Khotan* (years 1965–1979, see B6), in "Research on Khotanese" (years 1980–1983, see D75), and in the 2nd ed. of the *Guide* (years 1965–1993, see B14; see also F1, 3, 10 and 15).

The bibliography compiled by Emmerick has been revised and enlarged here by the addition of several bibliographical details and of writings concerning Emmerick, and has been updated with items that have come to the editor's notice up to the end of 2005. Unlike the original bibliography, the present one lists separately:

A. Theses (p. XXII),
B. Books (p. XXII),
C. Editorships (p. XXIV),
D. Articles (p. XXV),
E. Reviews and abstracts (p. XXXVII),
F. Writings concerning Ronald E. Emmerick (p. XLII):
- Biobibliographical (p. XLII),
- Obituaries (p. XLII),
- Festschrift (p. XLII).

Within each section, the works are arranged by year of publication and the order of the titles under each year is alphabetical. Joint works are listed last. In the case of articles that have appeared in multi-author volumes reprinted under the same title, only the original publication is taken into account.

A. Theses

A1. "Mycenaean morphology", unpublished B.A. thesis. University of Sydney, 1958, 117 pp.

A2. "Indo-Iranian studies: Saka grammar", Ph.D. thesis. University of Cambridge, 1965, x, 438 pp. [published as B3].

B. Books

1967

B1. *Tibetan texts concerning Khotan*. London: Oxford University Press, 1967 (LOS 19), xiii, 160 pp.

1968

B2. *The book of Zambasta, a Khotanese poem on Buddhism*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968 (LOS 21), xxii, 455 pp.

B3. *Saka grammatical studies*. London: Oxford University Press, 1968 (LOS 20), xvii, 367 pp. [cf. A2].

1970

B4. *The Khotanese Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*. London: Oxford University Press, 1970 (LOS 23), xxv, 133 pp., [20] pls.

B5. *The Sūtra of Golden Light, being a translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*. London: Luzac, 1970 (SBB 27), xiii, 108 pp.

1979

B6. *A guide to the literature of Khotan*. Tokyo: The Reiyukai Library, 1979 (Studia philologica Buddhica. Occasional paper series 3), vii, 63 pp.

B7. *The Sūtra of Golden Light, being a translation of the Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*, repr. [of 1970 ed.]. London: Luzac, 1979 (SBB 27), xiii, 108 pp.

1980

B8. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*. Vol. 1: *The Sanskrit text*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1980 (VOHD. Supplementband 23.1), ix, 199 pp.

1982

B9. *The Siddhasāra of Ravigupta*. Vol. 2: *The Tibetan version with facing English translation*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1982 (VOHD. Supplementband 23.2), viii, 482 pp.

B10. R.E. Emmerick, P.O. Skjærvø: *Studies in the vocabulary of Khotanese I*. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1982 (Veröffentlichungen der iranischen Kommission 12), 133 pp.

1985

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1987

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F18. *Manuscripta Orientalia* 3.1 (1997), was dedicated "to Professor Ronald Eric Emmerick, outstanding scholar in the field of Iranian, Indian and Tibetan studies, on the occasion of his 60th birthday".

The Name of the Black Sea

François de Blois, London

The sea that we call "Black" was known to the ancient Greeks not as "black", but as "hospitable" (εὔξεινος, Attic εὔξενος); our "Black Sea" was thus the "Pontos Euxeinos". But in a small number of passages in the ancient poets it is qualified not as "hospitable", but as "inhospitable" (ἄξεινος, Attic ἄξενος). Beside these, there are a large number of passages where it is called merely Πόντος, without any epithet. Greek and Roman authors have maintained more than once[1] that ἄξεινος is in fact the original name of this body of water and that it was subsequently altered to εὔξεινος merely for the sake of the good omen. This piece of ancient etymological speculation was the point of departure of an influential article by the well-known Slavicist Max Vasmer, published in 1921.[2] Ἄξεινος, Vasmer argued, is indeed the older Greek designation of the Black Sea. But the name is not Greek. Rather, it is a Greek reinterpretation of the original Scythian, that is to say old Iranian, name of this body of water, which would have been a form cognate to Avestan *axšaēna-*, a colour adjective which, in Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*,[3] is glossed as "dunkelfarbig"; in other words: the Black Sea has always been "black", or in any event "dark-coloured", but the Greeks were not aware of its blackness, for they misunderstood its Iranian name as the similar sounding Greek word for "inhospitable".

Vasmer's thesis has found nearly unanimous approval both among classicists and Iranists,[4] but I think it can be demonstrated that it is definitely wrong. My

1 Ps.-Scymnus 735sqq.; Ovid, *Tristia* 4.4,55sqq.; Strabo VII, 3, 6–7; Pliny, *Nat.* 4.76, 6.1; etc.

2 M. Vasmer: "Osteuropäische Ortsnamen: 1. Das Schwarze Meer." In: *Acta et commentationes Universitatis Dorpatensis* Serie B, Bd. 1, Nr. 3 (1921), pp. 3–6 [reprinted in his *Schriften zur slavischen Altertumskunde und Namenkunde*, Berlin 1971, I, pp. 103–105).

3 Chr. Bartholomae: *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Strassburg 1904, col. 51.

4 E. Boisacq: "Le nom de la Mer Noire en grec ancien", in: *Revue Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 3 (1924), pp. 315–317, came to broadly the same conclusion, apparently independently of Vasmer. The Iranian origin of the name is accepted by: W. S. Allen: "The Name of the Black Sea in Greek", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 41 (1947), pp. 86–88; W. Belardi: "*Axša-aina-, Axša-ina-* o *A-xšai-na*?", in: *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, sezione linguistica, III (1961), pp. 1–39; Chr. M. Danoff: "Pontos Euxeinos", in: RE Suppl. IX (1962), col. 866–1175, 1911–1920, esp. 950–955: "Die Namen des P.E. und seiner Teile"; R. Schmitt: "Namenkundlicher Streifzug ums Schwarze Meer", in: *Sprachwissenschaftliche Forschungen: Festschrift für Johann Knobloch*, Innsbruck 1985,

counter-attack is from three angles: from the testimony of the Greek sources, from the Iranian linguistic evidence concerning the meaning of Avestan *axšaēna-*, and from the evidence of historical geography.

As mentioned, Greek authors did indeed designate our "Black" Sea now as "hospitable" and now as "inhospitable". The earliest attestations for both designations are in fact in the same author, the poet Pindar. In his *Nemean odes* IV.49 Pindar states that Apollo inhabits an island "in the hospitable sea" (ἐν δ'εὐξείνῳ πελάγει), while in his *Pythian odes* IV.203 he describes how the Argonauts reached "the entrance of the Inhospitable" (ἐπ' Ἀξείνου στόμα) and were immediately attacked by two rocks which tried to crush them. In the latter passage the use of the designation "inhospitable" is clearly justified by the context. The sea did indeed offer the Argonauts a decidedly unfriendly welcome. But in the former passage the qualification of the sea as "hospitable" does not have any evident rationale other than the fact that this is simply the name, or in any case the standing epithet, of the sea in question. This observation is borne out by the other occurrences of the two epithets in Greek literature. Εὔξεινος is the ordinary Greek designation for this sea, regardless of whether in the given context there is any suggestion of it actually being hospitable or the contrary, in the same way that, in modern languages, we speak of the "Pacific Ocean" even in contexts where it is behaving in a bellicose, stormy manner. By contrast, all of the relatively few passages that mention the Πόντος Ἄξεινος do so in a context where it is implied that it is in fact inhospitable. The evidence of the Greek sources is thus that Πόντος Εὔξεινος, like "Pacific Ocean", is a proper name, a name the meaning of which is determined not by its etymology, but by its usage, whereas Πόντος Ἄξεινος is a name which the poets use when they wish to draw attention, ironically, to the etymological meaning of the name and thus to the fact that this sea, which the Hellenes conventionally call "hospitable", is in reality not hospitable at all.

It is necessary to add that Euripides, who in his tragedy *Iphigenia Taurica* supplies three or four of these rare attestations for Πόντος Ἄξεινος also gives us in *Iph. Taur.* 107 the only actual ancient textual reference for a "black sea" (πόντος ... μέλας). But it would be very much misguided to take the unique occurrence of this combination of words as evidence that the Greeks used it as a proper name for this body of water. Its blackness, like its inhospitality, is, in the context of the tragic story of Iphigenia, merely a suitable poetic epithet.

pp. 409–415; ID.: "Black Sea", in: EIr IV/3 (1989), pp. 310–313 (with further bibliography); etc., etc., also in the Greek etymological dictionaries and assorted lexica. A lonely voice of dissent is: A.C. MOORHOUSE: "The Name of the Euxine Pontos", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 34 (1940), pp. 123–128; ID.: "The Name of the Euxine Pontos again", in: *The Classical Quarterly* 42 (1948), pp. 59–60 (with a "Supplementary note" by W.S. ALLEN).

In short, the actual literary references for the two names do not confirm the ancient etymological speculation to the effect that Ἄξεινος is the "original" name. This speculation merely reflects the fact that both names occur in literary sources and that one must be older than the other. As we have seen, at least in extant Greek literature, both names are equally old, but the contexts already in their oldest attestation show that one is a conventional, proper name, the other a poet's playful distortion of the proper name.

Moreover, one must not overlook the fact that in a very large number of passages the Black Sea is called merely "Pontos", without any adjective. The Greek dictionaries tell us that πόντος means "sea", although the usual word for "sea" is in fact θάλασσα (Attic θάλαττα). πόντος "sea" is common in poetry, while in prose it is rare in the meaning "sea" but common as the name of our Black Sea. It is generally assumed that πόντος is indeed a common noun "sea" and, as the name of a particular sea, "Pontos" is an abbreviation for "Pontos Euxeinos". But if the Greeks chose to call one sea "the Sea", par excellence, it seems strange that they should have chosen the Black Sea, rather than the Aegean or the Mediterranean. The other possibility is that "Pontos" was originally a proper noun, and that in the meaning "sea" it is a figurative usage, in the way that, in modern languages, any mountain range can be called "Alps" (e.g. "the Saxon Alps") or any imperial capital "Rome" (e.g. Moscow is the "third Rome"). The assumption that "Pontos" is a proper name is supported by names like "Propontis" for the modern Sea of Marmara, the sea that one needs to traverse "before" entering the Pontos from the Mediterranean, as well as by the use of "Pontos" as the name of the famous country on the southern shore of the Black Sea. In either event, the word is presumably cognate with the widespread Indo-European word for "path" (Skt. *pánthā-* etc.), in the former case in the sense of the sea as a pathway for ships, in the latter perhaps in the sense that Pontos (the Black Sea, or possibly the land Pontos) was on the path which the Hellenes traversed in their migration to the Aegean basin.

Apart from the isolated and accidental "blackness" of the Pontos Euxeinos in the mentioned verse of Euripides, the earliest attestation of the name "Black Sea" seems to be in a bilingual treaty between the Byzantine emperor Michael Palaeologus and the Venetian doge Raynerio Geno from the year 1265.[5] The Greek version[6] of this treaty speaks of certain fortresses (κάστρα) "on the Black Sea" (εἰς τὴν Μαύρην θάλασσαν, with the late, and modern, Greek word for "black"); the Latin version[7] bears witness to the novelty of this designation by first transcribing it *(ad castra predicta Mauritalassae)* and then glossing it *(videlicet Mari*

5 G.L.Fr. Tafel, G.M. Thomas (eds.): *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig mit besonderer Beziehung auf Byzanz und die Levante.* III. Theil (1256–1299). Vienna 1857 (Fontes rerum austriacarum, Abt. 2, Band 14, Theil 3), pp. 62–89.

6 Tafel/Thomas 1857, p. 70.

7 Tafel/Thomas 1857, p. 82.

Nigro). Shortly afterwards, in the first half of the 14th century, we have then the first Arabic references for *al-baḥru l-'aswad* in two Syrian historians, namely in the *Taqwīmu l-buldān* of Abū l-Fidā', written in 1321, and in the *Nuxbatu d-dahr* of ad-Dimašqī (died 1327). (In the older Arabic geographical literature the Black Sea is called *Bunṭus*, that is: Πόντος, as often as not mispointed as *Nīṭas* etc.) So, hard evidence for a "Black" sea does not commence until the middle of the 13th century, a time when this sea was dominated by the Mongols and their Turkish vassals, and when Genoa and Venice where courting the favour of the Mongols for the privilege of establishing a commercial presence in the harbour towns of that sea. And indeed, the designation "Black Sea" seems to have its roots in Turkic, or more generally Altaic and Chinese colour symbolism.[8] From at least the Ottoman period onward it is commonplace in Turkish to speak of the "Black Sea" (Kara Deniz), and also of the "White Sea" (Ak Deniz), that is, the Mediterranean, for in Sino-Turkic usage "black" means "north" and "white" means "west".[9] The use of these colour-names thus situates those waters to the north and west of the heartlands of the Ottoman Empire.

But the crux of Vasmer's argument is the question of whether Avestan *axšaēna-* does in fact mean "black". The word occurs only two times in the extant Avesta: in *Vendidad* 22.4 it qualifies "cattle" (genitive plural: *gauuąm axšaēnanąm*) and in *Aogəmadaēčā* 79 it qualifies the word for "bear" (nominative singular: aršō ... axšaēnō). In both passages, "black" is certainly a possible meaning—cattle and bears can indeed be black—but in neither is it a meaning which is positively dictated by the context. The basis for this translation lies rather in the proposed etymology. Bartholomae, like others before him, analysed *axšaēna-* as the negative particle *a-* plus an otherwise unattested **xšaēna-*, which he connected with the attested adjective *xšaēta-*, meaning (still according to Bartholomae) "bright, brilliant, glorious", which, in turn, derives from the verbal root *xšā-* (or rather from the zero-grade *xš-*), "to be powerful, to rule". The assumption is thus that the attested *xšaēta-* and the unattested **xšaēna-* are synonymous expansions of the same root. But this etymology becomes somewhat problematic if one accepts the very plausible view that *xšaēta-* means (at least primarily) not "bright", but "powerful, majestic" and that it has taken on the secondary mean-

8 The Turkish origin of the name "Black Sea" was maintained with (for the most part) cogent arguments by J. H. Mordtmann: "Ḳara Deniz", in: EI[1] II, pp. 730–731 (the date on the title-page of the bound volume is 1927, but the article is presumably pre-Vasmer; the corresponding article in EI[2] is very much inferior).

9 See, for example, O. Pritsak: "Qara. Studie zur türkischen Rechtssymbolik", in: *Zeki Togan'a Armağan*, Istanbul 1955, pp. 239–263. Differently the cited articles by Rüdiger Schmitt, which maintain that this geographical colour symbolism is universal, which leads him to the conclusion that the Greeks had the name Axeinos not from the Scythians (as Vasmer believed), but from some Iranian population in Anatolia. Universal is a big word. What I think is decisive in the present context is the chronology and cultural milieu of the first attestations of the names "Black Sea" and "White Sea".

ing "bright" solely from its use in the compound *huuarəxšaēta-* "sun" (NP *xwaršēd*).[10] Since *huuar-* is never combined with **xšaēna-*, there is really no reason to assume that the latter should also have taken on the meaning "bright". For *a-xšaēna-* one ought therefore to expect not "un-bright, dark, black", but "un-powerful, impotent", like *a-xšiiamna-*, **a-xšaiiamna-*.[11]

Fortunately, with Avestan *axšaēna-* we are not reduced to the position where we have nothing to go on other than an etymology. Rather, we have quite a large number of cognates in other Iranian languages, most of which forms were not yet known at the time when BARTHOLOMAE compiled his great dictionary, namely in Old Persian, Middle Persian, New Persian, Sogdian, Khotanese, Kurdish, Pashto, Ossetic and in several of the small Iranian languages spoken in the Pamir mountains.

In all of these languages the descendant of Iranian **axšayna-* does indeed designate some colour; which colour it is is naturally easiest to determine in those languages which are still spoken today. In all of these it is in fact a colour in the green-to-blue part of the spectrum. In some languages the relevant form covers both "green" and "blue", thus Pashto *šin*, fem. *šna*,[12] Kurdish *šīn*, Shughni *xīn* etc. In others the prevailing meaning is "blue" or "dark-blue"; thus *äxsin* in the Digoron dialect of Ossetic, *xayn* in Sarikoli and *axšin* in Yidgha.[13] Obviously, the material concerning out-of-the-way dialects has to be used with a certain amount of caution. It is not enough to ask, for example, a speaker of one of the Pamir dialects "what is your word for Persian *ābī*"; what is really needed is a comprehensive investigation of the colour vocabulary in the individual languages, ideally with the help of colour charts. But the provisional result of an analysis of the ethno-linguistic material is that the modern descendants of Old Iranian **axšayna-* all mean either "blue", or both "green" and "blue", but not "black".

The dictionaries of New Persian[14] have entries on *xašīn* and *xašīna*, but these words do not belong to the usual Persian vocabulary; they are rare words occurring in the early Eastern-Persian poets. The oldest Persian dictionary, the

10 See I. GERSHEVITCH: *The Avestan Hymn to Mithra*, Cambridge 1959, p. 331, and the literature cited there.

11 BARTHOLOMAE, col. 52. See also A. HINTZE: *Der Zamyād-Yašt*, Wiesbaden 1994, p. 399, and the literature cited there.

12 G. MORGENSTIERNE/J. ELFENBEIN et al.: *A New Etymological Dictionary of Pashto*, Wiesbaden 2003, p. 79, with a telling citation: *wana šna da; āsmān šin day* "the tree is green; the sky is blue".

13 For an overview of the modern Iranian forms see J. CHEUNG: *Studies in the historical development of Ossetic vocalism*, Berlin 2002, p. 169.

14 The treatment of this lemma in the mediaeval Persian dictionaries is discussed exhaustively by D. GUIZZO: "La parola *xašin* nella lessicografia monolingue neopersiana", in: *Annali di Ca' Foscari* 38 (1999), pp. 215–244, where references to the individual lexica can be found.

Luγat-i furs of Asadī, from the middle of the 11th century, defines *xašīn* as "a falcon whose colour is between grey-blue *(kabōd)*, black, green and white" and *xašīna* as "a colour between grey-blue and black", let us say "dark blue", and illustrates this with a verse by Kisā'ī which mentions *kōhsār-i xašīna rā ba bahār*, that is "the *xašīna*-coloured mountains in spring", a context where actually "green" would seem the most likely meaning, though I suppose that "dark-blue, turquoise" is also possible. One manuscript of the same dictionary also has an entry on *xašīnsār*, which it defines as a certain bird whose head is half white, adding that "*xašīn* means white". This obviously erroneous information is clearly derived from an etymological analysis of the name of the bird.[15] It shows that already in the 11th century the meaning of *xašīn* was not actually known, but had to be guessed from poetic citations and through etymological speculation. The later dictionaries do not have anything new to say but merely repeat and, as often as not, confound the already confused information in Asadī.

Middle Persian *xašēn* occurs notably in the chapter on the magical qualities of gem-stones in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat*[16]; this mentions stones of various colours, among them *sabz* "green"; *asmān-gōn* "sky-blue", and *xašēn*, which would seem to indicate that (at least in the form of Persian reflected by this text) *xašēn* is not "green", nor "light-blue", but something different from both, possibly "dark blue" or "turquoise".

In Sogdian we have the forms 'xs'yn */əxsēn/* and 'xs'yn'k */əxsēnā/*, both of which occur in the Sutra of causes and effects, a Buddhist text translated from a still extant Chinese original.[17] In line 353 *əxsēnā* qualifies the name of a certain bird; the Chinese original has here *qing*, which in Chinese colour-perception covers both "green" and "blue". In line 88 *əxsēn* qualifies the word for "hair". The text evidently says that the person who plucks out pigs' bristles will be punished in the next life by being born with green (or possibly blue) hair,[18] although the Chinese original actually has "yellow *(huang)* hair". It seems that the Sogdian translator has altered the text; the threat of being reborn merely with yellow (blond) hair did not seem drastic enough and had to be upgraded to something more terrible.

Khotanese *āṣṣeiṇa-* also seems to means "blue" or a similar shade.[19]

15 *xašīn-sār* is indeed presumably a bahuvrīhi meaning "whose head is (the colour) *xašīn*". The NP word for "head" is of course *sar*, from *OP (= Av.) *sarah-*, n., but there are a number of NP compounds with second element *-sār*, e.g. *sabuk-sār*, "light-headed", *xwār-sār* "humble", etc., continuing an OP form cognate to Av. *sāra-*, m.

16 A. WILLIAMS (ed.): *The Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*. Copenhagen 1990, section 64.

17 R. GAUTHIOT/P. PELLIOT: *Le sūtra des causes et des effets*, Paris 1920–1928; D.N. MACKENZIE: *The 'Sūtra of the Causes and Effects of Actions' in Sogdian*, London 1970, both with the older transliteration 'γs'yn('k). The same word occurs also in the spelling 'xsyn (editors: 'γsyn), fem. 'xsynh (-γ-), eight times in M.N. BOGOLYUBOV/O.I. SMIRNOVA: *Sogdijskije dokumenty s Gory Mug III*, Moscow 1963, pp. 43–45, doc. B1, ll. 9, 10, 11.

18 MACKENZIE translates: "he who plucks pig's (bristles) is born with greenish hair".

Finally, *axšayna-* occurs also in Old Persian. In one of Darius' trilingual inscriptions at Susa (DSf), the Achaemenid king reports on how he had imported various building materials from distant lands, among these two different kinds of *kāsaka*, one of them *kapawtaka-*, the other *axšayna-*. In *kapawtaka-* we recognise the wide-spread Iranian word for "blue" or "blue grey", an adjective from **kapawta-*, Skt. *kapota-* "pigeon", for example NP *kabōδ* "grey-blue, pigeon" and *kabōtar* "pigeon", Sogdian kp'wtk */kapōte/* "blue" and kp'wt'ych etc. */kapōtīč/* "pigeon", etc. For Old Persian *kāsaka hiya kapawtaka* (DSf 37) the Babylonian version has *uknu*, the well-known word for "lapis lazuli", which is of course blue. *kāsaka hiya axšayna* (DSf 39) must be a different stone, so it is evident that *axšayna* is a different colour from *kapawtaka*; if the latter is "blue" the former then can, given the meanings in other Iranian languages, hardly be anything other that "green". And in fact, for *kāsaka hiya axšayna* the Babylonian version[20] has a double name, or perhaps rather the names of two stones: ^{na4}AŠ.GI$_3$.GI$_3$ u ^{na4}UGU.AŠ.GI$_3$.GI$_3$, of the second of which a lexical text says that it "looks like green obsidian".[21] Thus, both the contemporary Babylonian translation and the comparative Iranian material point to "green" as the meaning of Old Persian *axšayna*.

It appears thus that Old Persian distinguishes between *axšayna-* "green" and *kapawtaka-* "blue", in exactly the same way that Sogdian distinguishes between *ɔxsēnā* "green" and *kapōte* "blue"; thus presumably also in early (Eastern) New Persian, if *xašīn* in the cited verse by Kisā'ī indeed means "green", as opposed to *kabōδ* "blue"[22]. But in many of the New Iranian languages (Kurdish, Pashto, Shughni etc.) the descendant of **axšayna-* means both "green" and "blue", just like Chinese *qing*. We have thus in Iranian one group of languages that distinguish green from blue and another that uses the same word for both.

And this brings us back to Avestan *axšaēna-*. If, as we have seen, the cognate forms in all the other Old, Middle and New Iranian languages mean "green" or "blue", it is unlikely that the Avestan term should have designated an entirely different colour. This is a further objection, besides the one that I have already mentioned, against the etymological analysis of the Avestan word as *a-xšaēna-*, supposedly "not *bright". A different, semantically more plausible, etymology was suggested first, I think, by Morgenstierne[23], to the effect that *axšaēna-* is an adjective in *-ayna-*, (an ending which very often forms adjectives from nouns designating minerals or other materials; e.g. Avestan *zaran-aēna-*, Middle

19 H.W. Bailey: *Dictionary of Khotan Saka*. Cambridge 1979, pp. 26–27.

20 See the new edition of the Babylonian text by M.-J. Stève in: MDP 53, p. 75, l. 27.

21 CAD I/2, 427b, s.v. *ašgikû*.

22 In later (and modern) Persian the inherited names have been replaced by *sabzī* ("vegetable-coloured") and *ābī* ("water-coloured") respectively.

23 G. Morgenstierne: *An Etymological Vocabulary of Pashto*. Oslo 1927, p. 74 (s.v. *šīn*). Surprisingly, this suggestion is not retained in the corresponding entry in Morgenstierne/Elfenbein 2003, p. 79.

Persian *zarrēn*, NP *zar(r)īn* "golden, made of gold, gold-coloured"), here from a noun cognate to Sanskrit *akṣa-*, which the Indian lexica define as "blue vitriol". In this case Iranian *axšayna-* would mean "vitriol-coloured", "blue", or, assuming a blue-green continuum as in many of the languages mentioned before, perhaps also "green". The cited Sanskrit word is found only in the lexica, but its authenticity seems to be confirmed by forms in Khowār, one of the Dardic languages, like *oçh, oç* "green, blue",[24] with *ç(h)* as the regular Khowār continuation of Old Indian *-kṣ-*.[25]

Cattle and bears—these are, we recall, the two species qualified as *axšaēna-* in the extant Avesta—can indeed be, if not exactly blue, at least of a blueish tinge. In European languages we also have "blue bears". But if, on the other hand, Avestan *axšaēna-* could also mean "green", like its Old Persian cognate, then one might imagine that "green" was used figuratively to mean "young, fresh", as is well known to be the case with Latin *viridis* or Greek χλωρός "green", and also with Chinese *qing* "green, blue, youthful". So, the two Avestan passages would refer to "young cattle" and "a young bear".

In summary: VASMER's explanation of the ancient name of the Black Sea involves three fundamental misconceptions: First, that the oldest Greek name of that sea is "Axeinos", whereas in fact its primary name is "Pontos" , either alone, or with the standing epithet "Euxeinos", for which "Axeinos" is merely an ironic inversion. Second, that the Iranian adjective that resembles the supposedly older Greek name means "black", where in fact it means "green" or "blue". And third, underlying the whole construction, is the assumption that the name "Black Sea" is ancient, and indeed perennial (though, strangely, it seems to have escaped the knowledge of the Greeks), where in fact it does not occur before the 13th century and appears to have its roots not in Near Eastern but in Central Asiatic nomenclature. The rejection of any one of the three misconceptions undermines VASMER's whole argument. I have attempted to show that all three of them must be rejected.

There is, of course, lots of evidence for the Iranian presence in the ancient world. The truth of this is not diminished by the demise of one false etymology.

24 R. TURNER: *A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages*. London 1966, no. 23.

25 For other examples see TURNER 1966, no. 1025, 11656, 11647–11648, 12508, 12430–12431, etc.

The Accusative of the *i*- and *u*-Stems with Presuffixal Full or Large Grade in Avestan

Alberto Cantera, Salamanca

The *i*-/*u*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened grade in strong cases are quite scarce in Old Indian. Actually, there is only one such stem: OI *sákhi-* (n.sg. *sákhā*, ac.sg. *sákhāyam*, g.sg. *sákhyur*). In Avestan, however, there are more: we find three stems in *-i-* (*haxi-*, *kauui-* and *rayi-*) and the following in *-u-*: °*bāzu-*, *nasu-*, *hiθu-*, *daŋhu-*, *pərəsu-* and the hapax legomena *zaēnu-*[1], *garəmu-*, *frazdānu-* and *frādaṯ.fšu-*.

In order to establish the Indo-European presuffixal vowel grade of such forms, the most relevant information is provided by the n.pl. and ac.sg.; the latter is by far the most frequent, and hence the ac.sg. is the main key when attempting to reconstruct the original apophony of such stems. It is generally assumed that an Indo-Iranian long presuffixal vowel goes back to an *o*-grade, and a short one to an *e*-grade.

An initial analysis of the ac.sg. forms of such stems reveals quite a complex situation. Despite the scarce number of words attested, we find three different parallel endings in both the *i*- and *u*-stems. Beginning with the latter, besides the endings *-āum* and *-aom* noted by Hoffmann/Forssman (1996, p. 130) an *-ąm* ending is also attested (see below). This is paralleled by the *i*-stems: the endings are *-āim*, *-aēm* and *-ąm*. Let us analyse all these endings separately and try to determine their Avestan distribution and their possible origins.

1. The accusatives in *-ąm*

According to Stang's Law (1965)[2] the expected form of the ac.sg. for the *u*-stems with full presuffixal grade should evolve into *-ēm* < *-eu̯m* or *-ōm* < *-ou̯m*. Examples of this evolution are the ac.sg. of two root stems: OI *dyā́m* (< *di̯eu̯m*, cf. Lat. *diem*, Gr. Ζῆν) and OI *gā́m*, Av. *gąm* (< g^{u}*ou̯m*, Gr. βῶν). According to

1 This case is doubtful. The n.sg. *zaēnāuš* is a hapax legomenon (V 14.9), which according to de Vaan (2000) is probably a mistake for ˣ*zaēnuš*.

2 There is an abundant bibliography on Stang's law: see Szemerényi 1956; Schindler 1973; Mayrhofer 1986, p. 163f.; Vaux 2002.

STANG this evolution should also apply to the groups with other sonants and with h_2 (STANG 1965, p. 295), viz. in the formula -VRm# → -V̄m# R = $i̯$, $u̯$, $r̥$, $l̥$, $m̥$, $n̥$, h_2.[3] SCHINDLER (1973) suggests a phonetic explanation, but in principle his hypothesis would only explain the evolution of the group *-Vu̯m*. According to him the $u̯$ becomes assimilated to the *m* and thereafter the homorganic sonants become simplified, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. There are further examples of such a process. SCHINDLER's suggestion is quite attractive, but it fails to provide any explanation for the similar evolution undergone by the group *-Vh₂m*, e.g. in the ac.sg. of the feminines in *-eh₂*: *-eh₂m* > *-ah₂m* > *-ām* (EICHNER 1980, p. 129, n. 41; MAYRHOFER 1986, p. 163f.). According to VAUX (2002), for STANG's law to apply *R* could only be represented by $u̯$ ad $m̥$. The only reason for including *-m* is OI *kṣā́m*, Av. *ząm* < *dʰǵʰomm* (VAUX 2002, p. 320). This form, however, admits a much simpler explanation through the law proposed by SCHINDLER, i.e., simplification of groups of homorganic sonants in final position with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel.

STANG's law also applies, however, to the ac. of the *i*-stems, as is witnessed by Latin. In this language there are some remains of hysterokinetic inflection of the *-i*-stems, as in *vates*. The ac.sg. **-eį̯m* shows the following evolution: *-eį̯m* > *-ēm* > *-em* (with the usual shortening in final position with *-m*). However, the form with **-ēm* has analogically given rise to the n.sg. ei *-ēs*[4] (MEISER 1998, pp. 139, 141f.), e.g. *uolpēs* (~ **u̯l̥péi̯*, cf. Av. *urupa* [HOFFMANN 1967, p. 32]), *uolpem* (< *u̯l̥pēm* < *u̯l̥péi̯m*).

In Avestan we find traces of STANG's law in the derivative *u*-stems as well as in the *i*-stems. Recently TREMBLAY (1998, p. 202)[5] has provided an explanation for the as yet unexplained ac.sg. OAv. *hiθąm* (Y 31.8, 34.10)[6] of a stem *hiθu-*, whose n.sg. is *hiθāuš* (Y 48.7). According to him the case is parallel to the two above-mentioned radical stems, i.e., it is also a case of STANG's law applying outside the paradigm of those two root stems. Since in this case the stem *hiθu-* is not an inherited form comparable to *gao-*, we may assume that, at least in the Indo-Iranian period, STANG's law applied regularly to the ac.sg. of the *u*-stems with presuffixal full grade. And although *hiθąm* is the only example of this treatment, and the remaining ac.sg. seem to maintain the element $u̯$, I shall try to make plausible the possibility of this being a secondary and analogical reconstruction.

3 Although STANG only mentions explicitly $i̯$, $u̯$.

4 The expected form would have been *-īs*.

5 TREMBLAY (1998, p. 202) postulates a presuffixal *e*-grade, but it could also be an holodynamic with presuffixal *o*-grade.

6 That *hiθąm* belongs to the stem *hiθu-* had already been noticed by BARTHOLOMAE (1895–1901, p. 228), but later on he rejected his own analysis and proposed a stem *hiθa-* (adj.) "verbündet; Genosse", of which *hiθąm* would be the ac.sg.f. This interpretation is syntactically impossible, as *hiθąm* is an appellative of Ahura Mazdā, at least in Y 31.8.

Among the *i*-stems there is in Avestan one ac.sg. that is perfectly comparable to *hiθąm*: *rayąm* (V 1.15), ac.sg. of the place name *Ragi*-. In Avestan only the ab.sg. *rajōiṯ* (Y 19.18) and the ac.sg. *rayąm* are attested. We find the n.sg. *ragā* in DB 2.13. The abl.sg. *ragāyā* (Bartholomae 1904, p. 1497) shows that *Ragi*- has passed into the *-ā* declension in OP on the basis of the n.sg. *ragā*, ac.sg. **ragām* (Av. *rayąm*)[7]. However, if we accept that *rayąm* was formerly the kind of *i*-stem suggested by *rajōiṯ*, as is probably the case (see n. 7), *rayąm* could only be explained like *hiθąm*: as an evolution out of an ac.sg. in *-eį̇m/-oį̇m*[8]. In the case of *rayąm*, the final *-ąm* would be preserved owing to the well-known conservative character of place names. As, however, this noun is not as ancient as Indo-European, it seems again that at least in the Indo-Iranian period Stang's law applied to the ac.sg. of the *i*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened vowel grade.

Although this form is thus the original one for the ac.sg. of the *i*- and *u*-stems with presuffixal full or lengthened vowel grade, it is only found in the examples just mentioned. Usually, *-i*- as well as *-u*- are analogically restored out of the other forms of the paradigm, as in YAv. *gaom*. This restoration affords two different results: *-āum/-āim* and *-aom/-aēm*. Both forms could readily be explained by deriving *-āum/-āim* from the presuffixal *o*-grade with Brugmann's law, and *-aom/-aēm* from the corresponding *e*-grade. Unfortunately this distribution is not constant, as we shall see below.

2. The accusatives in *-āum*

In Avestan, we find four ac.sg. in *-āum* corresponding to stems in *-u*: *nasāum*, *pərəsāum*, *garəmāum*[9] and *frādaṯ.fšāum*. Recently de Vaan (2000; 2003, p. 376f.) has discussed the true value of the spelling *-āum* in order to reconstruct

7 Conversely one could state that in OP there is only one stem *ragā*- with attested n.sg. *ragā* and abl.sg. *ragāyā*, and that it is a different place name from Av. *ragi*- (Gershevitch 1964, p. 36f.). However the explanation resorting to one single place name is much more economical, and it explains the abl. sg. *ragāyā* as secondary, without implying that both names actually designate the same geographical place. Further more, Gr. *Ragai* confirms the analysis of the OP form as an *I*-stem with full presuffixal grade. Anyway it seems hardly likely that each Avestan attestation of this place name belongs to a different inflectional type: *rayąm* to an *ā*-stem like OP *ragā*- and *rajōiṯ* to an *i*-stem.

8 The colour of the presuffixal vowel cannot be determined, as obviously we lack any attestation of the n.pl.

9 The very fact that *garəmāum* is a hapax legomenon has suggested its correction to **garəməm*, supported by the further arguments that in Avestan this substantive shows no *u*-stem and that on two occasions a stem *garəma*- is attested, cf. OI *gharmá*- (de Vaan 2000, p. 525; de Vaan 2003, p. 377). However the Pahlavi confirms the existence of a stem **garmu*- in Iranian, from which forms like Phl. *garmōg* < **garmaṷa-ka*-, *garmōwarīh* "heat ordeal", etc. would have evolved.

a form *-*āu̯am* < *-*ou̯om*. Starting out from an analysis of the manuscript variants of the ac.sg. ending in *-āum*, DE VAAN concludes that, at the time of the Vulgate, before *m* the diphtongs *-aō-* and *-āu-* were pronounced in a very similar way, and that in some families of manuscripts *-aom* is often substituted by *-āum*. Indeed the variants of *garəmāum* show a peculiar distribution:

garəmāum (V 1.18)	PV	*garəmāum*	K3a, b, B1, Ml3, 4, P2, Pt2
		garəmaom	P10
	InVS	*garəmāum*	L2, 1, O2
	IrVS	*garəmaōm*	Jp1, Mf2

It may be seen that the spelling *-āu-* appears in the manuscripts of the Pahlavi-*Vīdēvdād* and in the Indian *sāde* manuscripts, while the Iranian ones show *-ao-*. This distribution matches that of *gāum* in V 1.4, although we know that in this case the original spelling is *-ao-*, since it is the ac.sg. of *gauua-*:

gāum (V 1.4)	PV	*gāum*	K3a, b, Ml3, 4, P2, Pt2, Jb
	InVS	*gāum*	Br1, L2, 1, M2
	IrVS	*gaōm*	Jp1, Mf2

The same distribution is also found in the case of the forms of *nāuma-/naoma-* "ninth" (< **nau̯ama-*) attested in *Vīdēvdād* (DE VAAN 2000, p. 524), and in the case of the alternance *-aoš/-āuš* in the g.sg. of the *u*-stems (NARTEN 1969; DE VAAN 2000, p. 526).

This distribution seems to point to the following: in the period of the Vulgate (second millennium) the diphthongs *-ao-* and *-āu-*, at least before *š* and *m*, were probably pronounced very similarly, or with a hardly perceptible difference, and each manuscript family shows its own preference for one or the other spelling, regardless of the origin of the diphthong. Thus, the spelling *-āum* in the ac.sg. does not allow any decision to be made concerning their reconstruction as *-āu̯am* or *-au̯am*.

Despite the evident advantages of DE VAAN's observations, some details of his interpretation do give rise to some problems, particularly concerning the assumed ac.sg. with presuffixal lengthened grade. Those forms which certainly contain the diphthong *-āu-*, i.e. *stāumī* (Y 43.8, cf. OI *stáumi*) and above all the voc.sg. *aṣ̌āum* < **aṣ̌āuuan*, never or hardly ever show variants in *-aō-*, and in any case the variants do not fit into the picture presented above. This suggests that the graphic hesitation between *āu* and *aō* does not concern the original diphthong *āu*, but only the original *ao*, which under some circumstances and in certain manuscripts tends to appear as *āu*. Among the attestations of the ac.sg. in *-āum* we find two without any variant *-aōm* (*nasāum* and *pərəsāum*), contrary to what happens with *garəmāum*, *frādaṯ.fšāum*, *nāuma-*, etc. DE VAAN

(2000, p. 527) tried to explain this difference by resorting to the influence of *aṣ̌āum*: not impossible, but hardly convincing.

In the case of *nasāum*, ac.sg. of *nasu-* "corpse, carrion"[10], other case forms make the presuffixal lengthened grade plausible: n.pl. *nasāuuō* and g.sg. *nasāuuō*[11]. Pahlavi also supplies further evidence for it. In Pahlavi, the equivalent to Av. *nasu-* is *nasā* <ns'y>, derived from **naćāu̯V-*, i.e. probably from the ac.sg. **naćāu̯am*[12] (cf. *ardā* <'lt'y> < **r̥tāu̯ā*[13]). Thus, it does not seem probable that the

10 It is difficult to state the gender of this noun. At least five times it seems to be masculine, like Gr. νέκυς:

V 5.3 *spō.bərətō … nasuš … āstāraiieiti*
V 5.4 *aēte nasāuuō yā spō.bərətaca*
V 6.28 *aēte nasāuuō friθiieitica puiieitica*
V 19.5 *nasuš daēuuō.dātəm*
V 19.46 *nasuš daēuuō.dātō*

But in slightly more frequent cases it is evidently feminine:

V 5.4 *ā̊ŋ̊hąm nasūnąm*
V 5.27–42, 7.1–4, usw. *aēša druxš yā nasuš*
V 6.26–32 *aēša nasuš nižbərəta*
V 7.25 *nasāum maṯ.gūθąm*
V 7.29, 30 *aēša nasuš anaiβi.γnixta*
V 10.1 *nasuš … yā … upa.raēθβaiti*
V 10.17 *auuaŋ̊hå drujō auuaŋ̊hå nasāuuō*

Apart from one or the other uncertain passage, there is generally a correspondence between the feminine gender and the representation of the carrion as a feminine being and as the main cause of impurity, while the corpse itself usually appears as masculine. If we put this together with the gender of Gr. νέκυς, an original masculine gender would seem most probable.

11 The g.sg. *nasāuuō* is doubtless analogical to the ac.sg. and n.pl. with lengthened presuffixal grade. The starting point for this analogy must be the g.sg. **nasuuō*, which in principle would suggest an holokinetic inflection **nékōu̯s/*n(e)ku̯és*. But Tremblay (1996, p. 142) does not believe in such an holokinetic: the comparison with Gr. νέκυς confirms both root accent and root full vowel grade, while, according to him, holokinetics tend to extend the zero grade of the root. In its turn OIr. *éc, éco* "death" presupposes the existence of a proterokinetic *nékus/*n̥kéu̯s*, thus we would have a relation between both similar to that supposed by himself between the stems in *-mn̥* and *-mon*. According to Tremblay Av. *nasu-* would thus be the continuation of an apophonic type that he names "anakinetical": *nekőu̯s/*nékus*, although the Avestan data alone do not rule out the possibility of an holokinetic *nékōu̯s/*n(e)ku̯és*.

About this anakinetic inflection see Tremblay (1996). It shows such a rare trait within the apophonic system that one might doubt its very existence. It is the only nominal apophonic type where the accent in the weak cases is moved back in respect to the strong ones. In all other apophonic types the accent remains in the same position or it advances to the end of the word (Meier-Brügger 2002, p. 207).

12 In Parthian the form could be *n's'w*, but it is not entirely certain, as in the only attestation available the ' is not clear and the *w* is a conjecture (Sundermann 1973, p. 119).

13 A similar explanation is probably required for the loanword Phl. *ahlā(yīh)*, which could derive from Av. *aṣ̌āuuă*, unlike *ahlaw* < *aṣ̌auua*. We cannot be sure if it is also possible to derive it from the g.sg. OAv. *aṣ̌āunō* (YAv. *aṣ̌aunō*), as we lack further clear examples of the Phl. evolution of the group *-āu̯nV*. If such a derivation was phonetically possible,

ending *-āum* could be the result of the influence of *aṣ̌āum*. For *pərəsāum* we lack further evidence, but since its attestation is very similar to that of *nasāum*, we may assume that the diphtong *-āum* is also original[14] in this case.

Contrary to the above, DE VAAN's argument does not allow any certain decision about *garəmāum* and *frādaṯ.fš̌āum* being original in the Sasanian archetype, or rather, and more probably, substituting for *garəmaom* and *frādaṯ.fš̌aom*.

3. The ac.sg. °*haxāim*

The only ac.sg. of an *i*-stem showing the ending *-āim* in Avestan is *huš.haxāim*, ac.sg. of *huš.haxi-*. This group *-āim* has a correlate in OI *sákhāyam*. Here, the presuffixal lengthened grade is also reinforced by the n.pl. *⁺haxāiiō, sákhāyaḥ* < **sék^{u}h$_2$o̯es*.[15] The weak cases show presuffixal zero grade in Avestan *(haš̌ē* < **s(e)k^{u}h$_2$i̯éi̯, haš̌a* < **s(e)k^{u}h$_2$i̯éh$_1$)* as well as in Old Indian *(sákhye, sákhyuḥ, sákhyā)*.

then it would not be correct to reject it arguing that in Pahlavi there are no loanwords taken simultaneously from the casus rectus and from the casus obliquus (CANTERA 2003, p. 257, n. 24): Av. *āϑrauuan-* appears in Pahlavi in two different forms: <'slwk> and <'slwn'>. MACKENZIE (1971, p. 12) reads the former as *āsrō* and derives it from the n.sg. *āϑrauua*, while he reads <'slwn(')> as *āsrōn* and derives it from *āϑrauuan-*, which appears only in the acc.sg. *āϑrauuanəm* and the n.pl. *āϑrauuanō*.

The analysis of the use of this doublet in the Pahlavi translation of the Avesta shows that the spelling <'slwn(')> is practically only applied to the translation of the oblique cases:

āϑrauua:
- <'slwk> V 5.28 (K1, **Jmp**), 8.19, 13.22, 13.45 (4×)
- <'slwn(')> Y 11.6, 19.17
- <'slwn'n'> Vyt 2.9

āϑrauuanəm:
- <'slwk> V 7.41, 9.37 (L4a, **Jmp**), 18.1,2,3,4,5,6; Y 10.15; G 4.7

aϑaurune:
- <'slwn> V 5.57, 58, 7.17
- <'slwn'n'> V 13.45, 14.8

aϑaurunō
- <'slwn> Vyt 1.3
- <'slwn'n'> Vyt 3.16

The only attestation of the n.pl. *āϑrauuanō* (Yt 14.16) is translated by <'slwn'n'>, but this is quite a late translation, and one of the worst of all the corpus, so that it is a weak witness. Thus <'slwn(')> probably does not derive from *āϑrauuan-*, but from the g.sg. *aϑaurunō*, which would have evolved to **asarun*, with the well-known syncope in antepenultima when the syllable is an open one (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 210), in which case it ought to be read as *asrun*.

14 About the inflection of this form see TREMBLAY 1998, p. 188ff.

15 About this inflection see MAYRHOFER 1992–2001, vol. 2, p. 684f. with a large bibliography, and recently TREMBLAY 1996, p. 105.

4. The accusatives in *-aom*

Besides the ac.sg. forms *garəmāum* and *frādaṯ.fšāum*, possibly representing *garəmaom* and *frādaṯ.fšaom*, *daŋhaom* (2x in Yt 10.26) and *frazdānaom* (Yt 5.108) are also attested. In principle, one would expect these accusatives to represent an older presuffixal *e*-grade, but the sole stem offering enough material to infer the presuffixal apophonic grade seems to contradict this conjecture.

In Old Persian the following forms of *dahạyu-* are attested:

	Singular	Plural
n.	d-h-y-a-u-š	d-h-y-a-v
ac.	DH-u-m[16]	
	DH-y-u-m[17]	
	d-h-y-a-u-m[18]	
	d-h-y-a-v-m[19]	
	(vi-i-s-d-h-y-u-m[20])	
g.		DH-n-a-m
loc.	d-h-y-u-v-a	d-h-y-u-š-u-v-a

The ac.sg. shows several different forms, which are hard to evaluate. On the one hand the spellings with the heterogram *DH* and the compound *vi-i-s-d-h-y-u-m* seem to represent an ac.sg. **dahạyaụm* or **dahạyum*. On the other, the spellings *d-h-y-a-u-m* and *d-h-y-a-v-m* do represent – respectively – */dahạyāụm/* and */dahạyāụam/*, the latter being the regular form and the former a secondary one derived from the n.sg. *dahạyāuš* (Bartholomae 1895–1901, p. 228; Schmitt 1989, p. 72). It is difficult to decide which interpretation of the first forms is the true one. If on the one hand we could compare **dahạyaụm* directly with Av. *daŋhaom,* on the other we could easily explain **dahạyum* as analogical to the remaining *u*-stems and as directly comparable with Av. *daxiiūm,* OI *dásyum*.

The remaining forms of the strong cases of OP (n.sg. d-h-y-a-u-š, n.pl. d-h-y-a-v) doubtless show a lengthened presuffixal grade. In Avestan the following forms are attested:

16 DSf 58, DSj 6.
17 A^{3}Pa 26.
18 AsH 8, 11, 13, DPd 15, 18, DNa 53, D^{2}Ha 18.
19 XPh 33, 58.
20 XPa 12.

	Singular	Plural
n.	*daŋhuš*	*daŋhāuuō*
ac.	*daŋhaom/daxiiūm*	
dat.	*daŋhauue*	
g.	*daŋhāuš*	

The n.sg. *daŋhuš* (face to OP *dahạyāuš*) is clearly analogical to the remaining *u*-stems, while the n.pl. *daŋhāuuō* shows a lengthened presuffixal grade and thus confirms the full presuffixal grade of all the forms of the strong cases in Old Persian, except the alternative ac.sg. **dahạyum/*dahạyaṷm*. If the lengthened presuffixal grade is original, as suggested by comparison of OP and Av., then we lack any explanation for the ac.sg. **dahạyum/*dahạyaṷm* and for the Av. *daŋhaom*. However, the former could be interpreted as **dahạyum* because of Av. *daxiiūm* and *daŋhuš*. Then, Av. *daŋhaom* seems to be the ac.sg. of a stem with presuffixal *o*-grade.[21]

5. The ac.sg. *kauuaēm*

The n.sg. *kauua* and the n.pl. *kāuuaiias(ciṯ)* are comparable to the n.sg. *haxa*, n.pl. *+haxāiiō* (with a variant *haxaiiō* in some manuscripts), from *haxi-* "friend, follower", whose reconstruction with lengthened presuffixal grade is certain because of OI n.sg. *sákhā*, ac.sg. *sákhāyam*, n.pl. *sákhāyaḥ*. In the strong cases of both declensions the only difference is the ac.sg. *kauuaēm* as compared to the ac.sg. *haxāim*. The latter seems to presuppose the lengthened presuffixal grade; the former, however, the short one. This is why the traditional reconstruction of both forms differs in the presuffixal vowel grade of the strong cases: **koṷh$_2$éi̯*, *koṷh$_2$éi̯*, **koṷh$_2$éi̯es*, but **sékʷh$_2$ōi̯*, **sékʷh$_2$oi̯*, **sékʷh$_2$oi̯es* (KUIPER 1942, p. 64ff.; HOFFMANN 1967, p. 32). TREMBLAY (1996, p. 105, n. 30) seems to have no doubt about this reconstruction for several reasons: 1. the only known nouns in *-ei̯* are the neuter collectives of the type *utne, utniia̯š,* (although some lines below he reconstructs a hysterokinetic **u̯l̥p-éi̯* for Av. *urupa* and Lat. *volpes)*; 2. accord-

21 TREMBLAY (1998, p. 191, n. 11) presumes the reflex *-aom* for **-āṷam* in Avestan for *frazdānaom* (Yt 5.108). This author analyses *frazdānaom* as a haplological form from **para-dh$_3$ta-dānāṷ-* "which provokes streams", which would be in the same apophonic relation with its simplex *dānuš* as *°bāzāu-* with the simplex *bāzu-*: composites with a proterokinetical simplex would be anakinetics. This implies that *°dānaom* derives from *°dānāṷam* with the same evolution as *daŋhaom*. However, we have to keep in mind that the hypothesis of a hysterokinetic inflection with full grade, analogical to the simplex, cannot be discarded in either of the two cases. This type of inflection is assumed for *°bāzāṷ-* both by KUIPER (1942, p. 40ff.) and NARTEN (1969, p. 234).

ing to his opinion the stem *kauui-* fits well into the category of the personal nouns in *-oi̯*; 3. the Lydian form *kawéś* "priest" seems to presuppose a presuffixal grade *-oi̯*. Putting all this together, TREMBLAY reconstructs **kou̯h$_2$ói̯*. Thus, the final *-aēm* might also represent an old presuffixal *o*-grade, as in the case of *-aom*.

6. Possible explanations of the ac.sg. forms with *-aēm/-aom* in stems with presuffixal *o*-grade.

In principle, the ac.sg. of the stems with presuffixal *o*-grade should present a long presuffixal vowel, as is actually the case with OI *sákhāyam*. For the Indo-Iranian groups **-āu̯am* and **-āi̯am,* we would expect in Avestan *-āum (nasāum)* and *-āim (°haxāim)*. There are several possible explanations for *-aom/-aēm* appearing instead of the expected forms, but not all of them are equally plausible.

First, one could resort to a purely graphic explanation, above all for the *u*-stems: if in the pronunciation of the Vulgate the diphthongs *āu* and *ao* become confused before *š*and before *m*, then we could not only assume that the spelling *āu* conceals *ao* of the archetype, but also the contrary: i.e., the spelling *ao* represents the *āu* of the archetype. This explanation sounds less plausible in the case of the *i*-stems. Generally speaking, there are few interferences between *-āim* and *-aēm* in the manuscripts (DE VAAN 2003, p. 358).[22]

On the other hand these spellings could also be explained as a true phonetic shortening, assuming a sporadic shortening of *ā* before *u̯* and *i̯*.[23] In the case of the ac.sg. *kauuaēm,* this shortening would be directly comparable to that of *āēm* "egg" < **āi̯am* (SCHINDLER 1969, p. 160). And similarly *daŋ́haom* could be explained as a shortening of **dahi̯āu̯am* to **dahi̯au̯am*. However, there are some counter-examples such as *haxāim*, *nasāum* and *pərəsāum*, which make such an explanation less convincing.

A third possibility is that, since *-āum* as well as *-aom* are secondary forms, further forms could have originated independently of the original presuffixal vowel grade as a result of different analogical processes. In the case of the ac.sg. in *-āum* and *-āim* the analogy would have started from the n.sg. and n.pl. with lengthened presuffixal grade (*-āu̯š/-ā(i̯)* and *-āu̯ah/-āi̯ah*). When, in

22 One comparable case would be *auuaēn* in V 19.13 as a quotation of *auuāin* in Y 57.23 (KELLENS 1984, p. 86; DE VAAN 2003, p. 358).

23 Recently DE VAAN (2003, p. 118ff.) has again analysed the evidences of this change and has shown its sporadic and recent character. He even uses the argument of the preservation of the long vowel in *aibigāim*, unlike *aibigaiia*, to state that this is later than the period of spoken Avestan. If this is true, then such a shortening would hardly be able to explain the ac.sg. *kauuaēm* and *daŋ́haom*, but it also would fail with the ac.sg. *aēm* "egg", which DE VAAN himself explains by resorting to the shortening (DE VAAN 2003, p. 120).

turn, *-aom/-aēm* appears as the ac.sg. of an old stem with presuffixal *o*-grade, the analogy probably starts from the weak cases with full presuffixal grade. In fact, the stems with an ac.sg. in *-āum* or *āim* show presuffixal zero grade in the oblique cases. This is evident in *haxāim* (see Av. *haŝē, haŝa*) and very probable in *nasāum,* since, as we have already seen above, to explain the attested g.sg. *nasāuuō* we must start from a g.sg. **nasuuō*. We have no attested g.sg. of *pərəsāum,* but we would expect **pərəsuuō* (TREMBLAY 1998, p. 191). Contrary to this, the forms showing an ac.sg. in *-aom/-aēm* – despite their original presuffixal *o*-grade – show presuffixal full grade, e.g. dat.sg. *daŋ̌hauue* in the case of *daŋ̌haom; kauuōiš* in that of *kauuaēm.* This is also the explanation for the secondary form *gaom* beside the original one *(gąm)*, which shows this form because in the weak cases it has full presuffixal grade *(gauua, gauuōi/gauue, gəuš, gaoš).*

We may therefore conclude that, originally, the diphthongs of the ac.sg. of the *i-/u*-stems with full or lengthened presuffixal grade were treated according to STANG's law, and the original ending was *-ąm* for both. In Iranian, the development of secondary analogical forms is quite recent. Indeed, apart from the preservation of some non-analogical examples (*hiθąm, rayąm* and *gauuąm*) in Avestan, the analogical processes working in the different Iranian tongues are different from each other. For example, OP *dahąyāum* and *dahąyāvam* show that in this language the analogy was not governed by the same rules as in Avestan, since otherwise we would find **dahąyavam*. In Southwestern Iranian we find a certain expansion of the secondary accusatives in *-āu̯am*. Pahlavi attests some forms in *-ā* <-'y> associated with old *u*-stems, going back to an ancient ac.sg. in *-āu̯am*: *nasā* < **naćāu̯am*; *bāzā* <b'c'y>[24] < **bāzāu̯am* (KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 201) and Phl. *garā* <gl'y> "heavy" < **g(a)rHāu̯am* (CANTERA, forthcoming), cf. Av. *gouru°* (OI *gurú*). At least in the case of *bāzā* the ac.sg. **bāzāu̯am* is secondary. We would expect an IIr. form **bāĵām*, or without STANG's law **bāĵau̯am*, but never **bāĵāu̯am*. Thus, it seems that in Southwestern Iranian there is a tendency to extend the lengthened presuffixal grade to the ac.sg. of all stems with lengthened presuffixal grade in the n.sg.

We may state, in conclusion, that the original form of the ac.sg. of the *i-/u*-stems with full or lengthened presuffixal vowel grade in Avestan was *-ąm*, although it only appears in one OAv. form (*hiθąm* Y 31.8, 34.10, but cf. *huš.haxāim* Y 46.13) and one place name *(rayąm)*. The current forms show instead a reintroduced *-i-/-u-*, which gives rise to the diphthongs *-āum/-āim* and *-aom/-aēm*. The distribution of the long and short diphthongs is to some extent independent of the original presuffixal vowel grade. When the n.sg. and the n.pl.

24 The *z* of the Pahlavi and of Mod.P. *bāzu* is a Northwestern dialectalism. The expected Southwestern form is attested in the Psalter b'dwky (Psalm 98.1, 135.12). This suggests that this process of secondary building of the accusative also applies in Northwestern Iranian.

show a long presuffixal vowel (going back to an Indo-European *o*-grade), the ac.sg. shows the long diphthong whenever the weak cases show presuffixal zero-grade; when, instead, the weak cases have full presuffixal grade, the ac.sg. has the short diphthong. As far as we know, *-i-/-u-* were also reintroduced in other Iranian languages, although according to different distribution patterns.

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"And the *frawahr*s of the men [...] agreed to go into the material world"

Zoroastrian Cosmogony in the 3rd Chapter of the *Greater Bundahišn*

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The third chapter of the *Bundahišn*, together with the first, is one of the most important texts for the comprehension of Zoroastrian cosmogony. Consequently, it counts among the texts which have been edited first by H. S. Nyberg, in his pioneering work on Zoroastrian cosmology and cosmogony[1], and then by R. C. Zaehner, in his important work on Zurwān.[2]

Some years ago, together with Prof. D. N. MacKenzie, I had originally thought of re-editing the first and the third chapter of the *Bundahišn* for the volume in honour of Gherardo Gnoli. Because of the length of the combined texts, this plan had already been put aside before Neil's untimely death and that article only contained an edition of the first chapter. However, many years ago I had had the privilege of reading the third chapter under the guidance of Prof. MacKenzie and could compare my notes with his own typescript translation. It was in those same years that I was introduced to Prof. Emmerick, and these two great scholars are closely linked in my memory. All this drove me to prepare a new edition of the third chapter of the *Bundahišn* for the volume dedicated to the memory of Prof. R. E. Emmerick, whose work was a constant source of inspiration to me and a model of scholarly rigour and philological competence.

Only the first ten paragraphs of the third chapter of the *Bundahišn* are dedicated to cosmogony, while the others describe the nature of the *Amahraspand*s (§§ 12–19) and of the spirits appointed to the various *Gāh*s of the day (§§ 21–22). The two final paragraphs present the well known scene of the choice of the *frawahr*s called to decide on whether to enter the arena and fight the forces of evil. Except for the very last paragraphs (§§ 22–24), the third chapter of the *Bundahišn* is almost completely absent from the Indian version of this text, as is the case for a large part of chapter 1 and the entire chapter 1a.

1 Nyberg 1929, pp. 228–237 and 295–310.
2 Zaehner 1955, pp. 321–336.

The present edition is based on the MSS TD_1 and DH of the *Greater Bundahišn* and on MSS K_{20} and M_{51} of the Indian version. The text takes up fols. 12v.15–17[recte 16]r.14 of TD_1, fols. 167r.12–169v.5 of DH, fols. 91r.9–91v.5 of K_{20} and fols. 226r.18–227r.1 of M_{51}. In the secondary MS TD_2 it is found on pp. 30.10–39.1 of ANKLESARIA's 1908 edition.[3]

Bundahišn[4]

Chapter 3

0. *Abar čim ī dahišnīh <ī> dām ō ardīgkārīh.*

0. On the reason of the creation of the creatures to do battle.

1. *Ohrmazd nām ī sīh Amahraspand pad ān ī sīh rōz ēdōn nihād, kū nazdist Ohrmazd pas šaš Amahraspand, bawēd haft, ud haštom Day, ast Dādār, ud pas šaš Amahraspand, bawēd haft, ud haštōm Day, ast Dādār, ud pas haft Amahraspand, bawēd °hašt, ud nohom Day ast Dādār, <ud> pas haft Amahraspand, bawēd° hašt, čiyōn-iš nām ī xwēš pad čahār gyāg andar māhīgān-ēw passāxt: Ohrmazd ud ān ī sē Day. Čiyōn ēk nām [ī] <ud> ēk gāh ud ēk dēn <ud> ēk zamān kē hamē būd hēnd.*

1. Ohrmazd established the names of the thirty Amahraspands on the thirty days, so that first is Ohrmazd, then six Amahraspands, which gives seven, and eighth is Day who is the Creator and then six Amahraspands, which gives seven, and eighth is Day who is the Creator, and then seven Amahraspands, which gives eight, and ninth is Day who is the Creator, then seven Amahraspands, which gives eight. Thus he inserted his own name in four (different) places in each one month: Ohrmazd and those three Days. So, one is the name, one the place, one the Religion and one the time, who have always been.

2. *Ka Gannāg Mēnōg ō Petyārag mad, Ohrmazd Zamān ī dagrand xwadāy frāz brēhēnīd pad mard kirb ī pānzdah sālag ud rōšn, ī spēd dōysar, ī buland, <ī> amāwand, kē-š amāwandīh az hunarāwandīh, [ī] nē az duzīh ud stambagīh.*

2. When Gannāg Mēnōg came to the (Assault of) Evil, Ohrmazd created Time of long dominion in the shape of a fifteen years old man, luminous, white-eyed, tall, powerful, whose power is from virtue and not from theft and oppression.

3 For a general bibliography on the *Bundahišn* and on the Zurwānite question see CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, pp. 31–32.

4 Conventions and abbreviations: <...> additions; [...] expunctions; {...} glosses; ⌐...¬ text taken from the *Indian Bundahišn*; ° ... ° lacuna in one of the manuscripts. IB = *Indian Bundahišn*. GB = *Greater Bundahišn*. T = MS TD_1, D = MS DH, K = MS K_{20}, M = MS M_{51}. In the apparatus minor graphical variants and minor omissions such as the lack of *ī* or *ud* are not marked except when necessary.

3. *U-š xwad paymōzan ī spēd paymōxt ud brāh ī āsrōnīh dāšt, čē hamē dānāgīh abāg āsrōnān, kē ō kasān nimūdār har kas aziš hammōxtār hēnd. Ohrmazd-iz xwēškārīh dāmdahišnīh būd dām pad dānāgīh šāyēd dādan. Ēd rāy brahmag ī dānāgān paymōxt ast āsrōnīh.*

3. He himself donned a white garment and held the splendour of priesthood, since knowledge is always with the priests, who are guides to the people and all people learn from them. Also, Ohrmazd's own duty was the creation of the creatures and only by knowledge it is possible to create the creatures. For this reason he donned the costume of the wise, (which) is priesthood.

4. *Way ī weh ǰāmag <ī> zarrēn <ud> sēmēn <ud> gōhr pēsīd ud ālgōnagān <ud> was rang paymōxt, brahmag <ī> artēštārīh <dāšt> čē abar raftār az pas <ī> dušmenān pad Petyārag zadan ud dām pānagīh kardan* 5. *{čiyōn gōwēd kū Way ān ī andar har dō dām Petyārag be barēd} xwēškārīh, čē-š dād Spennāg Mēnōg *čē-iz Gannāg Mēnōg pad ēn kū ardīg sar be kunēd, dām ī Ohrmazd hamē abzāyēd ān ī Gannāg Mēnōg abesīhēnēd.*

4. The good Way donned a garment of gold and of silver, adorned with gems, red and of many colors, the costume of warriorhood, since his own duty *(čē ... xwēškārīh)* consists in pursuing the enemies to smite Evil and to protect the creatures. 5. {As one says: Way is the one who endures the (Assault of) Evil in both creations} for He created Spennāg Mēnōg and also Gannāg Mēnōg, for this (aim) that he may lead the battle to its end, perpetually increase the creatures of Ohrmazd and destroy those of Gannāg Mēnōg.

6. *Az zamān brēhēnīd spihr ud Zurwān <ī> būd nēk baxtīh. U-š paymōzan ī xašēnēn paymōxt, brahmag ī wāstaryōšīh dāšt, čē-š nēk baxtārīh <ī> gēhān xwēškārīh, ōwōn čiyōn wāstaryōšān gēhān warzīdan passazagīhā be dād.*

6. From time He created the firmament and Zurwān, who was good fortune. He donned a blue-coloured garment, he had the robe of husbandry, since his own duty is to apportion the good to the world, just as (He) suitably created the husbandmen to cultivate the world.

7. *Čiyōn Ohrmazd mayān <ī> har šaš Amahraspand dām ī xwēš *passāxt, *dahišn-iz <ī> mēnōg ud gētīg pad hamēwēnag dād. Čiyōn mēnōg Ohrmazd ud ān ī šaš Amahraspand Wahman, Ardwahišt, Šahrewar, *Spandarmad, Hordād, Amurdād, ēdōn-iz +asmān *haft *pāyag ī nazdist abr *pāyag, dudīgar spihr ī axtarān, sidīgar star ī agumēzišn, čahārom wahišt, māh pad*

7. Since Ohrmazd among all six Amahraspands prepared his own creatures, in a similar way He created both the spiritual and material creations. Just as (on the) spiritual level (there were) Ohrmazd and the six Amahraspands: Wahman, Ardwahišt, Šahrewar, Spandarmat, Hordād and Amurdād, so in the sky (there were) seven stations. The first is the station

*ān *pāyag ēstēd, panǰom Garōdmān, kē Anagrerōšn xwānīhēd, xwaršēd pad ān *pāyag ēstēd, šašom gāh <ī> Amahraspandān, haftom Asar-rōšnīh ud gāh <ī> Ohrmazd. Ōwōn-iz dām ī gētīg *haft brēhēnīd: nazdist asmān ud dudīgar āb, sidīgar zamīg, čahārom urwar, panǰom gōspand, šašom mardōm ud haftom ātaxš kē brāh az Asar-rōšn, gāh ī Ohrmazd.*

of the clouds, the second the firmament of the fixed stars, the third the unmixable stars, the fourth paradise, the moon stands in that station, the fifth Garōdmān, called Anagrerōšn, the sun stands in that station, the sixth is the place of the Amahraspands, the seventh is Asar-rōšnīh, the place of Ohrmazd. Similarly, He fashioned the seven material creations: the first is the sky, the second water, the third earth, the fourth plants, fifth cattle, the sixth mankind, the seventh fire, whose brilliance comes from Asar-rōšn, the place of Ohrmazd.

8. *U-š ātaxš andar harwisp dahišn ēdōn be fragand frāz brēhēnīd čiyōn kadag-xwadāy-ēw ka andar xānag šawēd ud ǰāmag ī andar xānag xūb abāz nihād. 9. U-š framūd ō ataxš andar Ēbgatīh paristag ī mardōm kardan xwarišn sāxtan ud dard zadan. Ud ka az tis tis be *činēnd bērōn āyēd, ka-iz ēzm abar nihēnd frāz gīrēd.*

8. He fashioned forth fire in all creatures to be the foundation, as a house-lord when he goes into a house and orderly puts away the garments which are in the house. 9. He ordered the fire to serve man during the (Onslaught of) Evil, to prepare food and to strike down pain. When they gather it from different things it comes out, also when they put fuel on it, it encompasses it.

10. *U-š harwisp Amahraspandān pad hamkārīh <ud> ardīkkarīh <ī> dām ēdōn gumārd ud ēstēnīd kū ka Ēbgat mad har kas ān ī xwēš hamēmāl pad kōxšišn frāz grift, kū nōg framān andar nē abāyēd.*

10. He appointed and established all Amahraspands to help the creatures and to do battle, so that when the Adversary came each one grabbed his own adversary to fight with, without need of a new command.

11. *U-š čiyōnīh frāztar gōwom.*

11. And I shall speak further about their nature.

12. *Fradom az mēnōgān Ohrmazd, °az gētīgān bun mardom ō xwēš grift, u-š hamkār ān sē Day°, ēk gāh, ēk Dēn, ēk zamān, *Wispešām, kē ast mēnōg <ī> harwisp dahišn.*

12. First among the spirits is Ohrmazd, from the foundation of the material beings he took man for himself, his helpers are those three Days, one space, one Religion, one time, Wispešām, who is the spirit of all creations.

13. *U-š mardōm pad panǰ *bazišn frāz dād: tan <ud> gyān ud ruwān <ud> ēwēnag ud frawahr. Čiyōn tan ān ī gētīg. Ud gyān ān ī abāg °wād paywast ēstēd wēn āwarišn barišn. Ruwān ān ī abāg bōy andar tan ašnawēd wēnēd° gōwēd ud dānēd. Ēwēnag ān ī pad xwaršēd *pāyag ēstēd. Frawahr ān ī pēš <ī> Ohrmazd xwadāy. Pad ān čim ēdōn brēhēnīd, kū <ka> andar Ēbgatīh mardōm mīrēnd, tan ō zamīg, gyān ō wād, ēwēnag ō xwaršēd, ruwān ō frawahr paywast, kū-šān ruwān murnǰēnīdan nē tuwān bawād.*

13. He created forth man in five parts: body, ghost, soul, form and *frawahr*. Thus body is the material one. Ghost is the one connected to the wind, inhaling and exhaling breath. Soul is that which, together with consciousness, in the body hears, sees, speaks and knows. Form is the one which stands in the station of the sun. *Frawahr* is the one which stands in front of Ohrmazd. He fashioned them so for this reason: when during the (Onslaught of) Evil men die, the body joins the earth, the ghost joins the wind, the form joins the sun, the soul joins the *frawahr*, so that they may not be able to destroy the soul.

14. *Dudīgar az mēnōgān Wahman u-š az gētīgān dahišn gōspand sardagān ō xwēš padīrift. U-š dād ō ayārīh ud hamkārīh Māh ud Gōš ud Rām ud Spihr ī xwadāy ud Zurwān ī akānarag ud Zurwān ī dagrand-xwadāy. U-š gōspand pad panǰ *bazišn frāz brēhēnīd: tan ud gyān <ud> ruwān <ud> ēwēnāg <ud> mēnōg, kū tā andar Ēbgatīh Gōšurwan tōhmag ī gōspandān az māh *pāyag [ud] padīrift pad ayārīh <ī> Rām ī weh andar gēhān rawāgēnīd. Ka mīrēnd tan ō Gōšurwan, ruwān ō Rām, ēwēnag ō Māh, mēnōg ō Wahman paywast, kū-šān be murnǰēnīdan nē tuwān bawād.*

14. The second among the spirits is Wahman, of material creations he received for himself the (different) kinds of cattle. He created for (his) help and assistance Māh, Gōš, Rām, the firmament who is lord, Infinite Time and Time of long dominion. He fashioned forth cattle in five parts: body, ghost, soul, form and spirit, so that during the (Onslaught of) Evil, Gōšurwan will receive the seed of the cattle from the station of the moon and will propagate it with the help of the good Rām. When they die the body joins Gōšurwan, the ghost joins Rām, the form joins Māh and the spirit joins Wahman, so that they may not be able to destroy it.

15. *Sidīgar az mēnōgān Ardwahišt. U-š az dahišn ī gētīg ātaxš ō xwēš padīrift. U-š dād ō ayārīh ud hamkārīh Ādur, Srōš, Wahrām ud Nēryōsang. U-š pad ān čim <dād>: kū andar Ēbgatīh Wahrām ātaxš pad mān nišast ud winnārd, drubuštīh dahēd, Srōš pānagīh kunēd ka be*

15. Third among the spirits is Ardwahišt. Of material creations he received for himself fire. He created for (his) help and assistance Ādur, Srōš, Wahrām and Nēryōsang. He created (them) for the following reason: that (since) during the (Onslaught of) Evil Wahrām had set and arranged the fire

azrawēd az Wahrām ō Srōš, az Srōš ō Ādur, az Ādur abāz ō Ardwahišt paywast, kū dēwān be +murnǰēnīdan nē tuwān bawād.

in the house, he will defend (it) and Srōš will protect (it). When it goes out, from Wahrām it joins Srōš, from Srōš Ādur, from Ādur back to Ardwahišt, so that the *dēw*s may not be able to destroy (it).

16. *Čahārom az mēnōgān Šahrewar. U-š az dahišn <ī> gētīg ayōxšust ō xwēš grift. U-š dād pad ayārīh ud hamkārīh Xwar <ud> Mihr ud Asmān ud Anagrān ud Sōg ī weh [Aredwisur] ud Hōm yazad ud Burz yazad ud Dahmān Āfrīn. Čē ayōxšust ōstwārīh az asmān asmān bun gōhr [ī] ayōxšustēn u-š winnārišn az Anagrān. Anagrān Anagrerōsn, mān ī zarrēn <ī> gōhr pēsīd ī ul ō gāh ī Amahraspandān paywast ēstēd. Kū pad ēn hamkārīh dēwān andar ēbgatīh ayōxšust wany kardan nē tuwān bawād.*

16. The fourth among the spirits is Šahrewar, of material creations he took to himself metal. He created for (his) help and assistance Xwar, Mihr, Asmān, Anagrān, the good Sōg, [Aredwisur], Hōm yazad, Burz yazad and Dahmān Āfrīn. Because the firmness of metal is from the sky (and) the basic nature of the sky is metallic and (its) arrangement is from Anagrān. Anagrān is Anagrerōšn, the golden house, adorned with gems, which is joined up on high to the place of the Amahraspands. So that by this assistance, during the (Onslaught of) Evil the *dēw*s may not be able to destroy metal.

17. *Panǰom az mēnōgān Spandarmad. U-š az dahišn ī gētīg zamīg ō xwēš padīrift. U-š dād ō ayārīh <ud> hamkārīh Ābān <ud> Dēn <ud> Ard <ud> Māraspand ud *Ahrišwang ud Aredwisur ud Anāhīd. Čiyōn *Ahrišwang mēnōg īyōǰdahrgar īzamīg, ābān tōhmag. U-š pēš Māraspand Mānsarspand, gōwišn ī Ohrmazd ud Ard ud Dēn andar-xwarrah ī mān. {Ast kē *Ahrišwang gōwēd, xwarrah ī wahištīg ardāyīh.} Ud Aredwisur ud Anāhīd pid ud mād ī ābān. Pad ēn hamkārīh andar ēbgatīh winnārd ēstēd ud ēn mēnōgān hamkār xwarrah nigāh dārēnd.*

17. The fifth among the spirits is Spandarmad, of material creations she received for herself the earth. He created for (her) help and assistance Ābān, Dēn, Ard, Māraspand, Ahrišwang, Aredwisur and Anāhīd. Since Ahrišwang is the spirit purifier of the earth, the seed of the waters. Before him Māraspand who is Mānsarspand, the word of Ohrmazd and Ard and Dēn are the inner *xwarrah* of the house. {There is one who says: Ahrišwang, *xwarrah* of heavenly harmony.} Aredwisur and Anāhīd are the father and the mother of the waters. By this collaboration (everything) was arranged during the (Onslaught of) Evil and these spirits, collaborators, watch over the *xwarrah*.

18. *Šašom az mēnōgān Hordād. U-š az dahišn ī gētīg āb ō xwēš padīrift. <U-š> dād ō ayārīh <ud> hamkārīh Tīr ud Wād ud Frawardīn. Čiyōn Tīr Tištar, kū andar Ēbgatīh ān ī āb pad ayārīh <ī> Frawardīn {ast ī <gōwēd> frawahr ī ahlawān} stānēd, mēnōgīhā ō Wād abespārēd ud Wād ān āb tagīhā ō kēšwarīhā rāyēnēd ud widārēd pad abr abzār, abāg hamkārān. Wārēnd.*

18. The sixth among the spirits is Hordād, of material creations he received water for himself. He created for (his) help and assistance Tīr, Wād and Frawardīn. Because Tīr is Tištar, who during the (Onslaught of) Evil takes those waters (to himself), with the help of Frawardīn {there is one who says: the *frawahr*s of the righteous} and entrusts them spiritually to Wād and Wād swiftly assigns and carries those waters to the continents by means of the clouds, together with (his) helpers. (There) they rain.

19. *Haftom az mēnōgān Amurdād. U-š az dahišn ī gētīg urwar ō xwēš padīrift. U-š dād ō ayārīh ud hamkārīh Rašn ud Aštād ud Zam yazad ud sē xwarrah ī ānōh pad *Činwār puhl, kē <andar> Ēbgatīh ruwān ī mardōmān pad nēk ud wad kardan āmārēnd.*

19. The seventh among the spirits is Amurdād. Of material creations he received for himself plants. He created for (his) help and assistance Rašn, Aštād, Zam yazad and the three xwarrahs who are there at the Činwar Bridge, who (during) the (Onslaught of) Evil reckon the soul of men for good and bad actions.

20. *Any amar mēnōg ī dām pad awēšān hamkārīh winnārd ēstēnd, čiyōn ān ī andar spihr ī axtarān rāy nibišt.*

20. Other, innumerable spirits of the creatures have been appointed to their assistance, as it was written for the firmament of the fixed stars.

21. *U-š +rōz-iz ī andar *māhīgān har ēk pad panǰ hangām baxt har hangām-ēw mēnōg-ēw padiš gumārd. Čiyōn bāmdād gāh ī Hāwan mēnōg, nēmrōz gāh ī Rapihwin mēnōg, ēbārag gāh ī Uzērin mēnōg, *xwarōfrān <gāh ī> Ēbsrūsrim mēnōg, ušahin gāh <ī> Ušahin mēnōg xwēšīh dārēnd.*

21. And this also, he divided each day of the month in five periods and assigned a spirit to each period. Thus, dawn is the period which belongs to the spirit Hāwan, midday is the period which belongs to the spirit Rapihwin, evening is the period which belongs to the spirit Uzērin, sunset is the period which belongs to the spirit *Ēbsrūsrim and Ušahin is the period which belongs to the spirit Ušahin.

22. *U-š awēšān-iz pad hamkārīh baxt hēnd, čē-š Hāwan ō Mihr ud Rapihwin ō Ardwahišt <ud> Uzērin ō Burz*

22. He also divided them for assistance, since he assigned Hāwan for assistance to Mihr, Rapihwin to Ardwahišt,

yazad <ud> Ēbsrūsrim ō ahlawān frawahrān ud Wahrām, Ušahin ō Srōš ud Rašn pad hamkārīh winnārd. Čē-š dānist kū ka Ēbgat āyēd rōz pad ēn panǰ hangām baxšīhēd tā pēš ka Ēbgat mad hamēšag nēmrōz būd, ast Rapihwin.

Uzērin to Burz yazad, Ēbsrūsrim to the *frawahr*s of the righteous and to Wahrām, Ušahin to Srōš and Rašn. Because he knew that when the Adversary comes the day will be divided in these five periods, (while) up to the coming of the Adversary it was always midday, which is Rapihwin.

23. *Ohrmazd abāg Amahraspandān pad Rapihwin ⌐gāh¬ mēnōg ī yazišn frāz sāxt ⌐u-š¬ andar yazišn kunišn dām hamāg be dād. Abāg bōy <ud> frawahr ī mardōmān uskārd ud xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh pad mardōmān frāz srūd, guft kū: kadār-tān sūdōmandtar sahēd: ka-tān be ō gētīg brēhēnom ud tanīgardīhā abāg druz be kōxšēd ud druz be abesīhēnēd, ud-tān pad frazām drust ud anōšag abāz wirāyēm, ud-tān abāz ō gētīg dahom hamēīgīhā āmarg <ud> azarmān <ud> abē-hamēmāl bawēd, ayāb-tān hamēīg pānagīh ⌐az¬ Ēbgat abāyēd kardan?*

23. In the period of Rapihwin Ohrmazd, together with the Amahraspands, prepared the spirit of worship, while performing worship he created all creatures. He discussed with the consciousnesses and *frawahr*s of men, chanted forth on the men the wisdom of all-knowledge and said: "Which seems to you more profitable: that I fashion you to the material world and that you fight the demons physically and destroy the demons, that in the end I restore you whole and immortal and that I assign you back to the material world, where you will be eternally immortal, unaging and without opponent or is it (rather) necessary to provide you with eternal protection from Evil?"

24. *U-šān dīd frawahr ī mardōmān pad ān xrad ī harwisp-āgāhīh anāgīh az druz ud ahreman ī andar gētīg padiš rasēd ud abdom abēhamēmālīh az Petyārag ud drust ud +anōšag abāz bawišnīh pad Tan ī Pasēn tā hamē-hamē-rawišnīh rāy pad šudan ⌐ō gētīg ham-dādestān būd¬ hēnd.*

24. And the *frawahr*s of the men, by the wisdom of all-knowledge, saw the evil which would come to them in the material world because of the demons and Ahreman, but on account of the final lack of opposition from the Adversary and the new existence, whole and immortal, in the Future Body, for ever and ever, they agreed to go into the material world.

Apparatus

3.0 *abar*: D inserts cygwn.

3.1 °...° T omits; *hašt*: in D written as 4–80! *čiyōn-iš*: D cygwn. *māhīgān-ēw*: D BYRAyk'n'. *čiyōn*: D omits.

3.2 *frāz*: D omits. *dōysar*: T dw'sl. *buland*: T blg.

3.3 *paymōxt*: D ptmht'. *brāh*: D bl'y.

3.4 *zarrēn*: both mss. ZHByn'. *pēsīd*: T as pyšyt'. *artēštārīh*: T 'ltyšt'l Y. *raftār az*: T lpt'k ME.

3.5 *petyārag*: D ptyd'l. **čē*: both mss. MNW. *pad ēn kū*: D adds MNW. *abzāyēd*: in T written as 'pz't'.

3.6 *az zamān brēhēnīd*: T MN d'm'n blyhynyt; D MNW zm'n' blyhynšnyh. *spihr ud zurwān ī būd nēk baxtīh*: T spyhl Y W zwlwn'k YHWWNt' nywk b'htyh; D spyhl W zwlwn''n YHWHt' bwk b'htyh; further, T presents the erasure of W zwlkw after spyhl Y. *xašēnēn*: T xšyn'. *wāstaryōšīh*: D w'sltlywšyh. *wāstaryōšān*: D 'stlwš'n'. *passazagīh*: T ps'ckyh'.

3.7 **passāxt*: T psht'; D ypsnht'. **dahišn-iz*: T dhšn' Y c; D dhšn' ME. *ān ī šaš*: D W ZK 6. *Ardwahišt*: T 'wrthšt'; D 'wtwhšt'. *Spandarmad*: T spynmt'; D spyn'tmt'. *+asmān*: T 's'm'n; D 'sym'n. **haft*: both mss. 6; The first **pāyag* is written in both mss. as pdy Y. **pāyag*: here and in further occurrences T writes p'dyk and D p'dk consistently throughout the chapter. *xwaršēd ... ēstēd*: D hwlšyt' ... YKOYMWN't'. **haft*: both mss. 6. *nazdist asmān*: T nzdst' 's'm'n. *brāh*: D bl'y.

3.8 *andar*: T omits. *fragand*: T plyknd. *ī andar xānag*: D omits h'nk', thus: T y'mk Y BYN h'nk' hwp LAWHL HNHTWNt', D y'mk Y BYN hwp LAWHL HNHTWNt'.

3.9. *tis tis*: in T *tis* is written only once. **činēnd*: both mss. wcynd. *ka-iz*: T AMT. *nihēnd*: T HNHTWNt', curiously the final -t' is marked with the diacritic for [d].

3.10 *ardīkkarīh*: T 'ltykk'lyh. <*ī*>: T has instead W. *gumārd ud ēstēnīd*: T gwmlt' W 'stynyt: D gwm'lt' W 'st'nyt'. *mad*: D 'mt'. *kōxšišn*: T khššn'.

3.12 *Ohrmazd*: in D followed by APš already found in the text added between the lines. °...° In D added between the lines. *ō xwēs*: D OLE BNPŠE. *ān sē Day*: repeated in D. **Wispešām*: in both manuscripts we have a slightly corrupt form. *kē*: twice in D. After the word *harwisp*, between the lines, D inserts the following phrase: 'k's APš mltwm OL NPŠE OHDWNt'.

3.13 **bazišn*: both mss. bwcšn'. °...° lacuna in T, which only has BRA BYN tn' OŠMEN'yt'. *mīrēnd*: T as AMYTWNd, then corrected. *zamīg*: T omits. *wād*: T as w'yt and above the line nnzt'. *murnǰēnīdan*: T mlwcynytn; D mlwyn'ytn'. *bawād*: T YHWWNyt'.

3.14 *dahišn*: D dhšk'; *Zurwān*: T zwlwn. *Zurwān ī dagrand-xwadāy*: T zw'lwn Y dglnddhwt'd. **bazišn*: both mss. bwcšn'. *tōhmag ī*: D twhmk' W. *padīrift*: T MKBLWNyt. *kū-šān*: D AYK dhšk. *murnǰēnīdan*: both mlwcynytn'. *bawād*: T YHWWNt'.

3.15 *u-š*: D omits. *dahēd*: T YHBWNt'. *Ardwahišt*: T 'r'thšt'. *Wahrām*: T wlhl'my' D wlhl'n'. *Nēryōsang*: T nylwksng; D nyly wsng. *Wahrām*: T wlhl'm D wlhl'n'. *dād*: D YHBWNyt'. *pānagīh*: T p'nk' Y. *azrāwēd*: D mlwpyt'. *Wahrām*: T wlhl'm

D wlhl'n'. *Ardwahišt*: T 'r'thšt. *murnjēnīdan*: T mlwcynyt; D mlwcnyn'ytn'. *tuwān bawād*: T tb'n' YHWWN't.

3.16 *ayārīh*: D hdyyb'lyh. *asmān*: T 's'm'n'. [*Aredwisur*]: both mss. as 'lkywswl. *az asmān*: D MN 'sym'n. *gōhr [ī]*: in D followed by ZYGN (so according to the diacritics marked in the ms.), possibly an erroneous anticipation of the ZHBAyn' found in the following line. *āyōxšustēn*: D 'ywkšwst. *pēsīd*: T pyst'; D pysyt'. *ayōxšust*: T BYN khšwst'. *tuwān bawād*: T tb'n' YHWWN't.

3.17 *Spandarmad*: T spynnmt'. *dahišn ī*: D dhšnyh. **Ahrišwang*: T 'lhšwng; D as 'lššwng. *Aredwisur*: both 'lkywswl. *ud Anāhīd*: T Y W 'n'hyt'; D W 'n'hyt'. **Ahrišwang*: T 'šwng; D 'šwngg. *Mānsarspand*: T mhrspnd. *kē*: D MN. **Ahrišwang*: T as 'lššwng; D as 'lššng. *wahištīg*: T 'štyt. *Aredwisur*: T 'ldwswl; D 'lkywswl. *ēbgatīh*: D 'hbgt''. *ēstēd*: T YKOYMWNd. *nigāh dārēnd*: T Y nk's YHSNNd; D KBDyh YHYTWNd.

3.18 *u-š az*: T omits MN. *gētīg*: T gytyk'n. *Frawardīn*: T plwltdyn'. *stānēd*: T as YNSPWNp. *mēnōgīhā*: T mynwyh. *tagīhā*: T tgkyh'. *wārēnd*: D wyn'lynd.

3.19 *dahišn ī*: D dhšyh. *padīgrift*: T MKBLWNt'; D ptglpt. *Zam yazad*: T zmyzdt'; D z'myzdt'. *Činwār puhl*: T cynw'l pwl; D cynk'l pwhl. *mardōmān*: T mltwh'n.

3.20 *amar*: T omits.

3.21 *+rōz-iz*: both mss. ZNEc. **māhīgān*: written in both mss. as mdy'nk'n. *gumārd*: T gwmlt'. *nēmrōz gāh ī*: D omits g's Y. *Ēbārag*: D as 'syp'lk. *Uzērin*: T 'wz'lyn'. **xwarōfrān*: T 'p't'y'p'n'; D 'p'ty'p'n'; the readings of both mss. would suggest **abādyāwān. ušahin gāh <ī> Ušahin mēnōg*: T 'wšh'n Y g's 'wšhyn' Y mynwk; D 'wšh'n' g's.

3.22 *baxt*: D HLKWt. *Ardwahišt*: T 'r'thšt. *Uzērin*: T 'wz'lyn'. *Burz*: T blc. *Ēbsrūsrim*: D 'yypslwkslm. *frawahrān*: T omits. *hamkārīh*: T hmk'lk. *ka*: IB MNW. *rōz*: T ZNE. *hamēšag*: IB hwmyšk. *Rapihwin*: D lptpyn'. *ast*: IB AYT Y.

3.23 *mēnōg ī yazišn*: IB mynwk ycšn. *sāxt*: T as sht. *harwisp-āgāhīh*: D, K and M hlwsp 'k's. *srūd*: D and IB YBLWNt'. *kadār-tān*: T kt'ltyn'; IB kt'l ZYt'n. *sūdōmandtar*: T swt'ndtl. *ka-tān*: D AMT' OD; IB MNWt'n. *brēhēnom*: IB YHBWNm. *tanīgardīhā*: IB tn'krtkyh'. *kōxšēd*: IB kwšt. *abesīhēnēd*: T 'psyhynyt'; D 'pshynyt'; IB 'psynyt. *drust*: repeated in T. *anōšāg*: T 'nšk'. *wirāyēm*: T wylym; IB wyl'dynm. *ud-tān*: IB adds PWN plc'm. *hamēīgīhā*: IB hmkyh'. *azarmān*: T omits. *abē-hamēmāl*: IB 'pyyptyd'lk. *hamēīg*: IB hmyšk.

3.24 *u-šān dīd*: IB omits TWB. *frawahr ī mardōmān*: M ptyd'l Y mytwkht. *harwisp-āgāhīh*: IB hlwsp 'k's. *abēhamēmālīh*: K 'pyyhm'mll; M 'pyyhmym'l. *+anōšag*: both mss. 'nšk'; IB 'nwkšk. *bawišnīh*: K YHWWNtn'; M bwtn'. *hamē-hamē-rawišnīh*: T hm'ylwbšnyh; K hm'y hm'k lwbšnyh. *ō gētīg hamdādestān*: GB omits. *šudan hēnd*: T OZLWNtn' Y HWEd; IB YHWWNt HWEd.

Commentary

3.1 Compare *Bundahišn* 1, 2.[5] *čiyōn ēk nām [ī] ēk gāh ud ēk dēn ud ēk zamān kē hamē būd hēnd*. The presence of *čiyōn* in initial position makes the meaning clear, excluding both the interpretation given by ZAEHNER: "... who have one

5 CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, pp. 32–33.

name: one is Space, one Religion, and one Time: they have always existed",[6] and the one by Nyberg: "Par le fait qu'il attribua son propre nom à quatre places dans le mois, Ormuzd est identique à ces trois Daδv quant au nom, au rang, à la religion et au temps – car ils ont toujours esisté".[7]

3.3f. Compare the passage found in *Dēnkard* III, 192 (B [158].17ff., DkM 203.16ff., where four different instruments created by Ohrmazd in Limited Time are presented. Among these are priesthood *(āsrōnīh)* and warriorhood *(artēštārīh)*.[8]

3.4 This passage has been discussed in detail by Rossi within an article studying the perception of colours in the Iranian world and Central Asia.[9] *Way ī weh ǰamag <ī> zarrēn <ud> sēmēn <ud> gōhr pēsīd ud algōnagān <ud> was rang paymōxt*. The only doubtful word is *algōnagān*, which has been read differently by different authors. In the critical passage both mss. read **gwhl pysyt' W 'lgwnk'n KBD lng**; differently from Bahar and Rossi,[10] who suggest *wālgōnag*, on the evidence of NP *wālguna,* a rare term mainly attested in the sense of a red or white fard used by women,[11] I prefer to maintain the reading originally proposed by Nyberg,[12] on the parallel of NP *ālġuna*, *ālguna*, *alguna*[13] all to be led back to NP *āl* "red". However, both readings are justified and the fact that the conjunction *ud* is omitted in all other cases in this phrase, might argue in favour of *wālgōnag*. The reading *argawān*, originally suggested by Henning,[14] provides good sense, since NP *aryawān* is well attested both as the name of the Judas Tree (Cercis siliquastrum) and with the meaning "red, red tending to purple or dark red",[15] but does not correspond to the spelling found in the mss. On §4 cf. also Wikander.[16]

3.5 *čē-š dād spennāg mēnōg čē-iz gannāg mēnōg pad ēn kū ardīg sar be kunēd*. The passage is quite difficult and the interpretation not entirely clear, especially as regards the syntactical function of **čē-iz*. On the other hand, it seems impossible to interpret the phrase as "both that created by Spennāg Mēnōg and that created by Gannāg Mēnōg as does MacKenzie (typescript), since in this

6 Zaehner 1955, p. 333.
7 Nyberg 1929, p. 229. On the Zoroastrian month see recently Raffaelli 2004, pp. 33–42.
8 Cf. De Menasce 1973, pp. 198–200, Zaehner 1937–1939, pp. 303–307 and, limitedly to the paragraph on *Way*, Wikander 1941, p. 186. On §3 see also Wikander 1941, pp. 17–18.
9 Rossi 1996, see esp. pp. 88–90, with earlier bibliography. Cf. Widengren 1938, pp. 207, 210 and 247–248.
10 Bahar 1345 [1966], p. 375, Rossi 1996, pp. 96–97.
11 BQ IV, p. 2203.
12 Nyberg 1929, p. 295.
13 Cf. Dehxodā, I, pp. 144–145; II, p. 2779.
14 Henning *apud* Zaehner 1955, p. 326.
15 Cf. Dehxodā, II, pp. 1579–1580, BQ I, p. 107.
16 Wikander 1941, pp. 18–19.

context this would imply an almost "Manichean" vision of the cosmogony. The subject of the following sentence is also unclear, though the context seems to imply that it should be Way, which again would be contrary to the general view of the end of time as expressed in other Zoroastrian texts. Part of this passage is a paraphrase of Yt. 15,44.[17]

3.6 *az zamān brēhēnīd spihr ud *zurwān <ī> būd nēk baxtīh*. Both mss. present some difficulties in this passage, which could, at least according to TD_1, also be read *spihr ī [ud] *zurwān/zurwānāg <ī> būd nēk baxtīh*: "the firmament of *Zurwān/Zurwānāg, which was good fortune". The chosen reading justified, in my opinion, by the comparison between the two mss. differs quite radically from those proposed by NYBERG and ZAEHNER,[18] thus leading to a quite different translation. See also the comments proposed by ZAEHNER,[19] though his reading, based on the parallel with *Dēnkard* 3.365 (B [269].7–9, DkM 350.1–3),[20] is not convincing. Note also the distinction between "time" *(zamān)* and the deity Zurwān.[21]

3.7 The spheres in Pahlavi literature have been dealt with by HENNING, who also adopted the translation "fixed star" for *axtar*.[22] This passage is best understood if compared with *Bundahišn* ch. 2.[23] There, however, only six spheres are listed and the clouds, the wind and the lightning fire are placed between the lower sphere and the earth. Notably, though seven spheres are listed in our text, the total number is erroneously given as six, probably on the parallel of the text found in chap. 2.

3.8 For *frāz griftan* cf. NP. *farāz gereftan* (MACKENZIE, typescript).

3.12 In ZAEHNER's opinion this paragraph is clearly Mazdean, as is shown by the position of Zurwān, depicted as an inferior deity who helps Wahman.[24] On the Amahraspands one can consult GRAY's book and BOYCE's article in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*.[25] As is well known in the Avesta three Amahraspands are neuter in gender and three are feminine, but in Pahlavi literature the only one to be clearly characterized as a feminine deity is Spandarmad (cf. i.a. PR 8a2, 8a4), while Hordād and Amurdād "came to be regarded as masculine beings".[26]

3.13 On Zoroastrian anthropology in the Pahlavi books BAILEY's work is still unsurpassed.[27] Compare also the description of the human being found in

17 See NYBERG 1929, pp. 295–296.
18 NYBERG 1929, pp. 230–231, ZAEHNER 1955, pp. 322 and 333.
19 ZAEHNER 1955, p. 326.
20 On which see also DE MENASCE 1973, p. 330.
21 On the philosophical notion of time *(zamān)*, see most recently GIGNOUX 2003, note also his brief discussion of the term *zamānag*, which may provide a parallel to *zurwānāg*, GIGNOUX 2003, pp. 121–122.
22 See HENNING 1942, pp. 239–240 and 232, n. 3 respectively.
23 Cf. HENNING 1942.
24 ZAEHNER 1955, p. 336.
25 GRAY 1929, pp. 16–55 and BOYCE 1985.
26 BOYCE 1975, p. 206.

WZād chaps 29 and 30. In particular see WZād 30,3: *tanīg sē ī ast tanīgardīg ud ābīg ud wādīg* "Three are the corporeal ones: the corporal, the watery and the windy"; 30, 22: *gyānīg sē ī ast gyān, bōy, frawahr*, "three are the ghostly ones: ghost, perception and *frawahr*"; 30, 36–37: *dahišnīg sē: wīr xwahēd, ōš pāyēd ud xrad wizīnēd; ruwānīg sē ī ast ruwān ī andar tan, ruwān ī bērōn, ruwān ī pad mēnōgān axwan*, "three created: the mind which enquires, the intelligence which preserves, the wisdom which discerns; three are those related to the soul: the soul which is in the body, the soul which is outside (the body) and the soul which is in the existence of the spirits".[28] On *ēwēnag* cf. also WZād 30, 43 *pas āmār ī *Stōš Nēryōsang frēstag be ayēd gyān, bōy, frawahr ud ruwān ī Astwihād, Way ī wattar <ud> abārīg margēnīdārān frāz āšuft <ud> az ham-zōrīh be wisānd abāz ō ēk passāzēd ud +čihrag ud +ēwēnag be winnārēd* ... "Thereafter the envoy Nēryōsang will come for the reckoning of stōš. He will reunite ghost, perception, *frawahr* and soul, which Astwihād, the worse Way and other destroyers had troubled and divided by joint strength, and will organize the appearance and form ..." For *frawahr*, *ruwān* and *gyān* see most recently Gignoux.[29] *kū-šān ruwān murnǰēnīdan nē tuwān bawād*. Here and in the similar passage found in § 14 both mss. have *-šān*. Nonetheless, the parallel with § 15 may suggest emending to **dēwān*.[30]

3.14 *u-š gōspand pad panǰ bazišn frāz brēhēnīd tan ud gyān <ud> ruwān <ud> ēwēnāg <ud> mēnōg*. In my opinion there can be no doubt that the divinity who creates the various collaborators, here and in the following paragraphs, is Ohrmazd. A different interpretation has been proposed by Gignoux: "Wahman [...] created animals *(gōspand)* in five parts: body, vital soul *(gyān)*, eschatological soul *(ruwān)*, prototype *(ēwēn)*, and spirit *(mēnōg)*".[31] Moreover, it is worthwhile underlining a terminological divergence with the 1st chapter of the *Bundahišn*: while there we find the names *zamān ī akanārag* and *zamān ī dagrand-xwadāy* (cf. Bd. 1, 39, but also 3, 2), here we have *zurwān ī akanārag* and *zurwān ī dagrand-xwadāy* respectively. Though conscious of this difference, I have chosen to translate these terms with "Infinite Time" and "Time of long dominion" respectively, as was done in our recent edition of the 1st chapter.[32] Curiously, nothing is said about the fate of the vital soul at the moment of death of an animal. It might be remembered that in the case of man, it joins the *frawahr* to escape destruction.

27 Bailey 1943, pp. 78–119, q.v. also for his translation of *u-š mardōm ... ohrmazd xwadāy* (p. 92) and for the terms *tan*, *bōy* and *ēwēnag* (pp. 96–98). On specific themes see now Gignoux 2001.

28 Cf. Bailey 1943, pp. 104–108.

29 Gignoux 2001, pp. 16–20, 20–23 and 26–28, cf. also Shaked 1994, pp. 142–145.

30 On § 13 see also Sohn 1996, p. 18, n. 31.

31 Gignoux 2001, p. 12, n. 10.

32 Cereti/MacKenzie 2003.

3.17 *ast kē *ahrišwang gōwēd xwarrah ī wahištīg ardāyīh.* This reading, found in TD1, provides much better sense than NYBERG's and ZAEHNER's[33] interpretations, both based on a hypothetical: *az *ahrišwang gōwēd xwarrah ī wahištīg ardāyīh*, supported by DH and implying a different division into sentences, which they respectively translate: "d'Aršišvang dérive, comme il est dit (dans la religion révélée) la splendeur de la piété qui fait gagner le paradis" and "Of Aršišvang it is said 'She is the glory (x^{v}arr) of heaven, even righteousness'." *ud wād ān āb tagīhā ō kišwarīhā rāyēnēd ud widārēd pad abr abzār abāg hamkārān wārēnd.* The word order is not precisely as it should be, and the final verb lacks a subject. Alternatively, a possible solution would be to divide the sentence and emend its final part to *abāg hamkārān *wārēnēnd* "(Wād) with (his) collaborators make them (i.e. the clouds) rain". In fact, the readings found in TD$_1$: **w'lynd**, and in DH: **wyn'lynd**, *winnārēnd*, when compared, could suggest the improvement of *wārēnd* to **wārēnēnd*. Otherwise, accepting DH's reading one should translate "(Wād) and (his) collaborators arrange them".

3.19 *Zam yazad*: the form found in TD$_1$: **zmyzdt'**, is probably the more ancient one, while the form **z'myzdt'** found in DH seems influenced by a conventional transcription from Avestan, which has ultimatedly led to the Pahl. *Zamyād* and to Pāz. *Zamiiāṯ* found in the title of Yt. 19, a secondary form deriving from an erroneous re-interpretation of an original *zam yazad*, an explanation which must underlie BARTHOLOMAE's *zam yazat yašt*[34] and which is also suggested by MACKENZIE.[35] Notably the *Sīh-rōzag* preserves the formula *zəmō huδāŋhō yazatahe* (*Sr* 1) or *ząm huδāŋhəm yazatəm* (*Sr* 2) both rendered by MP *zamīg ī hudā yazad*.[36]

3.20 Cf. *Bundahišn* 2, 3ff.

3.21 *xwarōfrān*. The emendation is only tentative, both manuscripts suggest **abādyāwān* possibly to be improved to **abādyāwand* "powerless, weak", for which cf. also the JP spelling **'p'dywn**,[37] with reference to the period of the day leading to midnight, when the *dēw*s grow most powerful and, consequently, the powers of good grow weaker.

3.22–24 The *Indian Bundahišn* presents the following text, which represents the only part of chapter 3 attested in this version:

> *tā pēš kē Ēbgat mad *hamēšag* [both hwmyšk] *nēmrōz būd {ast ī Rapihwin <guft>}. Ohrmazd abāg Amahraspandān* [M$_{51}$ 'mš'spnd'n] *Rapihwin gāh mēnōg*

33 NYBERG 1929, p. 235, ZAEHNER 1955, pp. 323–335.

34 BARTHOLOMAE 1904, p. 1665.

35 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 98, s.v. *zāmyād*, though marked by an ['] the /a/ in the first syllable should be short, cf. CERETI 2005, p. 239. The reported MMP *z'my'd* is not listed in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004. On the subject see also HINTZE 1994, pp. 45–49, with earlier bibliography, who proposes a different explanation, and PANAINO 1997, p. 65.

36 Cf. RAFFAELLI 2004, p. 364.

37 MACKENZIE 1971, p. 2.

yazišn frāz sāxt. U-š andar yazišn abzār-ēw <ī> pad zadan ī petyārag andar abāyēd be dād. Abāg bōy [K_{20} BRA] *<ud> frawahr ī mardōmān uskārd ud xrad ī harwisp-āgāh pad mardōmān frāz dād, guft kū: kadār ī-tān* [so both] *sūdōmandtar sahēd, kē-tān be ō gētīg dahōm* [+]*tanīgardīhā* [both tn'krtkyh'] *abāg druz be kušt ud druz be* [+]*abesīhēnēd* [both 'psynyt] *u-tān pad frazām drust ud anōšag abāz wirāyēm* [both wyl'dynm] *u-tān pad frazām abāz ō gētīg dahom* [+]*hamēīhā* [both hmkyh'] *amarg <ud> azarmān abē-petyārag bawēd, ayāb-tān hamēšag pānāgīh az Ēbgat abāyēd kardan? Did frawahr* [M_{51} ptyd'l] *ī mardōmān* [M_{51} mytwkht] *pad ān xrad* [M_{51} omits] *ī* [M_{51} omits] *harwisp-āgāh anāgīh az druz <ud>* [M_{51} Y] *Ahreman andar gētīg padiš āyēd ud abdom abē-hamēmāl* [K_{20} 'pyyhm'mll] *Petyārag drust ud anōšag abāz būdan ī pad Tan <ī> Pasēn hamē-hamē-*[K_{20} hm'k]*-rawišnīh rāy* [K_{20} LA] *pad šudan ō gētīg hamdādestān būd hēnd.*

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DH — *The Codex DH. Being a Facsimile Edition of Bondahesh, Zand-e Vohuman Yasht and Parts of Denkard.* Teheran 1970 (Iranian Culture Foundation 89).

K_{20} — *The Pahlavi Codices K20 and K20b.* Copenhagen 1931 (Codices Avestici et Pahlavici Bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis, vol. 1).

M_{51} — Manuscript belonging to the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cf. Chr. Bartholomae: *Die Zendhandschriften der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek in München.* München 1915, pp. 38–72.

TD_1 — *The Bondahesh. Being a Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript TD1.* Teheran 1970 (Iranian Culture Foundation 88).

TD_2 — *The Bûndahishn. Being a Facsimile of the TD Manuscript No. 2 brought from Persia by Dastur Tîrandâz and now preserved in the late Ervad Tahmuras' Library.* Ed. by T. D. Anklesaria. Bombay 1908.

Abbreviations

B — Manuscript B of the *Dēnkard*: M. J. Dresden: *Dēnkard. A Pahlavi Text. Facsimile Edition of the Manuscript B of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Bombay.* Wiesbaden 1966.

Bd. — *Bundahišn*: see Anklesaria 1956.

BQ — see Mo'in 1979.

Dehxodā — see Mo'in/Shahidi 1993–1994.

DkM — *Dēnkard Madan*: D. M. Madan: *The complete text of the Pahlavi Dinkart.* 2 vols. Bombay 1911.

PR — *Pahlavi Rivāyat Accompanying the Dādestān ī Dēnīg*: see Williams 1990.

Sr — *Sīh-rōzag*: see Raffaelli 2004.

WZād — *Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*: Ph. Gignoux/A. Tafazzoli: *Anthologie de Zādspram.* Paris 1993 (StIr, Cahier 13).

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The *Maitrī-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa*

A Chinese Parallel to the Third Chapter of the *Book of Zambasta*

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Almost forty years ago, the late Professor Ronald E. Emmerick emphasized the special importance of the *Book of Zambasta* for the study of Khotanese and published his edition and English translation of the text.[1] Since the publication of his brilliant translation, however, students of Khotanese used to rely more on his translation than to think of any modification, as I can tell from my own experience. Years passed before I realized that a Chinese translation of the *Book of Zambasta* might be useful for the study of Buddhist history in China. The usefulness of such a translation became apparent as soon as I completed the translation of the third chapter of the *Book of Zambasta* (= Z 3). After hearing about it, Chang Lei 常蕾, now a Ph.D. student at the Department of Sanskrit and Pāli of Peking University, pointed out to me the existence of a similar text in Chinese. I can now confirm that a complete Chinese parallel of Z 3 is present in the Taishō edition of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka* with the title *Da fangguang fo huayan jing xiuci fen* 大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分 (*Maitrī-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa (Exposition of the cultivation of loving kindness) of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*, one scroll = *MB*).[2] Three fragments from at least two manuscripts of *MB* are also preserved among the Chinese manuscripts from Dunhuang.[3]

1 Emmerick 1968a (see esp. p. vii). In this article the *Book of Zambasta* is quoted after Emmerick's edition and translation unless otherwise indicated (but original punctuation signs and verse numbers are omitted). I am grateful to Mauro Maggi for comments on a preliminary version of this article and to Antonello Palumbo (London), who suggested a number of improvements especially to my English translation of the Chinese *Maitrī-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa*.

2 *T.* 10, pp. 959–961, no. 306. The very short *Shiyi xiang sinian rulai jing* 十一想思念如來經 (*Maitrī-bhāvanā*, 1 scroll, *T.* 2, p. 861, no. 138) is a different text.

3 See Giles 1957, p. 186 (S. 5970). The fragments are reproduced in *DHBZ*, vol. 44, under the signature 斯五九七〇 (S 5970). The photograph above shows two fragments: the first one contains the beginning of *MB* corresponding to *T.* 10, p. 959.1–2; the second one is a small fragment with twelve legible lines corresponding to *T.* 10, p. 960.2–3. The photograph below reproduces a third fragment with twelve broken lines that partly overlaps with the second one. The fragments do not provide any interesting variant readings.

MB was translated into Chinese by the Khotanese monk *Tiyunbanruo* 提雲般若, whose original Sanskrit name can be reconstructed as **Devendraprajña*, as discussed in depth by ANTONINO FORTE[4]. There are several records about Devendraprajña in Chinese Buddhist literature, according to which he lived at the time of Empress Wu Zetian 武則天 of the Tang dynasty. He came to Luoyang, the so-called Divine Capital (*Shen Du* 神都), around AD 688–689, met Empress Wu Zetian in the year 689 and stayed in the monastery called *Weiguo dongsi* 魏國東寺 (Eastern Weiguo Monastery) under the order of the empress, where he was engaged in translation together with the "Ten Monks of Great Virtue *(bhadanta)*" (*shi dade* 十大德). He translated *MB* in 691.[5] There is no record about the year of his death. That he did not live very long in Luoyang can be surmised on the basis of the fact that he brought with him about a hundred Sanskrit manuscripts to Luoyang, but he translated only six not very long texts.[6] Although the works Devendraprajña left are not numerous, it is to him that, in the absence of the Sanskrit original, we owe the only extant version of *MB* besides the Khotanese one.

Though the various chapters of the *Book of Zambasta* form a single composition which is the longest poem in the extant Khotanese literature, some of them are or are likely to be, wholly or in part, translations or recastings of originally independent texts. In the case of *Z* 3, the identification of the Chinese parallel throws new light on the Khotanese text in several respects.

Comparison of the two versions suggests that the text underwent modifications in the process of translation into Khotanese. *Z* 3.18, for instance, has merely *balysi* 'Buddha', while the corresponding Chinese passage refers to the Buddha with the epithets 如來應正等覺 'Tathāgata, Arhat, Saṃyaksaṃbuddha'. Likewise, *Z* 3.45 lists only *viysa upala kumuda pharu* 'many lotuses, blue and white', whereas the Chinese version has the longer list 波頭摩花、優鉢羅花、拘物頭花、分陀利花 '*padma*s, *utpala*s, *kumuda*s, *puṇḍarīka*s (i.e., traditionally: red, blue, yellow and white lotuses)'. Since *Z* 3 is a metrical rendering of a Sanskrit original that was presumably in prose like the Chinese *MB*, it is possible that the omission of the epithets and the shorter list of lotuses were decided by

4 See FORTE 1979, pp. 289–290.

5 See *Da zhou kanding zhongjing mulu* 大周刊定衆經目錄 (*T.* 55, no. 2153), a catalogue of 695, where it is recorded that "*MB* was translated in the second year of Tianshou 天授 (= AD 691) in the *Dazhou dongsi* 大周東寺 (Eastern Dazhou Monastery)" (p. 865.3: 大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分一卷，天授二年於大周東寺譯。).

6 Besides *MB*, there are the *Da fangguang fo huayan jing bu siyi fo jingjie fen* 大方廣佛華嚴經不思議佛境界分 (*Acintya-viśaya-prakaraṇa of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*, one scroll, *T.* 10, no. 300), the *Zhiju tuoluoni jing* 智炬陀羅尼經 (*Jñānolkādhāraṇī-sūtra*, one scroll, *T.* 21, no. 1397), the *Zhufo jihui tuoluoni jing* 諸佛集會陀羅尼經 (*Sarva-buddhāṅgavatīdhāraṇī*, one scroll, *T.* 21, no. 1346), the *Foshuo dasheng zaoxiang gongde jing* 佛說大乘造像功德經 (*Tathāgatapratibimbapratiṣṭhānuśaṃsā*, 2 scrolls, *T.* 16, no. 694) and the *Dasheng fajie wuchabie lun* 大乘法界無差別論 (*Mahāyāna-dharmadhātu-nirviśeṣa-śāstra*, one scroll, *T.* 31, no. 1626).

the Khotanese translator in order to meet the exigencies of metre, though amplification in the Chinese text cannot be excluded.

Because the Chinese *MB* was translated by a Khotanese monk, one might expect a direct relationship between the two versions. In reality, comparison of the Chinese and Khotanese texts reveals that this is not the case, however close they are. Although the *Book of Zambasta* was composed no later than the fifth century,[7] so that the Khotanese translation of *MB* did already exist in Khotan before Devendraprajña came to Luoyang, it may be taken for granted that his Chinese translation of the text is not based on the extant Khotanese one. In fact, the original text on which the translation was conducted was probably in Sanskrit. The dissimilarities in the way of expression noticed in the two versions speak for free translations uninfluenced by each other. Suffice it to point to a couple of obvious differences. For one thing, the two versions are at variance in the arrangement of the text. For instance, the Chinese passage corresponding to *Z* 3.78–79 is followed by the equivalents of *Z* 3.95ab, 94, 82, 80–81, 83, 98–99, 84–86, 96cd, 100ab, 104, 101–103. On the other hand, short portions of text are missing in one version or have been added to the other one. I noticed, for instance, that *Z* 3.95cd and a number of other Khotanese passages have no parallel in the Chinese text. See the translation below for further details and examples.

The text of the Chinese *MB*, though not very long, is also of interest for the study of Chinese grammar, since it can be observed that special characters were chosen in order to achieve a more distinctive expression of the nominative and accusative cases of the Sanskrit original. But this will be the topic of another paper. In the following pages, before offering a translation of *MB* with facing Chinese text, I would like to focus on *Z* 3 and the improvements in interpretation that have been made possible by the discovery of the Chinese parallel.

> *Z* 3.14
> *mulśde ṣṣäṇaumä cu tä näśtä jiṅga kari*
> *sañi te ṣä daśtä cu tä rūvä daindä gyaḍa*
>
> Emmerick: 'By your compassion is the favour that there is no disappearance of you at all. It is this skilful expedient of yours that the ignorant see your form.'
>
> *MB*: 而大悲無盡，以善方便，令諸凡夫見佛色身微妙之相。 'However, so endless is [your] great compassion that with skilful means you make the worldlings see the excellent marks of the body of the Buddha *(buddha-rupakāya)*.'

The first hemistich was also translated by Bailey: 'the pity, favour which for you has no end at all';[8] and 'favour (dyadic) which never fails in you'.[9] The problem lies in the syntactic function of *cu*, which can be either a conjunction or a relative pronoun. However, the meaning of the verse can be ascertained

7 See Maggi 2004.
8 Bailey 1967, p. 351.
9 Bailey 1979, p. 409.

by means of the Chinese version, which makes it clear that it is the compassion of the Buddha that is endless and cannot disappear. Accordingly, *cu* must be interpreted as a relative pronoun in both hemistichs: 'It is the favour of [your] compassion which has no disappearance in you at all. It is this skilful expedient of yours which the ignorant see as your physical body'.[10] This interpretation is confirmed by the syntactic structure of the parallel hemistich *Z* 3.15ab with its unambiguous relative pronoun (see below).

Z 3. 15
bvāmata balysa *kyau padaṃdātä biśu*
ttatvatu ttrāmu *samu kho ātāśä uhu*

EMMERICK: 'It is your wisdom, Buddha, that has fashioned everything. In reality, you are like the sky.'

MB: 佛身者，般若波羅蜜之所成就，自然真實，常住不變，猶如虛空。 'The body of the Buddha is accomplished through the *prajñāpāramitā* – self-existing, true, constant, immutable, like the empty sky.'

The Chinese version suggests that the direct object of *padaṃdātä* 3 sg. pf. tr. f. 'has fashioned' is not *biśu* 'everything', but the Buddha himself. Thus, I consider that *kyau* results from the contraction of *kye* rel. pron.[11] + *-ū* encl. 2 pl. pron. 'you' (direct object). On the other hand, *biśu* may be regarded as an adjective 'whole' or as an adverb 'wholly'. The exact parallelism of the three sentences in *Z* 3.14–15ab underlines the three essential qualities of the Buddha: compassion (Skt. *karuṇā*), skilful expedients (Skt. *upāya*) and wisdom (Skt. *prajñā*). Accordingly, the first hemistich should be translated: 'It is [your] wisdom, Buddha, which has fashioned you wholly.'

Z 3.33
ttrāmä ṣä ātāśä *kho ṣei nätcana samu*
anantu ūvāśu *panye yīndä pharu*

EMMERICK: 'Such is this space that it makes much, endless freedom for everyone outside.'

MB: 是諸虛空，莫不悉以容受為相。 'There is not one of these spaces which does not have the appearance of capacity.'

The Khotanese adverb and conjunction *kho* means 'as, like; how; so that; when'. EMMERICK's translation 'such ... that' is in principle correct and yields an ac-

10 An alternative interpretation 'Compassion is the favour of which there is no disappearance in you at all' is impossible because *mulśde* cannot be a nominative in Old Khotanese despite BAILEY's translation (see EMMERICK 1968b, p. 290).

11 Though *cu* is preferred for non-living things and *kye* for living beings, *kye* refers here to *bvāmatā* which, judging from the Chinese version, renders Skt. *prajñā(pāramitā)*. The use of *kye* with reference to concepts such as *bvāmatā* is otherwise attested and may be due to stylistic reasons.

ceptable sense. However, the Chinese version suggests a different interpretation, though it does not correspond closely. In the two verses that precede v. 33 it is said that, when meditating, one has to imagine that one's body is made of atoms and that there is space in them. V. 33 describes this space by means of a comparison, which is espressed by the words *trrāmä ... kho* 'such ... as' as usual,[12] and assimilates the space in the atoms inside one's body to the endless space outside *(nätcana)*. Therefore, the verse should be translated as follows: 'Such is this space as it is outside: it makes much endless room *(avakāśa)* for everyone'.

Z 3.73
ṣä ttye varāysä cu rro narya tsīmä aysu
ttäna mä paśśāñi vī——ä aysmūna ysurri

EMMERICK: 'This is the consequence of it: because I too will go to hell, therefore I must give up hostility, wrath in mind.'

MB: 若我來世受斯報者，當令彼人深快其意，故應舍離所有瞋恚怨結之心。'If I receive this retribution in my future existences, I must see that that man is deeply pleased. Therefore I must give up all wrath and hatred in my mind.'

The Chinese version is helpful in understanding better the meaning of the rare Khotanese word *varāysä* in the present context. The substantive *varāysa-* (< Old Iranian **ava-rāz-a*) occurs only here and in a similar context in *Z* 2.205, and is connected with the verb *varāś-* 'to experience, enjoy, eat, drink'[13] (< OIr. **ava-rāz-aya*).[14] Accordingly, it was translated 'experience' by BAILEY and, in *Z* 2.205, also by EMMERICK, 'Erfahrung' by DEGENER and, with a slight semantic shift, 'consequence' by EMMERICK in the passage under consideration. That the general meaning of *varāysa* is 'experience' is beyond doubt. However, the Chinese clause 當令彼人深快其意 'I must see that that man is deeply pleased', which corresponds to Kh. *ṣä ttye varāysä*, makes it clear that here the word has the sense of 'enjoyment', which is in line with one of the senses of the verb *varāś-*. The verse can be translated thus: 'It will be an enjoyment for him that I too will go to hell. Therefore I must give up hostility, wrath in mind.'

Z 3.141
ku buro vikalpa hīvyauṣce saindi härа
vari buru maitra kṣä'-padya brahmä puña

EMMERICK: 'Whenever things appear as *vikalpa*s, appropriations, there is love, the sixfold *(pāramitā)*, the *brahma(-vihāra)*s, merits.'

MB: 此修慈者，乃至未能離於分別，未能不起我我所見，常得六種梵天之福。'Those who cultivate loving kindness, even if they cannot get free from discrimination

12 The correlation of *tr(r)āma* 'such, so' and *kho* 'as' also expresses a comparison in e.g. *Z* 3.8, 15, 35, 37, 48 (2×), 49, 65, 89, 101–102, 130, 131, 132, 137 (2×), 140.

13 See BAILEY 1979, p. 377 s.v. *varāś-*.

14 See BAILEY 1979, p. 377 s.v. *varāysa-*, and DEGENER 1989, pp. 3 and 11; cf. EMMERICK 1968b, pp. 119–120.

(vikalpa), even if they cannot but arouse the views of self and appropriations, will always receive the sixfold merits of a Brahma-god.'

Chin. 乃至 *nai zhi* 'even if' suggests that the corresponding Kh. *ku buro* can also mean 'even when, even if' and that *ku buro* and *vari buru* are correlated. The Chinese version also shows that EMMERICK's supplements *pāramitā* and *vihāra* in the translation are unnecessary. The verse can be translated as follows: 'Even if *vikalpa*s, appropriations appear as things, even so there are [the meditation on] loving kindness, the [consequent] sixfold merits of Brahma *(brahma-puṇya)*.'[15]

Z 3.144
brrī brītye hvą'ndä käḍe

EMMERICK: 'Through the affection of a very affectionate man, ...'

MB: 為一切人之所愛敬。 'They will be loved by everybody.'

EMMERICK separates this pāda from the first three pādas of the verse and joins it to v. 145. Though instances of enjambment are not rare, the Chinese version shows that this is not the case here and that Kh. *brrī*, to *bria-* 'beloved, dear', does not agree with *hvą'ndä* gen.-dat. sg., but has to be understood as a nom. sg. masc., which gives the following general statement: 'Through love one is very dear to a man.'

As a final remark, I would like to mention that comparison with the Chinese version makes it possible, in at least one case, to spot a copying mistake that presumably crept into the manuscript tradition of *Z*.

Z 3.53
vasuta skutäna buśśä 'pure to the touch, [pure] in smell'.

MB: 其身柔軟，常有香氣。 'Their body is soft and always fragrant.'

Judging from the Chinese version there seems to be a mistake in the Khotanese translation because one would expect *nauna* 'soft' instead of *vasuta* 'pure': **nauna skutäna buśśä* 'soft to the touch, [gentle] in smell'. That *nauna* – whose senses 'soft; gentle' can refer to both touch and smell (cf. below *Z* 3.89–91) – has to be substituted for the metrically equivalent *vasuta* is confirmed by the fact that softness and fragrant smell also occur together in *Z* 3.37 *buśśāre gyastūñi nauna skutäna käḍe* 'They smell divinely. They are very soft to the touch' and *Z* 3.49 *nonäka skutena samu kho gyastūñi ttanä ttrāmu buśśāre kho ju uraggasārä bū*' 'Soft to the touch like divine skin, they so smell as the scent of sandalwood'. The interchange between *nauna* 'soft' and *vasuta* 'pure' was presumably due to the presence of softness and purity together with splendour and fragrance in the list of the standard qualities of pure Buddha-lands that is also found in e.g. *Z* 3.89–91 *naunika skutäna samu kho gyastūña ttanä ggūnäna*

15 I.e. meritorious acts bringing rebirth in the heaven of Brahma: cf. *Hôbôgirin* 2.119.

ttrāma kho ju kāṃjani ysīrrä pahä / vasuta svabhāvu virūlya trāma samu panäña ggurvīca rūva āyāre biśśä / buśśāre nnaunu 'They are soft to the touch just like divine skin, such in colour as refined *kāñcana*-gold, pure in nature. Such is only beryl. In every particle all forms are reflected. They smell gently.'

Almost twenty years have passed since I came back to Beijing after writing my dissertation in Hamburg under the guidance of Professor Ronald Emmerick who, through his scholarly works, enjoyed and will long enjoy a high reputation in the academic circles in China. Whenever I touch the books on Khotanese and the notes I used and collected during his classes, I see him vividly once again in my mind's eye and feel lucky to have had the privilege of knowing him personally and profiting from his direct teaching. This contribution to the study of the Khotanese language and literature, Professor Emmerick's chosen field of research, is dedicated to his memory as a token of gratitude and high esteem.

Text and Translation[16]

大方廣佛華嚴經修慈分	Maitrī-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra
唐于闐三藏提雲般若等奉制譯	Translated at imperial behest by Tripiṭaka *Devendraprajña of Khotan and others under the Tang.
如是我聞，一時佛在王舍城鷲峰山中，與無量大菩薩衆俱，彌勒菩薩摩訶薩，而為上首。(*T.* 10, p. 959.1 = *Z* 3.1–2)	(1) Thus have I heard. Once the Buddha stayed in Rājagṛha, on Mount Gṛdhrakūṭa, (2) together with innumerable Mahābodhisattvas. Maitreya Bodhisattva Mahāsattva[17] was the leader [among the audience].
爾時東方，有十億梵天，皆住慈心，來詣佛所，頂禮佛足，以衆妙供供養於佛。供養畢已，各自坐於衆福所生蓮華之座，恭敬尊重，瞻仰如來。南西北方，四維上下，諸來梵天，皆亦如是。(*T.* 10, p. 959.1 = *Z* 3.3, 5–6ab, 4)	(3) At that time, from the eastern direction, ten koṭis of Brahma-gods, all of them dwelling in loving kindness *(maitrī)*, paid a visit to the Buddha, (5) bowed their heads at his feet, and made all sorts of sublime offerings to him. (6ab) After doing honours, they sat on the lotus-seats which were born to them through many merits, and reverently looked up at the Tathāgata. (4) From the south, from the west, from the north, from the four cardinal points, from above and from below, all the Brahma-gods came in the same way.

16 In the translation, numbers between parentheses refer to the corresponding verses in *Z* 3 (also listed at the end of each section of the Chinese text); the parts in bold print have no Khotanese counterpart. A Khotanese-Chinese glossary of *Z* 3 is in preparation.

17 No parallel for Z 3.2b *kye käḍe meittra vasuta* 'who had very pure *maitrā*', but see n. 44.

爾時諸梵天衆，在於佛所，各以慈目，遞相瞻顧。複共同時，舒顏諦視彌勒菩薩。時彌勒菩薩摩訶薩，即從座起，偏袒右肩，長跪合掌，白佛言：（*T.* 10, p. 959.1 = *Z* 3.6cd–8ab, 9a)

(6cd) **At that time, all the Brahma-gods, having assembled where the Buddha was, looked up one after another with kind eyes.** Then all at the same time, with serene countenance they gazed at Maitreya Bodhisattva. (7–8ab) Then Maitreya Bodhisattva Mahāsattva rose up from his seat with his cloak on the right shoulder, knelt down on one knee and, with his hands folded,[18] (9a) spoke to the Buddha [as follows]:

大德世尊，一切智者，於諸法性能正覺了[19]，遍知衆生善惡之業，凡愚由此，生死往來。善能開悟三乘之道，及以三乘，同歸一乘。一切衆生，根性差別，及於煩惱纏蓋之中，有如來種，普皆明見，無有謬失。又知諸法皆悉是空，如夢如幻，如陽焰等，無有堅實。而大悲無盡，以善方便，令諸凡夫見佛色身微妙之相。佛身者，般若波羅蜜之所成就，自然真實，常住不變，猶如虛空。若有衆生，勤修福慧，不隨心識，馳騖於境，非如渴鹿於曠野中，追求陽焰以之為水。如是之人，則得見佛，恒聞說法，亦能依教，如理修行。（*T.* 10, p. 959.1–2 = *Z* 3.9a–17)

(9a) "Bhagavat, the all-knowing wise, you rightly perceive the nature of all phenomena *(dharmatā)* (10) and thoroughly recognise good and bad deeds of all the beings by which the ignorant come and go through [the cycle of] life and death *(saṃsāra)*. (11) You have skilfully awoken to the path of the Three Vehicles as well as to [the fact that] the Three Vehicles all return to the One Vehicle. (12) The faculties of all beings are different, but there is in the middle, wrapped and covered with *kleśa*s, the Tathāgata-seed – all this you have recognised clearly and without fail. (13) Furthermore, you know that all phenomena *(dharma)* are empty, like a dream, like magic, like a mirage, without any substance. (14) However, so endless is [your] great compassion that with skilful means you make the worldlings see the excellent marks of the body of the Buddha. (15) The body of the Buddha is accomplished through the *prajñāpāramitā* – self-existing, true, constant, immutable, like the empty sky. (16) When a sentient being perseveringly practises merits and wisdom, he will not hasten to the end following his mind, he will not be like a thirsty deer in a wilderness running after a mirage in the belief that it is water. (17) Such a being will then see the Buddha and constantly listen to the teaching of the Law. He will also observe the instruction and practise accordingly.

18 No parallel for *Z* 3.8cd *ce trāma dätäna kho yä ttūrra daiyä viysa* 'which were such in appearance as when one sees arched lotuses'.

19 In the translation I intentionally omit a rendering for the Chinese character 能 *neng* 'to be able to, can'. According to a recent research by Dr. WANG JIHONG 王繼紅 (*A study of Chinese Grammar on the Basis of Sanskrit-Chinese Abhidharmakośa Translations*, unpublished) 能 very often expresses the meaning of an active mode.

世尊，我今欲於如來應正等覺，少有所問。唯願慈哀，為我宣說。世尊，菩薩云何，於阿耨多羅三藐三菩提，少用功力，安樂無倦，而能速證廣大佛法？菩薩云何，在生死中，不受無量衆苦逼迫，於諸佛法速得圓滿？ (*T.* 10, p. 959.2 = *Z* 3.18–20)

(18–19) Bhagavat, now I wish to ask something of you, the Tathāgata, Arhat, Saṃyaksaṃbuddha. I only pray that out of mercy you will expound and preach for me. Bhagavat, how can a Bodhisattva, while spending little effort on *anuttara-saṃyaksaṃbodhi*, with pleasure, without weariness, quickly realise the wide and great Law of the Buddha *(buddha-dharma)*? (20) How can a Bodhisattva not be compelled by many sufferings in [the cycle of] life and death *(saṃsāra)*, but quickly [become] fully endowed with the qualities of a Buddha?"

爾時世尊，告彌勒菩薩摩訶薩言：“善哉！彌勒，汝於我所，常有所問。今所問義，最順我心。汝今哀愍諸天及人一切世間，無量衆生，多所利益，多所安樂，故能問我如是之義。吾當為汝分別演說，令諸菩薩，不經勤苦，而能速疾證佛菩提。 (*T.* 10, p. 959.2 = *Z* 3.21–23)

(21) At that time, the Bhagavat [thus] spoke to Maitreya Bodhisattva Mahāsattva: "Good, Maitreya, you always have questions when you [come] to me. (22) What you have asked today suits my mind at the most. Today, you befriend the gods, and human beings, and endless sentient beings of all the worlds to their great benefit and happiness, hence you could ask me about such a matter. (23) I will explain in detail to you so that all Bodhisattvas, without undergoing any hardships but quickly, realise the Buddha's *bodhi*.

佛子，若有衆生，為求菩提，而修諸行，願常安樂者，應修慈心以自調伏。如是修習，於念念中，常具修行六波羅蜜，速能逮及諸忍之地，速得圓滿無上正覺。具足十力，四無所畏，十八不共法。三十二相，八十種好，最上功德，莊嚴其身。盡於未來，常住安樂。亦能除滅一切衆生無始已來諸業重障。 (*T.* 10, p. 959.2 = *Z* 3.24, 25a, 29cd, 25ad–28)

(24) Son of the Buddha, if a sentient being performs the various practices in search of the *bodhi*, and wishes always to be happy, he should cultivate loving kindness **in order to tame himself**. (25a) Thus cultivating [himself], (29cd) constantly practising the six *pāramitā*s between every thought (25ad) he will quickly reach the *bhūmi*s of *kṣānti* and attain the *anuttara-saṃbodhi*. (26ac) He will be completely endowed with the ten *bala*s, the four *vaiśāradya*s, the eighteen *āveṇika*s,[20] (27) the thirty-two *lakṣaṇa*s and eighty *anuvyañjana*s, the most excellent characteristics.[21] (28) Throughout the future, he will always dwell in bliss and remove the heavy karmic hindrances

20 No parallel for *Z* 3.26d *buddha-dharma biśśe* 'all the *Buddhadharma*s'.

21 In this case the Khotanese version helps to elucidate the Chinese text, since the meaning of Chin. 功德 *gong de* 'virtue; merit; characteristic' is made clear by the corresponding Kh. *dätäna* 'in appearance'.

[accumulated] since eternity for all the sentient beings.[22]

佛子，若諸菩薩，修習慈心，應在空閒寂靜之處，以清淨信，攝諸心法，觀察其身上下支節，皆微塵聚，地水火風和合所成。(*T.* 10, p. 959.2 = *Z* 3.30–32ab)

(30) Son of the Buddha, if a Bodhisattva cultivates loving kindness, he should stay in an empty and quiet place. With a pure faith [he should] control his mental factors *(citta-dharma)* (31) and observe that the upper and lower limbs of his body are all made of atoms (32ab) and compounded through earth, water, fire and wind together.

複應思惟：即彼一一微塵之內，皆有虛空。是諸虛空，莫不悉以容受為相。又應想念：彼諸微塵，清淨明徹，外如琉璃，內如紫金，莊嚴妙好，柔軟芬馥。(*T.* 10, p. 959.2 = *Z* 3.32cd–35)

(32cd) Then he should think: 'Inside of each of those atoms there is space. (33) There is not one of these spaces which does not have the appearance of capacity'. (34) Furthermore, he should think: 'All these atoms are pure and clear. They are like beryl-stones outside (35) and pure gold inside. They are very excellent, soft and fragrant.'

複應觀察：一切世界，所有衆生，一一衆生，所有支節，一一支節，所有微塵，皆亦如是。(*T.* 10, p. 959.2–3 = *Z* 3.36–37)

(36–37) Then he should observe: 'In all the worlds, each and every being among all the beings, each and every limb among all the limbs, all the atoms are all like this.'[23]

若諸菩薩，於自他身一切衆生，作於如是決定解已，複應想念自身微塵，一一塵中，皆有佛國。其中宮殿，琉璃所成，白銀為門，黃金為柱，廣博崇麗，光影洞徹。寶堂間列，寶牆圍繞。寶閣寶樓，處處分佈。其中各有諸

(38) After the Bodhisattva has so ascertained of himself and all other beings, he should then think: (39) 'In every atom among the atoms of one's body, **there is a Buddha-land.** Inside of them are palaces made of beryl-stones, their doors are made of white silver, their pillars are made of gold.[24] **They are broad, high and beautiful.** Light comes through thoroughly.[25] (40ac) Rows of bejewelled halls are surrounded by bejewelled walls. Bejewelled

22 No parallel for *Z* 3.29ab *biśśī jiyāre dīra käḍäyāne puṣṣo carätä hamrraṣṭu pārāmate panye kṣaṇä* 'All his evil deeds entirely vanish. In every moment, he rightly practises the perfections'.

23 While the Chinese text merely says that "all the atoms are the same", *Z* 3.36–37 repeats the contents of vv. 34d–35 with a different wording.

24 門 *men* 'doors' confirms MAGGI's interpretation of *Z* 3.39d *vara* as 'doors', not 'there' with EMMERICK (see MAGGI 1997, pp. 68–69). Kh. *byūka* 'rooms' ('windows' according to MAGGI, *ibid.*), which precedes *vara*, has no Chinese counterpart, unless *byūka-vara* is a compound meaning 'house doors'.

25 光影洞徹 'Light comes through thoroughly' is a metaphorical equivalent of Kh. *ggavākṣā* 'windows'.

天寶牀，重茵綺褥，敷置其上。(*T.* 10, p. 959.3 = *Z* 3.38–40c, 41ab)

pavilions and bejewelled towers are distributed everywhere. (41ab) Inside, there are beds [adorned] with heavenly jewels, covered by several painted mattresses and silk carpets.[26]

複有無量上好園苑，圍繞莊嚴。其園苑中，皆有浴池，悉以七寶而為堤岸，黃金欄楯四面周匝，清泉長流引注其中，香末為泥，金沙間錯。八功德水，彌滿澄淨。波頭摩花、優缽羅花、拘物頭花、分陀利花，菡萏開敷，周布其上。(*T.* 10, p. 959.3 = *Z* 3.40d, 42, 45cd)

(40d) Furthermore, endless excellent gardens and woods are around as decoration. (42) In the gardens and woods there are bathing pools which are all surrounded on the four sides by dykes made of the seven jewels, and golden balustrades. Ever-flowing springs are pouring their pure water inside. **Their mud is made of scented powder and golden sand. They are filled up with pure water of the eight good qualities.** (45cd) [Floating] on it are fully blossomed flowers such as *padma*s, *utpala*s, *kumuda*s, *puṇḍarīka*s.

其池四邊，多諸寶樹。真珠為花，光色滋榮。其果成熟，香味具足。於諸樹下，置天寶座。一一座前，寶器行列，甘露美食，莫不充滿。(*T.* 10, p. 959.3 = *Z* 3.43, 45ab, 50)

(43) All around the pools are many bejewelled trees. Pearls as flowers are blooming and shining. Their fruits are mature and full of delicious taste.[27] (45ab) Under the trees heavenly seats are arranged. (50) Before every seat there are bejewelled vessels in rows, which are all filled up with nectar and delicious foods'.

複應想念：如是一切諸佛國土，青紺琉璃，以為其地，衆妙七寶，綺錯莊嚴。是諸土中，所有微塵，清淨細妙，如天上寶。其光晃曜，如盛明日。其色美好如閻浮檀金，香氣氛氳如烏羅伽栴檀。質性柔軟如迦旃延衣，觸著於身能生悅樂。(*T.* 10, p. 959.3 = *Z* 3.46–49)

(46) Then he should think: '**Thus are all the Buddha-lands.** Their earth is made of blue beryl, adorned with the seven excellent jewels. (47) **In these lands,** all the atoms are so pure and fine just like divine treasure. (48) They shine strongly like the sun in full shining. Their colour is so beautiful as *jāmbūnada*-gold. (49) They so smell as the scent of *uragasāra*-sandalwood. The quality is soft like *kācilindika*-cloth, at the touching of which pleasure occurs to the body.'[28]

26 No parallel for *Z* 3.41cd *hamo padāne ratanīnā ṣṭāre pharu* 'goblets, many jewelled cups are there'.

27 No parallel for *Z* 3.44 *vicitra bīnāña maula hāra cäte prahoṇe gyastūña banhya vīrä pharu* 'Various musical instruments, diadems, garlands, necklaces. Many heavenly garments on trees', which preludes to vv. 56 and 57cd.

28 The similar Sanskrit expression *kācilindika-sukha-saṃsparśa* is found in the *Lalitavistara* (ed. P. L. Vaidya, Darbhanga 1987 [Buddhist Sanskrit texts 1], p. 229). The bahuvṛhī is translated as 柔軟可愛如迦陵陀衣 (*Fang guang da zhuang yan jing* 方廣大莊嚴經, *T.* 3, p. 585.2).

作是觀已，即應想念：從此東方，一切世界，所有衆生，皆來入我諸佛國土宮殿之中。南西北方，四維上下，彼諸世界，所有衆生，皆亦如是。（*T.* 10, p. 959.3 = *Z* 3.51–52)

(51) After observing in this way, he should then think: 'From the eastern direction, all the beings from all the worlds have entered the palaces **of the Buddha-lands** in me. (52) From the south, from the west, from the north, from the four cardinal points, from above and from below, all the beings have done the same'.

又應想念：如是六道一切衆生，皆同威儀，色相相似。其身柔軟常有香氣，丈夫之相，具足莊嚴。離諸苦惱，受天快樂。是諸衆生，若須衣服莊嚴之具，即時往詣劫波樹下，隨其所須，應念而得。種種衆具以為嚴好[29]，譬如他化自在之天。複有香風從八方來，其風觸身，令心適悅。有諸樂器，無人撫擊，隨風回動，出妙音聲。（*T.* 10, p. 959.3–960.1 = *Z* 3.53–57)

(53) Furthermore he should think: 'Likewise, all beings of the six *gatis* have the same majestic demeanour, their appearance is similar. Their body is soft and always fragrant. **They are completely adorned with the marks of a [Great] Man** ***(mahāpuruṣa)***. (54) They are free from any suffering, and enjoy celestial bliss. (55) Whenever a being needs garments and adornments, he goes under a *kalpa* tree: (56) whatever he needs, he obtains it at once in response to his thoughts. They adorn themselves with different kinds of ornaments like *paranirmitavaśavartin* gods. (57) Furthermore there is a fragrant wind blowing from the eight directions. When it touches the body, it pleases the heart. There are musical instruments which, **without having been struck and beaten**, vibrate with the wind and emit wonderful sounds.

是諸衆生，或在宮殿，或遊園苑，或有食於諸天美食，或執寶器，而飲甘露，或有坐於蓮花之臺，身佩瓔珞，兩邊垂下。財寶充滿，衆具備足，隨其所好。種種歡娛，面目熙怡。（*T.* 10, p. 960.1 = *Z* 3.58–60ab, 61)

(58) Of all these beings, some dwell in palaces, some saunter by gardens and groves, (59) some eat heavenly delicious food, some drink nectar from bejewelled cups, (60ab) and some sit on calyces of lotus.[30] (61) They wear garlands of jewels **with both ends hanging down. Of riches and treasures they have plenty, and all sorts of ornaments have they** at their pleasure. Blessed with every kind of joy, their faces are radiant.

29 衆具 *zhong ju* 'ornaments'. Cf. 光明衆具，以為莊嚴 (*Da fangguang fo huayan jing* 大方廣佛華嚴經, *T.* 10, p. 182.1) 'adorned with radiant ornaments' rendering Skt. *prabhāvyūhālaṃkārapratimaṇḍitam* (*Daśabhūmīśvaro nāma mahāyānasūtram*, rev. and ed. RYŪKŌ KONDŌ, Tokyo 1936, p. 20).

30 No parallel for *Z* 3.60cd *spätyau jsa hayärīndi varata āṇa käḍe* 'Sitting there, they are very happy with the flowers'.

身心悅懌，體常無病，盛年好色，不老不死。功德勢力，皆同一類，無有為人之所使者。悉能摧滅婬怒愚癡，當證菩提，究竟安樂。(*T.* 10, p. 960.1 = *Z* 3.62ac, 64ab, 63)

(62ac) They are happy in both body and mind. They are always healthy and beautiful, as in their prime. They never grow old nor die.[31] (64ab) They are all equal in characteristics and power, and no one is the servant of another.[32] (63) They have been able to destroy all passion, and anger, and ignorance. They will attain the *bodhi* and the utmost bliss.'

佛子，是修慈者，若在如是衆生之中，見一衆生於己有違，心緣於此，不生愛念，則應以智慧深自觀察：我往世中，定於此人作重業障。以是因故，還於今日障我菩提。我若於此人不生歡喜，則於餘一切衆生之處皆亦不應而作饒益。何以故？以無始時來在生死中，無一衆生非於過去曾害我者。若於此衆生不生憐愍，於餘一切當亦複然。我今普於一切衆生皆行饒益，是故於此決當慈念。(*T.* 10, p. 960.1 = *Z* 3.66–71)

(66) Son of the Buddha, if one who cultivates loving kindness meets under such beings someone who wrongs him and, thinking of this in his mind, he does not have any thought of love, (67) then he should with his wisdom look into himself deeply: 'In my past existences, I must have set a heavy karmic hindrance into this being. **This is the reason why he stands today in my way towards the *bodhi*.** (68) If I do not feel joy towards him, then I cannot bring any benefit to any being. **How is it possible?** (69) Since eternity, in *saṃsāra*, there has not been a single being who has not harmed me in the past. (70) If I do not feel mercy for this one, I shall do the same to all beings. Now I bless impartially all beings with benefits. (71) Therefore, I must have thoughts of compassion for this one.'[33]

複應思惟：瞋恚因緣，能令衆生墮於地獄。若懷怨結，後必生在毒蛇之中。若我來世受斯報者，當令彼人深快其意，故應舍離所有瞋恚怨結之心。我若多瞋及怨結者，十方現在諸佛世尊，皆應見我當作是念：云何此人欲求菩提，而生瞋恚及以怨結？此愚癡人，以瞋恨故，於自諸苦不能解

(72) Then he should think: 'Wrath is the cause by which beings fall into hell. If one nourishes hatred, **later he will surely be born among poisonous snakes.** (73) If I receive this retribution in my future existences, I must see that that man is deeply pleased. Therefore I must give up all wrath and hatred in my mind. (74) **If I have much wrath and hatred,** the present Buddhas and Bhagavats of the ten directions will be watching me and thinking thus: "Why does this man nourish wrath and hatred, he who wishes to seek the *bodhi*? (75) How could this foolish man succour all the sentient beings, he

31 No parallel for *Z* 3.62d *ne ne pātcu ysyāre karā* 'They are not born again at all'.

32 No parallels for *Z* 3.64a *harbiśśä āysāta* 'They are all noble-born' and cd *indriya gyastūña panye satvä śśära* 'The senses of every being are heavenly, excellent'.

33 *Z* 3.71 is less concise than the Chinese: *kho ttāro auysu puṣṣo paśśātaimä biśyo tta puṣṣo paśśīmä ttū varata auysu ysurrä* 'Just as I have completely given up that anger with all, so I completely give up anger, wrath towards this one'.

脫，何由能救一切衆生？多瞋衆生，在在生中，所受之身，惡毒充滿。故應修習慈愍之心，永遠離於瞋恚怨結。平等平等，利益安樂一切衆生。（*T.* 10, p. 960.1 = *Z* 3.72–77)

who because of his wrath and hatred cannot [even] liberate himself from his own sufferings?" (76) In each and every existence, the body received by the wrathful beings will be full of evil and venom. (77) Thus I should cultivate a compassionate mind, and give up wrath and hatred for ever. Utterly impartial, I shall bring benefit and happiness to all the sentient beings'.

若如是思惟，離瞋結已，次應想念：十方諸佛與諸菩薩聲聞大衆俱來入我諸佛國土宮殿之中。是諸如來身量大小，過人一倍，具諸相好，端正香潔，以天衣服，莊嚴其身。各各坐於千葉蓮花師子之座，一一無量衆所圍繞。覆以寶蓋，懸衆寶幡，種種瓔珞，周匝垂布。有天樂器，不鼓自鳴。其音和雅，聞者喜悅。香風徐動，吹諸寶樹。幢幡蓋網，瓔珞等物，出妙音聲歌贊如來種種功德。黃金為器，七寶莊嚴，其器光明，猶如日月。所有香氣，如堅黑栴檀。甘露滿中，而以供養。諸佛菩薩及聲聞衆，其諸菩薩阿羅漢等，皆於如來最上法中，遊戲快樂。（*T.* 10, p. 960.1–2 = *Z* 3.78–79, 95ab, 94, 82, 80–81, 83, 98–99, 84–86, 96cd)

(78) After thinking in this way and after giving up wrath, he should think furthermore: 'The Buddhas of the ten directions, (79) together with their great assembly of Bodhisattvas and Śrāvakas, have entered the palaces **of my Buddha-lands**. (95ab) The body of these Tathāgatas is twice as tall as that of men,[34] (94) and complete with all the *lakṣaṇa*s and *anuvyañjana*s, imposing and fragrant. (82) They are clad in divine garments. (80) They sit separately on thousand-petalled lotuses and lion-seats. Each is encircled by an endless assembly. (81) They are sheltered by bejewelled canopies. All sorts of bejewelled banners and garlands are suspended all around. (83) There are heavenly musical instruments which without being beaten chime spontaneously. **Their sound is so harmonious that those who listen are filled with joy.** (98) A fragrant wind blows softly through the bejewelled trees, the banners, the flags, the canopies, the nets, the garlands, (99) bringing forth a wonderful melody which sings the praises of the Tathāgatas and their many merits. (84) Golden vessels adorned with the seven jewels shine as bright as the sun and the moon. (85) All scent smells like hard and black sandalwood *(kālānusāri-candana).* They are filled up with nectar, **ready for offering.** (86) All the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and assemblies with their Bodhisattvas and Arhats and so on[35] – (96cd) all enjoy themselves with pleasure in the most high Law of the Tathāgata.'[36]

34 No parallel for *Z* 3.95cd *tta vātcu śātä balysi tta dädä kā'ñi biśśä* 'Thus again one should think of a second Buddha, thus a third, all'.

35 No parallel for *Z* 3.86ab *ttu āṇa balysa mamä pajāyāre biśśä* 'All the Buddhas are begging this from me' in the Chinese text, which substitutes *Z* 3.96cd for it. No parallel for *Z* 3.96ab *suhautta kā'ña hastamyau suhyau käḍe* 'One should think of them as greatly blessed with the best blessings'.

複應想念：一切衆生，皆於諸佛座前而坐，佛為演說修慈之行，如我今時之所修習。言音美妙，悅可其心，令諸衆生，獲最上樂。譬如有人，得甘露漿，而以洗沐，息除勞苦，形神休暢。此亦如是。以法沾心，滅諸煩惱，身心寂靜，永得安樂。(*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.100ab, 104, 101–103)

(100ab) Then he should think: 'All beings are sitting before the seats of the Buddhas,[37] (104) while the Buddhas are proclaiming for them the course of cultivation of loving kindness, like that which I am cultivating now. (101) Their voice is sweet, pleasing to mind. It blesses all beings with most excellent pleasure. (102) It is as though one obtained nectar and bathed in it, calming all weariness and pain, bringing rest and ease to the body and to the spirit. (103) It is the same: when the Law permeates the mind, all *kleśa*s are completely removed. Both body and mind are calm and quiet, and enjoy eternal bliss.'

複應想念：如是一切寶幢幡蓋，衣服等物，所有微塵，光明朗曜，出過於日。柔軟細滑，如觸天身。所出之香，如牛頭栴檀。其色清淨，如毗琉璃寶。一切物像，皆於中現。(*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.87ac, 88cd–89ab, 91, 90)

(87ac) Then he should think: 'Likewise, all precious banners, flags, canopies and garments,[38] all atoms (88cd) shine brightly and strongly, even more than the sun. (89ab) They are soft and fine, as if one touches a divine body.[39] (91) The fragrance of them is such as of *gośīrṣa*-sandalwood. (90) Their colour is so pure like beryl in which the forms of all things are reflected.'

又應想念：彼諸如來，一一如來身之微塵，柔軟光色，轉加殊勝，比前微塵，逾百千倍。(*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.92–93ab)

(92–93ab) Then he should think: 'Of these Tathāgatas, every single atom of the Tathāgatas, in softness, brightness and colour, has excelled the atoms before, **a hundred times, a thousand tim**es.'[40]

複應觀察：我所思念，一切衆生，性空無我，如夢如幻，如陽焰如眩翳。一切諸佛亦複如是，自性皆空本無有

(105) Then he should observe: 'All the beings which I thought of are of empty nature and selfless, like a dream, like magic, like a mirage, like a blurred vision. (106) All the Buddhas are likewise. Their nature is empty, and there is no self at all. Wordlings

36 No parallel for *Z* 3.97 *tta bodhisatva arahaṇda kā'ña biśśä avaśśä hämāro biśśä satva trāma samu* 'One should think thus of all the bodhisattvas, arhats: "May all beings surely become just such"'.

37 No parallel for *Z* 3.100cd *balysa ni āṇa dātu hvāñīndä śśäru* 'Sitting, the Buddhas proclaim the good Law to them'.

38 No parallel for *Z* 3.87d–88ab *ttaura väte śśando späte āysana vīrä tcamna haṃbasta härа* 'in walls, in the earth, flowers, seats, by which things are bound together'.

39 No parallel for *Z* 3.89cd *ggūnäna ttrāma kho ju kāṃjani ysīrrä pahä* 'such in colour as refined *kāñcana*-gold'.

40 No parallel for *Z* 3.93cd *ttiyyo ggurvī'cyau jsa balysä rūvä däte* 'Yet through these particles has the form of the Buddha been seen'.

我。凡夫無智，於彼妄　執，有我自性，是故不能解脫生死。（*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.105–106)

are ignorant, and foolishly hold on to the existence of a self. Therefore they can not escape from life and death.'

複應觀察：一切諸法，體相微細，皆悉空寂。凡夫之人，以自分別，生諸境界，自分別中，還自繫縛，乃至未了心之自性，齊爾許時，如在夢中，妄著諸境。（*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.107–108)

(107) Furthermore, he should observe: '**The substance and characteristics of all the phenomena are extremely subtle, all of them are empty.** The worldlings create objects out of their own discrimination *(vikalpa)*. In their own discrimination, they are themselves bound. (108) As long as they do not perceive the nature of the mind, in this place and during this time, like in a dream, they foolishly attach themselves to [these] objects.'

複應觀察，一切三界皆悉是空，空不礙空。我今慈心，猶為狹小。（*T.* 10, p. 960.2 = *Z* 3.109ab, 110ab, 109cd)

(109ab) Then he should observe: 'All the three worlds are empty. (110ab) Emptiness does not obstruct emptiness. (109cd) Since I have meditated on loving kindness, I am especially small.'

又應思念：如一切衆生及以諸佛，性空無我。當知我身亦複如是。一切國土亦唯想念。（*T.* 10, p. 960.2–3 = *Z* 3.110cd)

(110cd) Again he should think: 'All beings, as well as all Buddhas, are empty by nature and without self. I should know that my body also is like this. All [Buddha-]lands are only imagined.'

作是解已，複應觀察：彼諸所有一切微塵，一一塵中，皆有三世諸佛國土。是諸國土，最極清淨，超過於前所有佛國。三世諸佛三世衆生，及以三世莊嚴之事，皆悉具足。三世劫數，入於一念一一念中。三世諸佛，坐一切處，普現一切衆生之前。或入禪定，或說妙法，或餐美食，或飲甘露。一一佛前，三世菩薩，及阿羅漢，圍繞而坐。三世快樂，充滿其身。亦自見身在諸佛所，受於如是三世安樂。（*T.* 10, p. 960.3 = *Z* 3.111ab, 117, 111cd–116)

(111ab) After reaching this understanding, again he should observe: 'In all those atoms, in every single atom there are Buddha-lands of the three times. (117) These lands are most pure, exceeding any former Buddha-land. (111cd–112) All the Buddhas of the three times, all the beings of the three times, as well as all the adornments of the three times, are [now] perfect. All the *kalpa*s of the three times have entered in every thought, in every single instant of thought. (113) All the Buddhas of the three times are sitting everywhere. They universally manifest themselves before all the sentient beings. (114) Some have entered meditation *(dhyāna)*, some are proclaiming the wonderful Law, some are eating delicious food, and some are drinking nectar. (115) In front of every Buddha, the Bodhisattvas and Arhats of the three times are sitting in circle. (116) They are pervaded with the bliss of the three times'. [Thus thinking]

he will likewise see himself staying there, where the Buddhas are, receiving such a bliss of the three times.

複應想念：一一念中，我三世身，各持無量上好供具，而以供養一切諸佛、菩薩、聲聞，及以施與衆生之類。於一一念，從其身出種種香雲，雲中複有無量寶蓋，莊嚴綺飾，彌覆一切諸佛如來、菩薩、聲聞，及以六趣衆生之上。其雲複雨天之甘露及堅黑牛頭栴檀香末。曼陀羅花、摩訶曼陀羅花、波頭摩花、拘物頭花、芬陀利花、妙香花、妙意花，皆從空中繽紛而墜。電光烈曜，如日舒景；雷音震動，聞者悅豫。一切諸佛菩薩聲聞，及諸衆生，若行若住，若坐若臥，四威儀中，其身恒受最上安樂。（*T.* 10, p. 960.3 = *Z* 3. 119ab, 118, 119cd–121, 126ab, 122–125, 127, 129)

(119ab) Furthermore he should think: 'In every moment of thought, my different incarnations of the three times, (118) each holding endless excellent gifts,[41] (119bd) are making offerings to all the Buddhas, (120) Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas, and are giving alms to all the beings with them. (121) In every moment of thought, many fragrant clouds pour forth from those incarnations. (126ab) Amid the clouds are endless precious canopies, which are splendidly adorned,[42] (122) and cover all the Buddha Tathāgatas, Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas, as well as the beings of the six existences *(gati)*. The clouds rain heavenly nectar, (123) as well as powders of hard and black sandalwood *(kālānusāri-candana)* and *gośīrṣa*-sandalwood. (124) Flowers (such as) *mandārava*s, *mahāmandārava*s, *padma*s, *kumuda*s, *puṇḍarīka*s, *mṛdu-gandhika*s, *sumana*s fall down from the heaven colourful and thickly. (125) Lightnings flash forth strongly, just as the sun stretches out his rays. The thunder is so thundering that the listeners are pleased. (127, 129)[43] Of all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, Śrāvakas and beings, some are walking, some are standing, some are sitting and some are lying in the four kinds of majestic demeanour, their bodies constantly enjoying the utmost bliss.'

佛子，譬如比丘，入遍處定，於一切物皆作地解水火風解。以如是解，攝持其心。修慈之人，亦複如是。以慈勝解，莊嚴攝持。（*T.* 10, p. 960.3 = *Z* 3.130–131)

(130–131) Son of the Buddha, as a monk enters the meditation *(dhyāna)* of the *kṛtsnāyatana*, so he analyses all things into categories of earth, water, fire and wind, and thus analysing he controls his mind. The same happens to the man who cultivates loving kindness. Through the excellent analysis of loving kindness, he magnificently controls [himself].

41 The correspondence with *Z* 3.118 *ku buro ātāśi vari brro bvāre buśśä varburo brūñāre vasuta nauna käḍe* 'Wherever there is space, there smells smell, there shine pure, very soft' is quite vague.

42 No parallel for *Z* 3.126cd *hastaru brūñāre kho urmaysde purra* 'They shine better than the sun, the moon'.

43 No parallel for *Z* 3.128 *ttyau jsa byāta tcera suhyo satva samu ttyau jsa adhiṣṭhāña ku ttyau saindi suhyo* 'Beings are to be remembered with these blessings. They are to be controlled with these so that they seem to be with these blessings'.

複應思惟：我今所與衆生安樂，但唯是想，如幻如化。譬如幻師作所幻事，我亦如是，與諸衆生種種安樂。又如幻物無有自性，一切衆生，亦複如是，本來無有我我所性。又如渴鹿，於陽焰中妄生水想，勤苦奔逐，我心行慈，當知亦爾。又如陽焰、水不可得，一切諸法，亦複如是，無有我性。又如夢中見種種物，夢心分別，謂為實事。及至覺時，了無所在。應知諸法，皆亦複然。如翳目者，於淨空中，見種種物，謂之為有。其人後得阿伽陀藥，治眼翳盡，所見之物，悉皆隨滅。如是衆生，以有身見及邊見故，而有我想。若得智慧藥，滅除此見，所有我想，亦隨止息。是故我應如是修慈，如從夢覺，離我我所。(*T.* 10, p. 960.3–961.1 = *Z* 3.132–140)

(132) Furthermore he should think: 'The happiness that I am now giving to all the sentient beings is mere mentation, it is like illusion and magic. (133) Like tricks in a conjurer's booth, thus am I giving all sorts of happiness to all the beings. (134) Again, as a magic thing does not possess its own nature, so all beings are without self and selfness. (135) Furthermore, as a thirsty deer in a mirage foolishly begets the mental image of water and painfully runs after it, I should know that it is likewise for the performance of loving kindness in my mind. (136) Again, as in the mirage no water can be found, all the phenomena are equally without selfness. (137) Again, it is like seeing all sorts of things in a dream: the dreaming mind distinguishes them and calls them "real", but when one wakes up, there is nothing at all. You should know that all the phenomena are likewise. (138) It is like a man who suffers from a cataract, and sees all sorts of things in the clear sky, and says that they exist. (139) Later that man gets an *agada*-medicament, and curing his eyes [therewith] his cataract is completely healed – then all the things that he would see disappear. Likewise, because beings accept the belief in selfhood as well as the extreme views, the concept of a self *(ātma-saṃjñā)* occurs to them. (140) When they get the medicament of wisdom, those views are effaced, and the idea of a self is also thereby arrested. For this reason, I should thus cultivate loving kindness, and remove self and selfness as one who wakes from a dream.'

佛子當知：此修慈者，乃至未能離於分別，未能不起我我所見，常得六種梵天之福。若舍分別，離我我所，此則名為廣大之慈。先世已來，所有罪障，皆得除滅，不久當證無上菩提。(*T.* 10, p. 961.1 = *Z* 3.141–143)

(141) Son of the Buddha, you should know: Those who cultivate loving kindness, even if they cannot get free from discrimination *(vikalpa)*, even if they cannot but arouse the views of self and appropriations, will always receive the sixfold merits of a Brahma-god. (142) If discrimination is discarded, if the self and the appropriations have been removed, then this will be called the Vast Compassion. (143) The evil deeds they have since their past existences will all be effaced, and before long they will attain supreme *bodhi*.

佛子：一切菩薩，皆應如是修習慈心。汝以修慈，名為慈者。 (*T.* 10, p. 961.1; no Khotanese)

Son of the Buddha, all Bodhisattvas should thus cultivate loving kindness. Because you cultivate loving kindness, you are called the Benevolent One *(maitreya)*.[44]

佛子：若善男子善女人，有得聞此修慈經者，則能銷滅無始時來諸惡業障，離衆病厄，為一切人之所愛敬。於其中間，或至臨終，必得奉見十方諸佛，及與授阿耨多羅三藐三菩提記。或得三昧，或得法忍，或得入於陀羅尼門。其心安隱，無有死畏。永離一切諸惡道苦，必生清淨極樂佛國。佛子：譬如有人，於三界中，盛滿七寶，日以三時，奉施如來，盡於一劫。其人功德，應知亦爾，何況有能修習之者？假使無量諸佛如來於一劫中，說其功德，猶不能盡。(*T.* 10, p. 961.1 = *Z* 3.147, 144–146, 148–149)

(147) Son of the Buddha, if the sons and daughters of good [families] *(kulaputra, kuladuhitṛ)* listen to the *Sūtra on the cultivation of loving kindness*, they will remove all bad karmic hindrances [that they have accumulated] since eternity. (144) They will be free from any illness, they will be loved by everybody. (145) Those among them who will be nearing the end [of their life] will certainly see all the Buddhas of the ten directions, who will confer on them a prophecy *(vyākaraṇa)* of *anuttara-saṃyaksaṃbodhi*. (146) Some will attain *samādhi*, or endurance *(kṣānti)*, **or enter the door of *dhārāṇī*s. Their mind will be calm and steadfast without fear of death.** They will be forever free from all the sufferings of the evil *gati*s. **They surely will be born in a Pure Buddha-land of supreme bliss.** (148) Son of the Buddha, it is as though a man should present the three worlds filled with the seven jewels to the Tathāgata, and did it three times a day throughout a *kalpa*: you should know the merits of that man! (149) How much more will it be for one who practises this? Even if endless Buddhas and Tathāgatas should speak about his merits throughout a *kalpa*, they could not tell them to the end".

佛說此經已，彌勒菩薩摩訶薩，及十方國土，諸來梵衆，皆大歡喜，信受奉行。 (*T.* 10, p. 961.1 = *Z* 3.150–151)

(150) When the Buddha had preached this *sūtra*,[45] (151) Maitreya Bodhisattva Mahāsattva and the Brahma-gods from the [Buddha-]lands of the ten directions all greatly rejoiced. They received it with faith and reverently practised it.

44 Cf. the qualification of Maitreya in *Z* 3.2b *kye käḍe meittra vasuta* 'who had very pure *maitrā*'.

45 No parallel for *Z* 3.151bd *späte gyastūña bāḍāndi parräta satva pharu* 'Heavenly flowers rained down. Many beings were saved'.

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Aramaic in the Manichaean Turfan Texts

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The Aramaic element in the Manichaean Turfan texts is a topic often mentioned in passing, particularly in relation to the dating of Mani's texts. I want to offer a survey of Aramaic loanwords in Manichaean Parthian and Middle Persian and to discuss other aspects of Manichaean literature in Turfan where Aramaic seems to play a role.[1]

The dating and chronological ordering of the Manichaean literature in Parthian and Middle Persian is a difficult problem which will never be fully solved. One reason for this is the almost entire absence of dates in the texts and the fact that nearly no text is an autograph[2] or contains a colophon; almost all are the products of a scribal tradition. A further reason is in the state of preservation of the fragments: information about time and authors of the texts that may have been contained in the books are not to be found on those few pages that have survived the deliberate destruction of the books. Internal criteria are therefore the most important means for determining the age of a particular text. In addition, there are observations about the language. Boyce 1968, in her concise survey of Manichaean literature in Middle Iranian, uses three criteria for the identification of this literature:

1. A text belongs to the "canonical" or quasi-canonical works of Mani,
2. A text shows traces of being a translation, and
3. A text has a simple style.

The first criterion is the most important, the other two are referred to in order to support the attribution of a text to Mani's works when this has been established by a title or in another way. In the case of a few texts she refers to the simple style as an indicator that the text is from the initial period of the development of Middle Persian prose literature (pp. 71–72).

1 This is an adapted version of a lecture in German that I had the honour of presenting at a Collegium Turfanicum on the 6th of April 2000 when E. Morano talked about "Jesus in the Manichaean Turfan Texts" and I talked about "Aramäisches in westmitteliranischen manichäischen Turfantexten". R. Emmerick chaired the meeting and a lively discussion, and so I hope that this may be an appropriate offering in memory of him. I would like to thank my colleagues S. Raschmann, Chr. Reck, W. Sundermann and J. Wilkens for help at various points in the preparation of this version.

2 The possible exception being M 1.

I will pass over points 1 and 3 and concentrate on: 2. A text shows traces of being a translation. The source language of these translations is the language of nearly all of Mani's works, Aramaic. Four areas can be distinguished which will yield different results as far as dating Manichaean texts is concerned:
1. Aramaic words and phrases,
2. Aramaic texts,
3. Other traces of an Aramaic original, and
4. Aramaic literary forms.

1. Aramaic Words and Phrases

There are Aramaic loanwords (and Latin and Greek words transmitted through Aramaic) in the Middle Persian (MPT) and Parthian (PaT) Manichaean texts that will have no or no exclusive connection with a Manichaean context, e.g.[3]: PaT *''t'ly'* "dragon" (astronomical term) *('tly')*; PaT *dbwg'ḫ* "bird-lime" *(dbwq')*; PaT *frwm'y* and MPT *hrwm'y* "Roman" *(rhwmy'* with an Aramaic suffix); MPT *mdy[nt']* "city" *(mdy(n)t')*; PaT *mgynd*, MPT *mgyn* "shield" *(mgn')*; MPT *mw-myyn* "exorcism (?)" *(mwmt'*, pl. *mwmyn)*; MPT *nwr'n* "water-wheel" *(n'wr')*; PaT *swk'n*[4] "rudder" *(swkn')*; PaT *šwšmyn* "best man at a wedding" *(šwšbyn')*[5]; PaT šyfwr "trumpet" *(šyfwr')*; PaT *tbyl* "drum" *(ṭbl')*; MPT *tnwr* "baker's oven" *(tnwr')*; PaT/MPT *trkwm'n* "interpreter" *(trgmn')* and PaT *xmyr* "scent" *(ḫmyr')*. Some of these loanwords may be much older as is certainly the case with the following words: MPT *m'l'ḫ* "sailor" *(mlḫ')*; *šwd'b* in MPT *h'mšwd'b* "companion" *(šwtp')* and MPT *twwr* "ox" *(twr')*.

Greek and Latin words will have entered the Iranian languages through Aramaic/Syriac[6]: MPT *'qdn'y* "viper" (*'kdn'*, ἔχιδνα); MPT *'sym* "silver" (*s'm'*, ἄσημον)[7]; PaT *'skym* "form, shape, appearance (?)" (*'skm'*, σχῆμα); PaT/MPT *'spyr* "globe, sphere" (*spyr'*, σφαῖρα)[8]; PaT *'strtywt:n* pl. "soldiers" (*sṭrṭywṭ'*, στρατιώτης);

3 For the attestations and literature for these words, see my *Dictionary of Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian*. Following on the Iranian form the Syriac form (as in BROCKELMANN 1928) is given in brackets.

4 So rather than *swk* as in my *Dictionary* where I took *swk'n* to be a plural.

5 Unpublished. Kindly supplied by W. SUNDERMANN who also reminded me of *mgynd*, *swk'n*, *šwd'b*, *šyfwr*, *ṭbyl* and *trkwm'n* in this section.

6 An Aramaic/Syriac intermediary cannot be claimed for all these words with certainty. Even formal consistency is hard to find. While PaT *'skym* and Syriac *'skm'* agree in the initial additional vowel against σχῆμα, in *'strtywt:n* against *sṭrṭywṭ'*, στρατιώτης the ' is Parthian alone.

7 The retention of the initial vowel as opposed to its loss in Syriac *s'm'* may indicate that this word, at least, did not go through a Syriac intermediary; it may be a much older loanword.

8 See *'spyr 1* and *2* in the *Dictionary*.

MPT *drhm*, PaT *drxm* "drachma" (*drhm*, *drkms*, δραχμή); PaT/MPT *dyn'r* "dinar" (*dynr'*, δηνάριον); PaT *hygmwn* "ruler" (*hygmwn'*, *hgmwn'*, ἡγεμών); MPT *k'lbyd* "form, shape" (*qlbyd*, καλοπόδιον); PaT/MPT *q'rwz/c* "herald, caller" (*krwz'*, κῆρυξ); MPT *q'ywd* and PaT *kbwd* "box, cage" (*qbwt'*, *q'bwt'*, κιβωτός)[9]; MPT *qmr'n* pl. "vaults" (*qmr'*, καμάρα); MPT *kysr*, PaT *qysr* "Caesar" (*qsr*, καῖσαρ, *Caesar*); PaT *qtrywn'n* pl. "centurions" (*qnṭrwn'* and *qhnṭyrywn'*, κεντυρίων, *centurio*); MPT *qwnyšt* "congregation, synagoge" (metathesis of Syr. *knwšt'*); PaT/MPT *lmtyr* "lamp" (*lmp'r'*, *lmpr'* and *lmp'ṭr'*, λαμπτήρ)[10]; PaT *trnys* "throne" (*trwnws*, *trnws*, θρόνος); PaT *y'kwnd* "hyacinth" (*yqwnd'*, ὑάκινθος); PaT *zwnws* "zone, area" (*zwn'*, pl. *zwns* and *zwn's*, ζώνη). Some of these words are also attested in Gospel quotations.

Other Aramaic loanwords have a clear association with Manichaeism[11], e.g.: PaT/MPT *'wnglywn* "gospel" (*'wnglywn*, εὐαγγέλιον); MPT *'yr* "guardian, 'Giant'" (*'yr*); PaT *b'ym* "bema" (*bym*, *bym'*, βῆμα); MPT *d(hy)r* "a rememberer, protocolist" or "(well) remembered" (*dkyr*); PaT/MPT *l'lmyn*, *l'lmn*, *l'lmyyn* "forever" predominantly Pa (*l'lmyn*, i.e. the prep. *l* followed by *'lmyn* pl. of *'lm'* "age") and possibly *mwqr'n* "honouring (?)" in PaT *mwqr'nyg*. The word *l'lmyn* is almost exclusively used as the *l*-unit in abecedarian hymns. The spelling with *'* is important since Syriac has *'lm'* whereas Mandaic has *'lm'*, i.e. the Manichaean word shares a feature with Eastern Aramaic/Mandaic. Two further words, *bhyr* possibly a name "chosen" (Mandaic *bhira*) and *kwl'st* "miscellany" (Mandaic *qulasta*), seem to confirm a Mandaic connection. PaT/MPT *k'dwš*, *q'dwš* "holy" is similar to Syriac *qwdš'*, *qdwš*, but this is never written with *q'd-*; the word is therefore Hebrew rather than Aramaic, s. Hebr. *qādūš*.[12]

Personal names and titles also belong here, especially the Syriac title *mry*, *m'r*, *m'ry* with a silent Syriac *-y* (possessive suffix of the 1. pers. sg., actually "My lord" as an address). The names PaT/MPT *yyšw(')* "Jesus"; PaT/MPT *mšyh'* "Messiah"; PaT *s't'n* "Satan" (Syriac *sṭn'*); PaT *sr'yl* "Israel" (without an initial *y*); MPT *nkty'wys* "Nikotheos (?)"; MPT *p'wlys*, *pwlys* "Paulus"; PaT *pyltys*,

9 Despite my *Dictionary* the only likely transcription for *q'ywd* will be */kiwōd/*; *'y* is purely graphical. *kēwōd* in MacKenzie 1971, p. 51, is not supported by the Manichaean spelling. The word also occurs in the MP Psalter as *kypwty* and plays a role in the popular etymology of Kawad's birth in a basket.

10 The word is remarkable also because it occurs in Parthian only in the phrase *'wn lmtyr nys'g* in two abecedarian hymns and is otherwise attested in one Middle Persian prose text. Considering the Syriac forms, the Iranian word may be an older loanword.

11 Nevertheless, individual cases may be more complex than the rough division of words into groups here suggests. Many of these words are, of course, not Manichaean as such.

12 R. Voigt kindly pointed out to me on another occasion that Henning's derivation of *qšwdg'n* (Henning *apud* Tsui Chi 1943, p. 217) has to be modified accordingly. As in *qwnyšt*, itself not a borrowing from Hebrew, this word may have been subjected to metathesis. Henning took the word to mean "sanctification(al)". However, it may mean "small", cf. PaT *qšwdg'n* "small" and Sims-Williams/Tucker 2005, p. 592 n. 9.

pyl'tys "Pilate"; PaT *šlwm* "Salome"[13]; MPT/PaT *šymwn* (and *šymgwn*) "Simon (Simeon)" and PaT/MPT *šmbt* "Sabbat" (in *ykšmbd*, *ykšmbt*; *dwšmbt*) (Syriac *šbt'*) are Aramaic or have an Aramaic form. The Aramaic term *sm'ttyx*, *smṭyh'* for "Treasure of Life"[14] attested in a Sogdian text and in the Chinese Compendium and the Greek name for another of Mani's works, πραγματεία, attested in the Chinese Compendium will both definitely have been transmitted in a lost Iranian work which will have been based on an Aramaic one. Interesting is the case of a Latin name Julianus preceded by a Syriac preposition *l* as an object marker: MPT *lwlynws*.

Some descriptive names in Manichaean mythology are clearly also of Aramaic origin; a list was supplied by SUNDERMANN 1979, p. 99: Syriac *bn rb'* > PaT *b'myzd*; *yyšwʿ zywn'* > PaT *yyšwʿ zyw'*, MPT *yyšwʿ ʿspyxt'n*; Adam > PaT *'d'm*; Eva > PaT *'hw'y* and Saklas MPT/PaT *šqlwn*. On the other hand, Semitic names are contained in the "Book of Giants", e.g. *'hrm*, *'hy'*, *'why'*, *hwb'byš*, *m'hwy*, *šhmyz'd* and even *'tnbyš* of old Oriental origin; other Semitic names such as *myx'yl* "Michael" occur in lists of angels etc. TUBACH 1997, pp. 392–393, concluded that the names of Mani's closest associates are local Babylonian and Jewish or Biblical. Nevertheless, some of the places Mani is associated with are Aramaic (e.g. *b' byl*, *bytdryy*) or in Aramaic spelling (e.g. *hlwn*); the Syriac placename *qynšryy* is later and belongs to the sixth century.

It is more difficult to identify Iranian words whose meaning may have been modified against an Aramaic background. For instance this has been assumed for PaT/MPT *crg* "pasture, flock" *(mrʿyt')*; and the designations of texts: MPT *gwyšn* and PaT *sxwn* both "chapter, speech, homily" *(m'mr')*; PaT *wyfr's* "instruction, sermon" (possibly *tḥwyt'*); MPT/PaT *'zynd* "tale" *(tšʿyt')* and even MPT *prwrdg*, MPT/PaT *frwrdg* and MPT/PaT *dyb* both "letter" *('grt')*.[15]

2. Aramaic Texts

LIDZBARSKI 1918 attempted to reconstitute an Aramaic original for a short Iranian Manichaean text. He was able to show that a play of words in the text only made sense in Aramaic.[16]

The only Turfan fragment to contain an Aramaic text is M 260. YOSHIDA identified this text as the same one preserved better in Chinese transcription in

13 The use of *š* shows that the name is from a Syriac rather than a Greek source (BOYCE 1975, p. 126, note on M 18).

14 SUNDERMANN 1981, p. 35, n. 8, and HALOUN/HENNING 1952, pp. 205–207.

15 See SUNDERMANN 1980 [1984], pp. 230–231, 236, 238 and 239.

16 I have now reviewed this and other aspects of the text in DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004a.

the hymn-scroll[17] and gave a transliteration of the relevant part of the fragment on its own.[18] I reproduce this here but have added the restorations Yoshida established on the basis of the Chinese. The Aramaic is in bold:

M 260 R 6–12[19] (with restorations)

6	**[q'dwš l'b'](k)['d]wš [lb]r'ẖ**	**"Holy" to the father, "holy" to the son,**
7	**[q'dwš lrwh'](hy') qdyš'ẖ**	**"holy" to the holy living spirit.**
8	[q'dwš 'w py](dr) q'dwš 'w pwhr	"Holy" to the father, "holy" to the son
9	[q'dwš 'w w']d jywndg 'wṯ wjydg	"holy" to the living and chosen spirit,
10	[rwd'n jywn]d(g w: fryh)yft x'ns'r'n	living rivers and the springs of love.
11	**[ʿyl'h' nw](hr') ʿyl'h'**	**God, light, power**
12	**[hmt'** yzd rwšn zw](r) 'wd wyhyẖ	**wisdom.** God, light, power and wisdom.

The first Aramaic part is followed by a Parthian translation which departs from the Aramaic in the final word (Aramaic *qdyš'ẖ* and Parthian *wjydg*) and continues with five words without an Aramaic original. The second Aramaic part is followed by a Middle Persian translation. Clearly the Chinese transcription is vital for the Aramaic words because so much is missing here. On the basis of the Chinese it seems that the dative is expressed with *l* in the first two phrases *q'dwš l'b', k'dwš lbr'* "'holy' to the father, 'holy' to the son" but that the preposition is missing in the third phrase *q'dwš rwh' hy' qdyš'* "'holy' the blessed living spirit" (as reconstructed by Yoshida 1983, p. 327) though the following Parth. version has the Parth. preposition *'w* "to" in all three cases. I assume, however, that the text in M 260 will have had the preposition and that its lack in the Chinese transcription is caused by the difficulty the Chinese has in rendering the juncture of *l-r* as separate sounds or by a confusion arising out of this difficulty. Line 11 seems to be too short, but stretched letters or punctuation marks may have been used to fill the space.

As Yoshida 1983, p. 328, pointed out, the spelling of the Aramaic is peculiar. He comes to the conclusion:

> It is probable that the Manichaeans of Chinese Turkestan had no real knowledge of Aramaic and pronounced the few clichés which they had preserved according to their own interpretation of the written text.

The Aramaic words yielded by this text are:

](k)['d]wš	which we have already met as a frequently attested word in hymns of a certain type.
[lb]r'ẖ	"to the son", with a final *ẖ* written as a convention of the Manichaean script.
](hy')	"living".

17 See Yoshida 1983.

18 See Yoshida 1987, p. 404.

19 The rest of M 260 R is badly damaged. R 1–5 contains no text; R 12–25 contains only isolated words, nothing that might be Aramaic; V is similarly damaged.

qdyš'ḥ "blessed", also with a final *ḥ*.
[nw](hr') "light".
'yl'h' apparently for both "god" and "power", both of which are problematic. For the first Syriac *'lh'*, for the second Syriac *ḥyl'* would be expected, s. YOSHIDA 1983, pp. 329–330. The spelling even looks like a confusion of both but presumably the internal *'* is the Manichaean conventional representation of the internal *ā* not written in the Syriac *'lh' /alāhā/*. The initial *'* will not necessarily have a Semitic function, it could rather be the Parthian conventional way, with *'* or *'y*, of spelling an initial vowel *i-* or *e-* (s. *'strtywt:n* above). W. SUNDERMANN (personally) kindly refers me to a Samaritan form as a possible source.[20] This may tally with the fact that *q'dwš* seems to be Hebrew; and the Jewish names of Mani's associates mentioned above. ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 863, n. 1, identified a further Hebrew form in PaT *mycrym* "Egypt" with a final *-m*. SUNDERMANN also identified *b'rwx* "blessed" and *qhn'n* pl. "Jewish priests" as Hebrew. HENNING identified *cβwṭ* "Sabaoth" which MORANO suggests may also occur in *cy bwtyyḫ* (s. *bwtyḫ* in the *Dictionary*).

The Chinese form yields the expected spelling **q'dwš* and the further words:
**l'b'* "to the father".
**lrwh'* "to the spirit" (the Chinese supports *rwh'* alone without the preposition, see above). *rwh' ḫ* is otherwise attested in a glossary fragment.
**ḥmt'* "wisdom" (lacking the *k* of Syriac *ḥkmt'*. This is presumably not an Aramaic feature but a result of the transmission, s. YOSHIDA 1983, p. 329).

This brings us to the definition of the Aramaic dialect from which the words in section 1 above and the text in M 260 come. Mani is assumed to have used the Aramaic of Edessa or a form close to this. WIDENGREN 1961, pp. 77–79, saw in the Edessene character of the quotations in Theodore bar Konai and in the fragments found in Egypt an indicator of the language used by Mani. He assumes that Mani did not use his local Babylonian dialect but rather a language "die schon eine größtmögliche Verbreitung besaß", there was "keine für seine Zwecke besser geeignete Sprache als das edessenische Syrisch, das als Literatur- und Kirchensprache sowohl im Sassanidenreich wie in den östlichen Teilen des römischen Imperiums schon eine vielseitige Verwendung gefunden hatte (...). Die Geschicklichkeit Manis als Missionar und Propagandist zeigt sich nicht zuletzt auch in der Wahl der für seine Schriften verwendeten Sprache." CONTINI 1995, in his detailed report on many aspects of Manichaean Aramaic and

20 Referring to RUDOLPH 1974, p. 476, note [= RUDOLPH 1996, p. 673, n. 26] which points out that the Samaritan form corresponding to Syriac *ḥyl'* was pronounced *'ēl, īl*.

the work done on this, comes to the conclusion that Mani used a non-standard Syriac (p. 92), "un 'syriaque' qu'il faut envisager d'une façon souple et non encore codifié dans une norme édessénienne classique, ..." (p. 95). HUNTER 1998, p. 154, sees the need to "realise the reciprocity of the diverse Syriac and Mandaic dialects that were current in Mesopotamia, during the Sasanid and Early Islamic areas."

The words attested in the Turfan material provide just a few indications, though these are contradictory. Though many terms are Syriac, the lack of ʿ in *l'lmyn* does not fit Syriac but rather Mandaic. The fact that the ʿ in the name *yyšwʿ* is regularly written (but not pronounced) must make its lack in *l'lmyn* significant. The spelling *m'ry* contains in its mute *-y* a further Aramaic feature. It is therefore clear that the Aramaic words do not have their origin in one dialect. In addition, there are two, possibly three significant non-Aramaic words: As mentioned above under *ʿyl'hʾ*, SUNDERMANN refers to a Samaritan form and the Hebrew words *q'dwš, mycrym, bʾrwx* and *qhn'n* are attested in WMIr texts.

3. Other Traces of an Aramaic Original

The most difficult aspect of possible Aramaic influence on WMIr texts is the attempt to show traces of Aramaic linguistic features in a WMIr text. SCHAEDER 1926 pointed to some of Mani's original Aramaic verses preserved by Theodore bar Konai and which agree with Turfan-texts in style and setting (p. 106), though he did not go into details. HENNING in ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 849, suggests that M 2 II is a translation from Syriac but does not indicate whether he thinks the "verworrene und unklare Darstellung des Gedankengangs" is a result of difficulties in the translation process or rather a characteristic of Mani's mind, of which HENNING did not have a favourable opinion. BOYCE 1975, p. 84 (note), suggests that the translation process "may account for some awkwardness in construction". Since awkwardness is hard to measure I will concentrate here on a few examples for possible traces of an Aramaic original in two Parthian texts.

In DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2002 I tried to show that there may be a Syriac usage in a Parthian text in what seems to be a redundant *būd*:

PaT
fršwd bwd ʾ(y)y ◦ cw'gw(n) pwhr ◦ ʾwd prx'št ʾyy ◦ cw'gwn ʿspsg ◦
/frašud būd ay čawāyōn puhr. ud parxāšt ay čawāyōn ispasag. /[21]
"You were sent as a son, and you stayed as a servant."

21 M 680 V 12–14, published by WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, p. 97; DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2002, p. 60, example 44. SUNDERMANN (personally) kindly suggests returning to LENTZ's translation of the second half which would yield "and you served as a servant" or even "but you served as a servant", stressing the contrast between "son" and "servant". But that still does not explain the use of *būd*.

Though the first action is prior to the second the text does not seem to focus on this. *būd* either marks a passive or is redundant. In the latter case this could be due to the fact that the text is a verse text or it could be a translator's reflection of a verb like the Syriac copula and auxiliary *(h)w'* that is frequently redundant.

Just how difficult it is to establish traces of the Aramaic original in the wording of a Parthian text can be seen in the following case. Among the texts that, on the basis of their content, surely belong to the oldest Manichaean texts, are the Gospel quotations and, in particular, those concerning the passion of Jesus. It is known that the Manichaeans used Christian texts rather freely. Since they regarded the tradition as being corrupt (MPT *'ygyš'n dyn whwryd /ēg-išān dēn wihorīd/* [M 5794] "then their religions became confused"; see also Faustus etc.), they felt free to choose what they wanted from the various canonical and non-canonical Gospels and the Gospel harmonies.[22]

In M 18+M 2753 V 3ff. (MORANO 2000, pp. 404–407) the Parthian text depicts, in the context of the passion, a meeting of some women, devotees of Jesus, with angels:

PaT
... *kd dw fryštg 'w hwyn pwrsynd kw m' jywndg 'd mwrdg'n wx'zyd*
/... *kaδ dō frēštag ō hawīn pursēnd kū mā žīwandag aδ murdagān wxāzēd./*
"... when the two angels ask(!) them: 'Do not seek the living one with the dead!' "

The introductory sentence contains the verb *pwrs-* "to ask", however, the direct speech is not a question but a prohibition. The Syriac text contains an incredulous question introduced by the normal verb for "to speak":

Syr.
w'mryn lhyn: mn' b'yn '(n)tyn ḥy' 'm myt'
/w-āmrīn lhen: mānā ḇā'yān-('n)tten ḥayyā 'am mīṯē/ (Lk. 24,5)
"And they say to them: 'What are you looking for the/a living one with/amongst the dead!?' "

The Greek text has the same features:

... εἶπαν πρὸς αὐτάς· τί ζητεῖτε τὸν ζῶντα μετὰ τῶν νεκρῶν;
"... they said to them: 'Why do you look for the living one with/amongst the dead!?' "

22 SUNDERMANN 1968, p. 394, speaks of a free translation of another passage. He conjectures (p. 399) "daß in den manichäischen Gemeinden Zentralasiens mindestens zwei harmonisierte Evengelienüberlieferungen benutzt wurden. Für die eine konnte das Diatessaron Tatians als Quelle bestimmt werden (M 4570), die andere (anderen?), deren Herkunft unbekannt ist, verbindet Mitteilungen kanonischer und apokalyptischer Evangelien und gestaltet auch den überlieferten Text frei um ..." On the possibility of the *Acta Petri* as a source, s. SUNDERMANN forthcoming (*Irano-Judaica* VII).

The Parth. text displays a complex relationship to that which is present in identical form in the Syriac and Greek texts: Although the direct speech in the Parth. text no longer contains a question the choice of the verb *pwrs-* recalls the question. This allows the conclusion that the Parth. text or its original was adapted in two steps: First, the verb *pwrs-* was chosen (instead of "to say") to characterise the following question as such; second, the question was changed into a prohibition. It is remarkable that, in the direct speech, the prohibitive negation is the first word but the verb is at the very end of the sentence. This is good Parth. syntax, contrasting with the Syriac and the Greek texts in both of which the verb is the second word of the sentence, though there are cases in Parth. texts where the prohibitive negation *m'* is placed directly before the verb.[23] Nevertheless, despite the care with which this translation was made it does seem to contain one translation feature: the Parth. preposition *'d* which corresponds here to Syriac *ʿm* and Greek μετὰ seems to be the only attestation for the use of this preposition with the meaning "among". But it is not at all clear where the transformation of the text took place, still within the Aramaic transmission or during and after the translation into Iranian. We may be dealing here with a Parth. departure from the Aramaic tradition of this passage or with a development within the Aramaic tradition that just happens to be attested in the Parth. version.

Similarly, how are we to judge the features of the following excerpt from the same text? M 18 R 1–4 (Morano 2000, pp. 405–406):

PaT
'wṯ pyltys wy'wrd kw 'z wnwḫ 'c ʿym bgpwhr gwxn 'byy'd 'hym
/ud pilatīs wyāwurd kū az winōh až im baγpuhr goxan abēyād ahēm./
"And Pilate rejoined: 'I, lo, am without share in the blood of this son of god.' "

The pronoun *'z* precedes *wnwḫ*, which is apparently a translation feature. The word *'byy'd* "without part/share" is unusual because this text normally expresses culpability, e.g. "I am innocent (ἀθῷός εἰμι, Matth. 27, 24) of the blood of this man" whereas *y'd* belongs to the area of possession and trade. However, the reasons for this may lie in a particular tendency of the Manichaean tradition to absolve the Romans of any responsibility for Jesus' crucifixion and lay all the blame on the Jews. In that case, the text was probably adapted within the Aramaic transmission; the Parth. translation came later.

23 E.g. *kw 'wr prw'n mn m' 'syd /kū awar parwān man mā āsēd/* " 'Do not come here to me!' " (M 8286 I R 7–8).

4. Aramaic Literary Forms

Of the literary forms of WMIr prose and verse that may stem from Aramaic literature I will concentrate here only on the verse texts that show an abecedarian structure, the abecedaria or alphabetical hymns.[24]

In these hymns each verse or phrase or in some cases each word starts[25] with a word the first letter of which is in the order of the alphabet.[26] The alphabet is the normal Manichaean alphabet, i.e. the twenty-two letters of the Syriac alphabet (Estrangelō). The modified letters *β, γ, δ* are not used, but the letter *j* is in Parth. hymns where it is placed after *z*. The positions of the letters of the Manichaean script that have become variants, *h̲*, *t̲* and *q* are retained and these letters tend to swap places with their "partners" *h, t, k*; also, letters that are characterised by a point can be employed with or without this, i.e. *p* and *f*, *k* and *x* interchange at will. Clearly the abecedarian principle was borrowed from Syriac or similar Aramaic source and goes back to the alphabetic Psalms of the Old Testament (Psalms 9–10, 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119 and 145). A further feature of the WMIr abecedarian hymns is that additional verses at the end of such hymns begin with the letter *n*. This is a feature that also occurs in Mandaic verse texts. The stress metre of Manichaean hymns has been found over a wide area in Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH 1949 showed similar metres in the Coptic Manichaean psalms and compared these with Mandaean metres.

A large number of abecedaria are present in the Turfan fragments. At the moment there are certainly over ninety such hymns but I will defer a survey of them to another occasion in the hope that it will be more exhaustive than what I could offer now. Most of these hymns are Parth. but that reflects the relative distribution of MP and Parth. hymns as a whole.

Since it is difficult to imagine a translator being able to work the abecedarian scheme at the same time as translating a text, i.e. when he is limited in his choice of words, it is logical to assume that the use of the abecedarian scheme is an indicator that a particular hymn is not a translation but at most, an adaptation. Conversely, a non-abecedarian hymn could then claim to be a translation.[27]

24 SUNDERMANN 1969, p. 136, on the hymns: "1. Es gibt Hymnen ohne jegliche metrische Gliederung – Übertragungen aus dem Syrischen, 2. Ein charakteristischer Aramaismus der iranisch-manichäischen Dichtung ist die häufige alphabetische Anordnung der Versanfänge von Hymnen, 3. Die Silbenzahl der Verszeilen ist unregelmäßig, 4. Das wichtigste Merkmal der metrischen Gliederung ist der Versiktus. Problematisch ist jedoch bisweilen die Bestimmung der Lage des Versiktus."

25 Quite rarely, the alphabetically relevant word is not the first word in the verse. In this case all the verses begin with the same word, e.g. *'wn* upon which the alphabetically relevant word follows, in M 6.

26 There are even some hymns in reverse alphabetical order (M 42 Parth., M 90 MP).

27 For example, ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 882, n. 4, point this out for the second hymn on M 104.

Non-abecedarian hymns could, then, be older than abecedarian hymns which nevertheless also follow an Aramaic model. However, there are certainly also early abecedarian hymns: Both hymns naming Mar Zako and which Henning regarded as well composed and old,[28] are abecedarian and apparently based on Aramaic texts.

Conclusions

All in all, therefore, Aramaic plays a relatively small role in the WMIr Turfan texts, one limited to specific areas and in many cases not easy to grasp. The disappearance of Mani's Aramaic in an Iranian-speaking area is only to be expected. We can expect the Aramaic influence on Mani's Middle Persian texts to have been a personal issue whereas the work of translating the Aramaic texts into Parthian was carried out by others and, in part, after Mani's death whereas his Middle Persian texts were retained unchanged.

This touches on a cornerstone of Manichaeism, the process of assimilation that the Manichaeans strove to achieve. We can assume that the Manichaeans not only adapted the names of the mythical actors to the culture they turned to but also made every effort to adapt the linguistic form of a text to the language of that culture, because they wanted to achieve not a wooden translation text but a symbiosis with the linguistic form of the religion of the culture they wanted to enter. Mani stated this as a founding principle of his religion:

> MPT
> ... *dēn ī man ād kū pad harw šahr ud pad wisp izwān paydāg bawād ud pad šahrān dūrān kēšīhād*[29] "... my religion (is) so that it should/will be clear/known in every land and in every language, and should/will be taught in far lands."

If features of a translation can be made out in a WMIr text this can only be for a few reasons: 1. The non-translated elements have a particular function (they are not translatable); 2. The translator did not have the competence to do a correct translation. Perhaps he did not understand the text (e.g. the mythical texts); 3. At some stage, part of the Manichaean community turned away from Mani's principles.

Let us first look at those things that speak for linguistic and cultural adaptation. The Manichaeans produced texts in two WMIr languages, later in a third Iranian language, Sogdian, even in a fourth, Bactrian and later still in Early New Persian; and in Old Turkish, Tocharian and Chinese, continually adapting

28 M 6: Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 865, n. 3: "zählt zu den besten Erzeugnissen der parthisch-manichäischen Dichtung" and M 104 (first hymn): Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 882, n. 3: "sehr frühe Zeit".

29 ... *dyn ʿy mn ʾʾd kw pd hrw šhr ʾwd pd wysp ʿzwʾn pydʾg bwʾd ʾwd pd šhrʾn dwrʾʾn qyšyhʾd* (M 5794 I R 9–13).

themselves to their environment. It is therefore not to be expected that Manichaeism would transmit much Aramaic material in non-Aramaic areas; but equally one could expect that the move from one language to the next would be entire, replacing everything in the previous language. Why then is Central Asian Manichaeism so multilingual?

One possibility is that Manichaeism had not run its course, i.e. the demise of Manichaeism came at a time when the work of translation had not been completed. The other possibility, which seems altogether more likely, is more complex. The Aramaic formulas in M 260 were retained here and even reproduced in Chinese in the Hymn-scroll because they had a particular significance. The word *q'dwš* at least was regarded as untranslatable since it also occurs otherwise in MP and Parth. hymns. But the rest of the two Aramaic formulas is translated, the first into Parth., the second into MP though *qdyš'ḥ* is apparently replaced in the Parth. version by a more extensive phrase. Why? The answer must be that, despite Mani's principles, Aramaic was held in a certain high regard in the early mission to Parth. and MP speaking areas of the Sasanian empire. These few phrases are not enough to justify calling Aramaic a church language of the early mission but this cannot be excluded for lack of information about the texts of the mission. We could, of course, surmise that a certain bilingualism was present in the mission, that the people first addressed in the Manichaean mission had some knowledge of Aramaic because they belonged to the Syriac speaking religious and merchant communities in Iran. If that was so, the situation prior to the multilingualism in Turfan will have already arisen in Iran – this is the case with MP and Parth. anyway because MP texts were definitely used, untranslated or at least not replaced by possible Parth. paraphrasing translations, in the Parth. mission. Since the knowledge of MP spread within the Sasanian empire a bilingualism in Parth. and MP was present in Parth. speaking areas of the empire therefore allowing the Manichaean mission to retain works in MP. Since most if not all of these MP texts had the added appeal of being attributable to Mani himself they soon became the object of reverence. It was only natural that Mani's mother tongue (his only or other one) Aramaic should also attain a special status. This multilingualism continued throughout the successive spread of this brand of Manichaeism eastwards, picking up, as it were, Sogdian, Bactrian, Uigur, Tocharian and Chinese along the way but without the newer languages really discarding or replacing the older ones. Sogdian and Uigur speaking Manichaeans retained MP and Parthian texts and at least the few Aramaic formulas; but the Chinese Hymn-scroll, retaining MP, Parthian and the same Aramaic formulas,[30] discards the intervening languages Sogdian and Uigur, confirming therefore the special status of MP, Parth. and Aramaic as church languages.

30 YOSHIDA 1986, between pp. 4 and 5 lists a hundred transcribed words in the Chinese material of which 90 % are WMIr.

In the Turfan Collection there is a number of glossary fragments, word-lists containing MP and Parth. material for which a Sogdian equivalent is given; Sogdian and Turkish glosses also survive. FRANZMANN/GARDNER 1996 referred to a general similarity of the WMIr-Sogdian glosses with the two Syriac-Greek word-lists from Kellis. The Egyptian texts document the use and study of Syriac (as does a Syriac sentence in a Coptic letter) and the practical work of translation though the precise purpose of the two texts is unclear. But there is a decisive difference between the Egyptian and the Turfan texts: They are from different phases in the spread of Manichaeism. The Egyptian texts show (though somewhat indirectly, since no Syriac text from which a translation was made has been found) the cross-over from Syriac to Coptic in Egypt,[31] while the WMIr-Sogdian (and also the Sogdian-Turkish) glosses show further and later stages in the translation work of the Manichaeans in the East.[32] The first stage, the move from Aramaic/Syriac to MP and Parth. is not attested; this could not be expected in Turfan anyway because this transformation did not take place there but rather in the corresponding linguistic areas of the Sasanian empire. The life-span of glosses is shorter than the texts and, having no intrinsic value for the Manichaeans, the glosses were not transmitted with the texts, since a study of Aramaic Manichaean texts was not possible in Turfan and did not happen.[33] The glosses found in Turfan give an accurate reflection of the linguistic reality: They document the need for explications of WMIr words that speakers of Sogdian had and, later, the need speakers of Uigur had for Sogdian. These needs accompanied the successive translation phases into Sogdian and Uigur and the survival of the glossary fragments documents and supplements the attestation of Manichaean literature in Turfan with its strata of WMIr, Sogdian and Uigur and its multilingual manuscripts, extending even to Uigur and Tocharian. There is apparently no such bilingualism in the Manichaean texts from Egypt beyond the normal Coptic-Greek bilingualism of Egypt itself. Therefore the multilingual character of Central Asian Manichaeism is not entirely attributable to Manichaeism itself but rather to the fact that Manichaeism moved on a route that took it through

31 FRANZMANN/GARDNER in GARDNER 1996, p. 101: "Therefore, these finds [bilingual glossaries (written first in Syriac, then Coptic)] must evidence the already mentioned concern for the Syriac origins of textual material used by the community in praxis; and that the community was not so long established that it had lost the proper usage of Syriac. As regards this, the finding of Syriac on the address of a Greek personal letter [n. 273: P.Kellis.G.67 in WORP 1995: 178–179] shows that it was a living language for at least some people connected to the Kellis church."

32 However, SUNDERMANN and ZIEME interpret the glosses somewhat differently. SUNDERMANN/ZIEME 1981, pp. 184–185, see in the WMIr-Sogdian glosses aids to understanding difficult words in the church languages MP and Pa but in the Sogdian-Turkish glosses school texts used for the purpose of learning Sogdian.

33 This describes the indirect route taken by Manichaean literature to Turfan. However, in the period of the Sogdian letters edited by SUNDERMANN 1980 [1984] there may indeed have been Manichaean texts in Syriac in Turfan.

various bi- and multilingual cultures. Manichaeism's programmed willingness to adapt and conform to the linguistic landscape contributes to the overall result but, on the other hand, the unwillingness to discard texts in earlier languages is the second half of the picture in the extraordinary linguistic phenomenon that Manichaean texts in Central Asia offer. Manichaeism in Central Asia in the 8th–10th centuries is a very complex linguistic phenomenon that in no way conforms to Mani's original intention however much this intention lies at its base.

By the way, the fact that from about the 6th century onwards the Manichaean community in Central Asia was preoccupied with translating Manichaean literature into Sogdian and, after 762, turned to the task of translation into Uigur, limits the value the lack of younger Parthian texts in Turfan has for dating the demise of Parthian. Because the new work of translation primarily indicates a change in orientation, there was no reason for making new Parthian texts in Central Asia when Parthian texts (rather than MP ones) were being translated into Sogdian. This also shows that the ability was there to work with the existing Parthian texts; the Parthian sermons and narrative texts were translated into Sogdian. All this says no more than that the Parthian area was more restricted than that of MP. It also shows that, apparently, MP had attained the status of a church language so that MP texts were not translated while Parthian prose texts were. This distribution can have different reasons. Mani composed at least one MP text, the *Šābuhragān*. Texts with a similar content are nearly exclusively MP (MP cosmogonical texts and Giants, Henoch, Hermas); Parthian cosmogonical texts are rare. In addition to the cosmogonical texts which belong to the heart of the religious system there are also hymns in MP. The Parthian texts comprise the great mass of texts for daily use such as hymns of all kinds, didactic texts (sermons, the lost Parthian version of the *xwāstwanīft*) and the ecclesiastical history. Central Asian Manichaeism is in this respect quite clearly the scion of the Manichaean mission in the Parthian-speaking areas in the north of the Sasanian empire. It may be that the survival of the Manichaean literature in MP profited from the wide use of MP (and later of Early Modern Persian) as a *lingua franca* – in that case only Parthian was the really isolated church language.

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Is the Judge a Questioning Man?

Notes in the Margin of Khotanese *pharṣavata-*

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In one of his more recent essays[1], Ronald Emmerick looks back over Khot. *pharṣavata-*. Bailey interpreted this word as "judge" and derived it from **fraša-pati-*.[2] To overcome the phonological problems left open by this etymology in regard of *pharsa-*, not solved by later suggestions[3], Emmerick points to a contraction of **phara-paršta-pati-* (lit. "the lord of much questioning"). According to him, **paršta-* would be the compositional form of **paršti-* "questioning" (cf. Av. *hām-paršti-*). One could hardly disagree with him on the fact that the reference to Ir. **fras-* (IE **perk-/*prek-*) "to ask" appears attractive and should not be discarded.

The following remarks on the 'specialized' meaning of Ir. **fras-* on which the Khot. word is thought to rest[4] are dedicated to Ronald Emmerick as a token of deep respect, admiration and sympathy towards an invaluable scholar in the Indo-Iranian field and a very gentle and kind-hearted person.

1. The judge is questioner, Bailey suggests,[5] mentioning, alongside Khot. *pharṣavata-*, Tokh. B *prekṣenta*, A *prakṣänt*, OIA *prāḍ-vivāka*. Further evidence has been provided by Mayrhofer on different occasions.[6]

The indirect documentation (Bab. and El. tablets, Aram. Elephantine papyri and Esdra) shows that in Achaemenid times OP titles deriving from *pṛs-*, i.e. **frasaka-*, **frasakara-* and **patifrāsa-* designated a special kind (or special kinds) of (probably judicial) official, whose functions, however, are not yet clear. Hinz renders the first two as "Untersuchungsrichter" and the third one as "Profoß"[7],

1 Emmerick 1997.
2 Bailey 1952, pp. 423–428. He maintained his position in later works [to Emmerick 1985, p. 313, add Bailey 1978, p. 2] and summarized it in Bailey 1979, s.v.
3 Schwartz 1974, pp. 403–405 (< Bactrian) – Weber 1983, p. 99–100 (< **frašna-* or < OP **fraθya/*frašya-*; see below fn. 8) – Emmerick 1985, pp. 313–315 (< **paršta-*).
4 I do not enter into the merit of Emmerick's solution; throughout the paper no comments are made on phonetic and derivational issues concerning the quoted Ir. words.
5 Bailey 1979, s.v.
6 Cf. Mayrhofer 1961, pp. 188–189; 1963, p. 376; 1993, pp. 183–185.
7 Hinz 1975, s.vv.

imagining the latter not only as an 'investigating judge', but also as an 'executioner' ("Folterknecht").[8]

The El. documentation may confirm the semantic correctness of the reconstruction of the OP titles. In PF 8969,[9] to a *hh.pír-ra-sa-qa* there seems to be ascribed the act of *mil hapi-* ("to press oil"?), the El. rendering of OP *pṛs-* in the Achaemenid inscriptions (see below).

That Ir. **fras-/*pṛs-* developed a special, 'judicial' sense has long since been noted. The clearest evidence comes from the Achaemenid texts, where *pṛs-* is used in a sense which the scholars interpret as "to punish".[10]

In the first column of DB (ll. 21–22) Darius states[11]:

> *antar imā dahyāva martiya, haya agriya āha, avam ubṛtam abaram, haya arīka āha, avam ufrastam apṛsam* "among these countries, the one which was loyal, that I treated well, the one which was unloyal, that I heavily punished".

In this passage and in similar ones,[12] Darius presents himself as the maintainer of the worldly ethic order, the 'awarder' of the good-doer (*agriya-* "loyal", *haya hamataxšatā manā viθiyā* "who co-strove in (for?) my house", *martiya haya hantaxšatai* "the man who co-strives") and the 'punisher' of the evil-doer (*arīka-* "unloyal, unfaithful", *draujana-* "follower of Falsehood", *haya vināθayati/viyanāθaya* "who does/did harm"), and urges his successors to behave in the same way.[13] In so doing, he concurs to enforce an important Mazdean principle,[14] on which individual eschatology also rests, namely: any human action, standing on free will, induces an appropriate 'reaction'. It establishes a debit or credit condition, for which a final balance is contemplated.[15] These concepts, already contained in the *Avesta*, have been organically elaborated in the religious texts of later centuries.

8 According to EILERS, who first pointed to the Bab. and the Aram. evidence (EILERS 1940, pp. 5–43; El. *hh.pír-ra-šá-kur-ra* and *hh.pír-ra-sa-qa* [one occurrence each] were not known at the time), we are not in a position to verify at present "ob wir hier nicht ein und denselben Beamten mit zwei Benennungen vor uns haben", *ibid.*, p. 41. With regard to El. *pír-ra-šá-kur-ra*, WEBER 1983, pp. 99–100, suggests that, should the El. form be a rendering of an OP word for 'judge' *(*fraθya/*frašya-kara-)* "wäre eine Möglichkeit einer direkten Verbindung zu dem khotansakischen Titel aufgezeigt".

9 HINZ/KOCH 1987, p. 216, s.v. *hh.pír-ra-sa-qa*.

10 A different etymology ("to punish" < "to strike", cf. Skt. *plakṣ-*) has been advanced in BURROW 1968, pp. 251–252. However, there is enough evidence to maintain the old one with a fair degree of confidence.

11 The reading and transcription of the OP texts quoted in this paper follow SCHMITT 1991 and 2000. Partial text reconstructions have not been marked. The translation follows SCHMITT's, with slight changes.

12 Cf. DB IV 65–67; DNb 16–19 [= XPl 17–20].

13 Cf. DB IV 37–39, 67–69 and 87–88.

14 See the comments on the royal activity in *Dk* III, 164 (DE MENASCE 1973, p. 175).

15 Note that not to believe in a 'compensatory system', is, according to *ŠGW* (6, 7), a prerogative of the atheists (DE MENASCE 1945, pp. 78–79).

All the expressions used in these contexts have a strong religious connotation;[16] OP *viyanāθa-* is linked to MP *wināh*, Prs. *gunāh* "sin", etc., while OP *hamtaxš-* seems to parallel (both etymologically and semantically) MP *tuxšīdan* "to strive, endeavour",[17] whose centrality in the religious lexicon is manifest in the Phl. texts. As a paradigmatic instance, see the passage in the *Wizīdāgīhā ī Zādspram,* where the three 'things' on which the accomplishment of the Renovation rests are listed; the second point reads as follows:

> *dudīgar ēmēd ī mizd <ud> pādāšn ī kirbakkarān bīm ī az puhl <ud> pādifrāh ī bazakkarān ud tuxšīdan ī pad kirbag <ud> pahrēxtan ī az wināh* "Deuxièmement, l'espoir de la récompense et de la rétribution chez les vertueux, la crainte du châtiment et de la punition chez les pécheurs, et l'effort vers la bonne action et l'abstention du péché."[18]

According to his own words, Darius' wish is that nobody does evil, but whenever this happens, it is morally right to give a firm answer (DNb 19–21).[19] The retribution has always to be commensurate to the action.[20] A reference to the congruity of the 'quantity/quality' of the good/bad action with that of the reaction is made in DNb 16–19:

> *martiya haya hantaxšatai, anudim hankᵣtahyā avaθādim paribarāmi, haya vināθayati, anudim vinastahyā avaθā pᵣsāmi* "The man who co-strives, according to the co-operation, thus I care for him; who does harm, according to the harm done, thus I punish him."[21]

In order to balance the budget, the king behaves properly. The two alternatives are rendered in the texts by *bar-/paribar-* and *pᵣs-*. In all the relevant cases, *bar-* ("to bear") occurs in the 'etymological figure' *ubᵣtam bar-*,[22] with the verbal adjective from the same verb; *paribar-* is used alone or 'reinforced' by *u-bᵣta-*.[23] How much *ubᵣtam bar-* and *(ubᵣtam) paribar-* diverge semantically

16 For the religious background of DB IV 37–39 see also Skjærvø 1999, pp. 54–55, who singles out the theme of 'punishing sinners to keep the land healthy', with a pendant in Y 30.8–9.

17 On the sacral implications of OP *hamtaxš-* see also Rossi 2000, pp. 2099–2100 and 2003, pp. 348–349 (with literature). However, I do not agree with Rossi 2003 in all the details of his reasoning. The notion of 'to strive' is not so far from that of 'to exert religious zeal'.

18 Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, pp. 32–33.

19 See also XPl 21–23.

20 The necessity of a right proportion, sin : punishment / merit : reward, is often referred to in the Phl. texts (see *ham-paymānīhā* "selon la même mesure" in *WZ* 30.38, Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993).

21 See also XPl 17–20 (with slight differences).

22 To OP *ubᵣtam bar-* correspond Av. *hubərətəm bar-* and Ved. *súbhᵣtam bhar-*; for bibliographical references see Kellens 1974 and Mayrhofer 1993, p. 249.

23 Cf. DB IV 88.

is debatable; SCHMITT translates the first idiom as "to treat well" and the second as "to take care".[24]

OP *pṛs-* never occurs as "to ask", so in principle we would not be entitled to attribute this sense to it, even if it is a likely one. In DB it is always attested in the 'etymological figure' *ufrastam/ufraštam*[25] *pṛs-*; in DNb it occurs alone. As far as the El. and Bab. versions are concerned, a semantic equivalence links OP *pṛs-* to Bab. *ša'ālu*, which means "to ask, question, interrogate, ask for something, etc." but also "to hold responsible, call to account".[26] HERZFELD does not recognize the parallelism of the semantic development of the OP and Bab. verbs; according to him, OP *pṛs-* "strafen" ("strafen" < "fragen") was intended by the Bab. translators "im awestischen sinne", since *ša'ālu* "zwar auch 'zur Verantwortung ziehen', natürlich auch 'verhören' aber nicht 'strafen' heißt".[27] However, when 'calling to account', the 'caller' is already aware that something wrong has been done by the 'called' and he is going to reproach or punish the culprit accordingly. In fact, translating OP *pṛs-* as "to punish" rests on the modern scholars' interpretation; as far as we know it could also be "to call to account". In correspondence with OP *pṛs-* we find an El. phrase based on the nominal *mil* plus the verb *hapi-*. Its meaning is uncertain but it seems to be used in economic texts with reference to the pressing of oil (figurative sense: "to inquire closely", "to apply extreme pressure", and the like).[28]

2. OP *pṛs-* has in *fras-* its Av. counterpart, but the semantic specializations of the two verbs do not coincide, since Av. *fras-* seems to lack the 'judicial' one. In his *Wörterbuch*, BARTHOLOMAE also attributes to *fras-* the same meaning ["richten, strafen"] as OP *pṛs-*, but the quoted passage which should attest this sense (Y 31.13, the same referred to, s.v. *frasa-*) is understood differently in the

24 SCHMITT 1991, 2000. It is not clear if this 'care' is material or immaterial. In Elamite, the same 'metaphorical path' is followed: *kukti-* is the reduplicated stem of *kuti-* "to carry, bear, etc." (HALLOCK 1969). In correspondence, Bab. and Aram. texts have *sadādu* and *sbl* (Aram. DB l. 78); *sadādu* in Achaemenid Bab. is translated "to protect" (VON VOIGTLANDER 1978, MALBRAN-LABAT 1994), but "the precise nuance of both the Akk. and Aramaic terms is one of providing sustenance" (GREENFIELD/PORTEN 1982, p. 53). See also HERZFELD 1938, pp. 112–113. On the 'material nature' of the royal protection see also GRILLOT-SUSINI/ HERRENSCHMIDT/MALBRAN-LABAT 1993, p. 41, fn. 103.

25 The *-št-* dialectal variant is in DB IV 38, 67, 69, the *-st-* variant in DB I 22. On this *-st-/-št-* doublet see most recently SCHMITT 1997, strongly supporting the thesis of a loanword from a Median *-št-*form.

26 CAD, s.v. *šâlu*, in part. pp. 280 and 282 (see also EILERS 1940, pp. 16–17, fn. 2). Note Arab. *yus'alu* "to be responsible of", *mas'ūl* "responsible, accountable"; *mas'ūliyat* "responsibility", etc.

27 HERZFELD 1938, p. 274.

28 HALLOCK 1969, p. 730. According to GRILLOT-SUSINI/HERRENSCHMIDT/MALBRAN-LABAT 1993, p. 41, fn. 103, *miul-e hapi* with reference to a human being could be intended as "extraire sa substance" (and then "écraser, punir") in a financial sense.

most recent translations of the Gāthā.[29] No Av. nominals connected to *fras-* may affect our reasoning.[30]

3. MP *pādifrāh, pādofrāh*, (Man.) Prth. *pādifrās*[31], Sgd. *pātfrās*, Prs. *bādāfrāh*[32] are semantically unequivocal. They mean "punishment, retribution" in a corporal sense.[33] Beside *pātfrās*, considered a borrowing,[34] Buddh. Sogdian also has *frās* "punishment". Noteworthy is *p'tpl'sy* in the MP version of the Paikuli inscription, in one passage where Narseh states to have punished the liar [Prth. *drwzn*] who was first against the God and against him [Prth. *pty y'ztn W LN*], and secondly against Ērānšahr,[35] and which, in its political-religious approach, partially parallels the passages of Darius' inscriptions mentioned above. A correspondence is established between MP *pādifrāh kardan* and OP *pṛs-*.

Similarly, no difficulty arises from the interpretation of MP *pursišn* "question"[36], the verbal noun of *purs-* "to ask". However, a few sporadic occurrences of this word require a special comment.

In a Manichaean MP parable text (M 47 II) the Hearers are compared to a man who, having prepared a banquet for his guests, at the fall of night forgets to light the lamps, leaving all in the dark. The king, present at the banquet, at first doubts of the man's good faith, but later he changes his mind and after having reproached him for his negligence, honours him with his gifts and friendship. Analogously, the Hearers

> *pd zm'n zm'n 'c kyrdg'n swst u fr'mwš bwynd •• pwrsyšn bwyd ps pyrwzyy pdyrynd • rw'n bwxsyd* "Von Zeit zu Zeit werden sie in ihren Werken lässig und vergeßlich. <Sie> werden zur Verantwortung gezogen, darauf erringen sie den Sieg, und ihre Seele wird gerettet." (V 8–12)[37]

29 See Insler 1975, pp. 40–41; Kellens/Pirart 1988, p. 116; 1990, p. 269; Humbach et al. 1991, I, p. 129; II, p. 69.

30 Av. *paršta-* "Gerichtsfrage" quoted in Emmerick 1985, p. 314 (from an interpretation by Thieme), is now understood differently.

31 Arm. *patouhas* "punishment" is a Prth. loanword; cf. Benveniste 1945–1946, p. 74.

32 See variants in Mo'in 1371 [1992], s.v. The (Lahore *Tafsīr*) form *p'yw(')h* "punishment", hardly belonging here ("Despite the obvious similarity to MP *pādifrāh* [...] it would be necessary to assume an unparalleled contraction of *–fr-* to connect the two words"; MacKenzie 1971, p. 416) may belong to Sgd. *ptwh, ptw* "retribution" (Gharib 1995).

33 Cf. *Frahang i Pahlavīk* XVII *pltn ''wšt'p · p'tpl's – p'tpl'h*, where *partan ōštāp* (probably "corporeal punishment") is paralleled to the two dialectal variants of our word for 'punishment' (Utas 1988).

34 Gershevitch 1954, §674.

35 *p'tpl'sy* is partially reconstructed (<p(')[tp]l'sy>), but appears reliable; cf. Humbach/Skjærvø 1983, I, p. 55, §61; II, pp. 95–96.

36 In Phl. books *pursišn* is never "trial", so the source of the Arm. technical loanword *p'ursišn* (6th c.), which should mean something like "court procedure" (Ačaṙiyan 1979, p. 528), is uncertain.

37 Sundermann 1973, p. 88 (*pwrsyšn bwyd* "a 'calling to account' occurs").

This means that, before finding their salvation, the Hearers are expected to be punished, or at least reproached, just as the man was reproached by the king.

Let us turn to Phl. texts. According to *Dk* VI E34c, the faithful who wants to keep himself away from temptations, may sometimes desire blindness, deafness and dumbness; for him *karrīh weh ce'ōn hān ciš ašnūd ī āmār ud pursišn ī pad ruwān az-eš šāyēd būdan* "deafness is best when he hears a thing from which there may come about the reckoning and the interrogation of the soul".[38] Here *āmār* ("reckoning") and *pursišn*, linked in hendiadys, are semantically close and *pursišn* is better translated "calling to account" (or something similar) than "interrogation".

In his *Pahlavi dictionary*, MACKENZIE enters *pursišnīg* as "responsible".[39] This is only one of the attested meanings of an *-īg* derivate from *pursišn*. It possibly results from MACKENZIE's interpretation of the much debated phrase *az pursišnīgān pursišnīgtar* referred to *Zamān* (Time) in *Bundahišn* 1.43 (immediately followed by the gloss *kū wizīr pad zamān +šāyēd kardan*)[40] and to Rapihwin in *Dk* VII 6.6. According to this interpretation, the one who may be considered *pursišnīg* is the one who may be called to account over his behaviour (liable to *pursišn*).[41] Differently, NYBERG intends *pursišnīg* as "wer zu befragen ist, d.h. Bescheid weiß, wohlunterrichtet ist"[42] (worthy of *pursišn*). However, the *-išn-īg* derivates may point not only to the object of the verb, but also to its agent,[43] and in our case we have "the one who asks"[44] (and possibly "the one who calls to account"). This is the position assumed by BAHĀR[45]. According to him, *pursišnīg*, i.e. 'the one who asks a lot [besyār porsande]' means "investigator [bāzju, bāzpors]", that is 'the one who illuminates the truths [ān ke haqāyeq rā rowšan misāzad]' and in *Dk* 1.43 fits in well with Time, perceived as a 'judge [qāzi] and a discloser of the truth'. Here the sensibility of a Fārsi speaker, who resorts to *bāzpors*, a technical judicial word, concurs in his interpretation of the gloss. In fact, the *wizīr* ("decision") contained there, may evoke the activity of a judge. The seal on the *pursišnīg* Time has still to be set.

38 SHAKED 1979, pp. 202–203.

39 See also *apursišnīg* "irresponsible" (MACKENZIE 1986).

40 See CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, p. 38 ("the most responsible of all in that it is possible to make a decision in time"). For other interpretations and bibliographical details I refer to MOLÉ 1993, pp. 193–194.

41 Thanks are due to CARLO CERETI, with whom I discussed some details of this matter.

42 Cf. NYBERG 1931, p. 187.

43 Cf. *abaxšāyīšnīg* "forgiving", *garzišnīg* "complaining", etc. See also RASTORGUEVA/MOLČANOVA 1981, p. 69.

44 Cf. *WZ* 21.11: *Zardušt* [...] *frāz šud pad gāh ī pursišnīgān be nišast* "Zoroastre [...] s'avança et s'assit à l'endroit (réservé) à ceux qui interrogent" (GIGNOUX/TAFAZZOLI 1993).

45 Cf. BAHĀR 1345 [1966], p. 140.

In the Phl. juridical lexicon, *pursišn-nāmag*[46] denotes the document written in a criminal case. It is a technical term currently understood as "record of questioning (or investigation)".[47] Major misdeeds require this kind of record: practically, all the crimes 'worthy of death'. The sentence has to be written at the end of the record, as attested in MHDA 34. 8–9:

> it is written with reference to a man (that) a 'record of questioning' *(pursišn-nāmag)* should be taken and the punishment *(pādifrāh)* recorded at the end *(pad sar)*.[48]

We ought to ask whether the denomination of this document ultimately originates from the procedure (investigation), as is generally thought, or from its conclusion (condemnation), with the mention of which the record obligatorily ends. The accused man is not simply investigated; he is sentenced. A similar technical usage of Prs. *porsešnāme* has been recorded by Moʿin.[49] The *bāzpors*[50], an examining magistrate or a police officer, interrogates both the claimants and the defendants; he discloses the crimes and writes down the conclusion of his inquiry *(bāzporsi)* in an 'official *porsešnāme*': *ānjā, bā tavajjoh be javābhā qarār sāder nemāyad* "there, taking account of the answers, he issues his resolution". Moʿin's argumentation privileges the investigative background of the juridical act.

MP *purs-*, Prth. *purs-*, Sgd. *pərs-* and Khot. *puls-* never seem to occur with the same sense ("to punish" [< "to call to account"?]) as OP *pṛs-*. However, the New Persian documentation shows that this or a similar sense have survived somewhere in connection with this verbal base.

4. As an instance, I would refer to the episode of the adulteress (John 8, 1–11) in the Persian *Diatessaron* (13th c.).[51] As is well known, Jesus invited anyone who considered himself without sins to cast the first stone. After a while, looking around, he found that all the people had left. In the Prs. text Jesus addresses the woman as follows: *kojā and ānān ke torā dāvari mikardand hič kas torā naporsid?*[52] Messina translated: "Dove sono coloro che ti giudicavano? Nessuno ti

46 Phl. *pursišnīg-nāmag* is "letter of enquires", such as those addressed by members of a Zoroastrian community to religious authorities (see for example *Dādestān ī dēnīg* [Jaafari-Dehaghi 1998, s.v.]). Prs. *porsešnāme* is "questionnaire".

47 Macuch 1999, pp. 98–100. See also "Untersuchungsprotokoll" or "Verhörprotokoll" in Macuch 1993, p. 497.

48 Quoted according to Macuch 1999, p. 100; see also Macuch 1993, p. 526.

49 Moʿin 1992, s.v. *bāzporsi*. However, this sense is not recorded *ibid.*, s.v. *porsešnāme*, and in the other Persian dictionaries I have consulted.

50 See also below.

51 Messina 1951, pp. 196–197.

52 Ms.: <nbwrsyd>; *naporsid* seems the only possible reading. The transcription of Persian adopted in this paper follows the modern (Fārsi) pronunciation.

interrogò?" That "Nessuno ti interrogò?" could not appease him; *porsidan*, he comments,

> nel significato di "condannare" non si trova nei lessici. Per avere un senso più vicino al contesto si potrebbe intendere *pursīdan* nel senso di "chiedere conto, sottoporre a indagine giudiziaria", ma anche questo senso non soddisfa.[53]

However, if we consider 'chiedere conto' as being different from 'sottoporre a indagine giudiziaria', as it really is, we may declare ourselves fairly satisfied both with the comprehensibility of the relevant passage ("Did nobody punish you?")[54] and the tracking down of a special usage of our verb, whose traces we have lost since the Achaemenid period.

The dialectal background of the *Diatessaron* author is unknown.[55] Possibly, he used extant Prs. versions of the Gospels, as is suggested by linguistic elements present in one Gospel and not in the others. This is the case of *šiv (bešiv)* "under, below" in the Gospel of Luke.[56] Now, the locative function of cognates of Prs. *šib* "declivity, slope" points to the dialects of Central Iran (Kermāni, Yazdi, Bizovoi, Nāini, Xunsāri, etc.) but is attested in Eastern Persian as well (cf. Sistāni *šēb*[57]; Birjandi *ši*[58]; [dial.] Tājik *šeb-i*[59]). We know that our man mostly moved through Eastern Iran. Is *porsidan* "to punish" in John's Gospel an Eastern Prs. feature?

In his *Loγatnāme*, DEHXODĀ also attributes to Prs. *porsidan* and *porseš* the meanings of "mo'āxeze kardan [to call to account]" and "bāzxāst, mo'āxeze [calling to account, chastisement]",[60] which seem to be unknown in standard Fārsi. All the provided evidence comes from texts by poets such as Ferdowsi[61] or Farroxi. The 'caller' is systematically God, as in:

> *gar urā bedarrand širān-e nar*
> *ze xun-aš naporsad ze mā dādgar*
>
> "if the lions rend him to pieces
> the Judge will not call us to account over his blood."

53 MESSINA 1951, p. 297, fn. 3.
54 Jesus' subsequent words (*man niz torā sazā va dāvari nemikonam* "I too do not punish and judge you") also elucidate the semantics of *porsidan*.
55 He was probably native of Tabriz. Persian was not his mother tongue according to MESSINA, who points to Arabic (p. lxvi, fn. 1). However, many of the inconsistencies pointed out by MESSINA, apart from the numerous Semitisms resting on the translation from a (probably) Syriac original, are in fact extraneous to literary Persian, but not to oral and/or diatopic Prs. varieties.
56 Cf. MESSINA 1951, p. xxv–xxvi and p. 137, fn. 1.
57 AFŠĀR 1986, s.v.
58 REZĀYI 1373 [1994], s.v.
59 ROZENFEL'D 1982, s.v.
60 See also MO'IN 1371 [1992], s.v.
61 Cf. WOLFF 1935, s.v. *pursīdan* "zur Verantwortung ziehen (von Gott beim letzen Gericht)".

Among the successful lexical creations suggested by the *Farhangestān*, one counts *bāzpors* and *bāzporsi*, 'approved' as Prs. alternatives to *mostanteq* "examining magistrate" and *estentāq* "judicial examination". They convey the idea of a ruthless interrogation.

5. The overall picture that emerges is somehow puzzling. Some of the words under discussion are undoubtedly associated with the idea of interrogation, inquiry, investigative research and are easily connected with the notion of 'asking'; others evoke the request of a repayment for a crime whose author is already known.[62] Should we explain all of them with "a shift from 'ask, question' through 'examine, investigate' to a resulting 'punish' ",[63] as is generally accepted, or should we rather think of different semantic paths which, starting from 'ask', lead to 'inquire' on one side and to 'require a repayment' on the other, and which sometimes seem to overlap?

To explain Lat. *quaestor*, Benveniste considers the semantics of *quaero* and the nouns derived from it (*quaestus* "le moyen de gagner, le gain même", *quaestio* "la question-torture").[64] These words imply that "un object matériel, un avantage souvent, mais toujours quelque chose de concret" is demanded, through "un moyen matériel approprié". The *quaestor*

> n'est pas seulement chargé de 'faire une enquête', son rôle est bien de *quaerere*, de chercher à se procurer par des moyens matériels soit, dans une affaire criminelle, la personne même du coupable – soit (et le mot s'associe avec *quaestus*) l'argent de trésor dont il doit assurer la rentrée et la répartition.

In his analysis Benveniste relies on "les formes de **prek-* dans d'autres langues que le latin", and in particular the Ir. forms. He is wrong when asserting that "ir. *fras, frašta*" ("châtiment") is "généralement 'torture' "; in fact, we cannot say anything about the instruments with which the request is made. Nevertheless, I think that Benveniste suggests us the right way.

In many languages the two notions of 'asking about' and 'asking for' intermingle.[65] Descendants of Ir. **fras-* are mostly recorded as "to ask about". In

62 In a Bal. tale (Balochi Dictionary Archive, IUO/*Orientale* Naples), provided by an Iranian Bal. speaker (native of a village near Irānšahr), I found *just kanag* "to ask" used as "to call to account". There the protagonist, meditating revenge on the killers of some friends, says to his comrades: "*agan māšumā dru hū"r bibī'n sālār u ī' diga kuštigī'nānī justa ša balāh u ī' janī'nā kanī'n*" ("if we all will be united, we will call the giant and the woman to account over Sālār and the others who had been killed"). WBal. and SBal. *just kanag* "to ask" is a lexical feature shared with SE Prs. dialects; cf. Minābi, Jirofti, Kahnuji *jost kardan* (Barbera 2005, Niknafas Dehqāni 1377 [1998]). Prs. *jostan* or *jost kardan* is "to search" ("to find" in Qomi and Tehrāni [Sādeqi 1380]).

63 Buck 1949, p. 1447.

64 Benveniste 1969, pp. 153–161.

65 Cf. Buck 1949, pp. 1264–1265, 1270–1271.

Tājik, however, *pursidan* is also "to request, to ask for [xāheš kardan, xāstan]".[66] The sense "to ask for" has been recorded for Man. MP *purs-*, as well. Perhaps it is not by chance that all the evidence for Prs. *porsidan* "to call to account" comes from the Eastern milieu. If we assume that OP *pṛ̊s-* was "to ask for", a semantic path 'ask for' > 'call to account, claim a compensation' (and possibly > 'punish') could be traced.[67] The sense of "to ask for" does not seem to have survived in any of the recorded Middle Iranian languages (it could also be simply marginal and not documented!), but we could imagine the existence of 'hotbeds' favouring the diffusion of nominal forms (MP *pursišn* "calling to account", MP *pādifrāh* etc. "retribution", Khot. *pharṣavata-* "judge", etc.), which sometimes happened to be reinterpreted by the speakers. If this is the case, the judge mentioned in our title is surely expected to ask questions, but basically he has to be conceived as a requester.

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66 Cf. *pursidan* (literary; N. dial. *pursian*, S. dial. *pərsidan*, SE dial. *pərsiyan* in QĀSEMI et al. 1376 [1997]; ŠĀLČI 1370 [1991]).

67 Such a development is frequently found in other languages as well. Apart from the Bab. and Arab. forms mentioned above, Lat. *quaero* and its descendants (cf. Engl. (rare) *to question* "to examine judicially"; It. (archaic) *questione* "torture", etc.), see Russian *sprosit'* "to ask; to call to account".

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La démonisation d'Alexandre le Grand d'après la littérature pehlevie

Philippe Gignoux, Paris

A la Mémoire d'un incomparable savant

Zoroastre, considéré comme le fondateur d'une nouvelle religion, n'a laissé, de son vivant ou plus probablement de celui de sa communauté, que quelques hymnes liturgiques en langue avestique, mais son message oppose clairement les forces du Bien à celles du Mal, la Lumière aux Ténèbres, constituant ainsi un dualisme métaphysique qui n'ira, semble-t-il, qu'en s'accentuant. Mais quelle que soit la datation qu'on lui assigne, à propos de laquelle deux écoles s'affrontent (autour de 1000 avant notre ère, ou durant l'époque achéménide), l'Avesta et le *Zand* sont trop anciens pour pouvoir faire allusion à Alexandre. La période séleucide et la période parthe manquent cruellement de sources iraniennes qui nous permettraient d'apprécier comment Alexandre fut considéré durant ces cinq siècles. Ce n'est que sous la dynastie des Sassanides que s'élabore une figure d'Alexandre qui sera entièrement négative. Et encore doit-on se baser sur des textes rédigés à l'époque islamique, c.à.d. aux 9e–10e siècles. Dans cette littérature en langue pehlevie, mais qui rapporte certes des traditions plus anciennes, d'époque parthe et sassanide, Alexandre y est affublé des épithètes les plus péjoratives et qui relèvent du vocabulaire *daēvique*, à savoir celui qui est réservé, dans le système dualiste zoroastrien, à Ahriman et à ses engeances perverses. C'est pourquoi il est considéré comme le destructeur de l'empire iranien et surtout des Ecritures sacrées, l'Avesta et le *Zand* : ceci peut paraître étonnant, comme le montre Yuriko Yamanaka[1] qui note que le conquérant détruisit seulement Persépolis et que, tout comme ses successeurs séleucides, il bâtit plus de cités en Iran qu'il n'en détruisit.[2] Néanmoins la destruction de Persépolis a pu forger dans l'esprit des Perses cette image négative, que les prêtres zoroastriens noirciront au plus haut degré, tandis que la tradition du roman d'Alexandre, héritée du Pseudo-Callisthène, et celle du Livre des Rois, le *Xwadāy-nāmag* perdu, conduiront au contraire à la glorification du célèbre conquérant.[3]

1 Yamanaka 1993.
2 *Art.cit.* p. 66.
3 Cf. le tableau très clair de la transformation de son image dans l'article de Yamanaka 1993, p. 87.

La destruction des écritures est pour les théologiens mazdéens une manière commode d'expliquer pourquoi la transmission par écrit du message de Zoroastre fut aussi tardive, alors que la plupart des savants considèrent que la seule transmission orale a été extrêmement longue, et que la création tardive d'un alphabet avestique, vers le 5e siècle de notre ère au plus tôt, rend compte de cette absence de tradition écrite.

Le mythe de la « démonisation » d'Alexandre a permis à ces mêmes théologiens de réaliser un double objectif: expliquer la perte des textes sacrés, et donner un *statut* à l'Avesta, comparable à celui de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament, du Coran ou des écritures manichéennes, car il est peu probable, même si certains l'affirment, qu'il ait déjà existé à l'époque hellénistique une version de l'Avesta en grec ou en une autre langue.

Cette dépréciation du grand conquérant a été définie à juste titre par G. GNOLI comme un *topos littéraire*[4] des zoroastriens. La démonisation a peut-être commencé à l'époque parthe comme le suggèrent les sources arabo-persanes,[5] mais GNOLI propose de distinguer deux traditions: l'une politique ou légitimiste, qui fit d'Alexandre un héritier, par sa naissance même, de l'empire achéménide, et à travers le Pseudo-Callisthène, Firdousi et Nizāmī, un héros iranien ; et l'autre, une tradition religieuse et zoroastrienne, qui explique qu'Alexandre n'eut aucune place dans le *Livre des Rois*.[6] Mais il est difficile de savoir ce qu'a été vraiment la figure d'Alexandre dans cet ouvrage dont il ne reste rien de la version pehlevie, si ce n'est à travers la tradition postérieure qui n'est pas très fiable dans l'historiographie iranienne. Paradoxalement, ce sont les Grecs qui ont conservé le souvenir de la grandeur achéménide. C'est en tout cas au 3e siècle de notre ère que la figure d'Alexandre fut définitivement démonisée, quand le mazdéisme devint « religion d'Etat » à l'initiative du sévère mage Kirdīr,[7] et comme faisant partie de la propagande religieuse de la nouvelle dynastie sassanide.

A. BAUSANI[8] a bien mis en évidence les continuelles « ré-archaïsations » dans l'histoire de l'Iran : le phénomène de démonisation d'Alexandre en fait sans doute partie.

La liaison textuelle, comme nous le verrons, de la démonisation d'Alexandre et des traditions sur la transmission de l'Avesta constitue donc un mélange de deux légendes. Le seul aspect positif d'Alexandre pour ainsi dire est de pouvoir justifier le manque de texte écrit de l'Avesta.

Les Syriens ont eu évidemment une autre conception d'Alexandre que les Iraniens mazdéens. Selon G.J. REINIK[9], Alexandre et Heraclius « ont tous deux apporté à Jérusalem les objets qui symbolisent [l'unité de la politique religieuse

4 GNOLI 1989.
5 Cf. WIESEHÖFER 1986.
6 GNOLI 1989, p. 124, n. 27.
7 Cf. entre autres GIGNOUX 1991.
8 BAUSANI 1971.
9 REINIK 1985.

byzantine], Alexandre son trône en argent au Christ, Heraclius la sainte Croix du Christ ».

Quant au roman du Pseudo-Callisthène, E.A.W. Budge avait montré, il y a plus d'un siècle,[10] que la version syriaque était plus ancienne que le texte grec. Selon Nöldeke[11], la traduction syriaque du 6e siècle aurait été faite sur un texte pehlevi du Pseudo-Callisthène, aujourd'hui perdu. Il est permis d'en douter fortement, car d'une part, il semble que les milieux religieux mazdéens n'auraient pas pu produire un tel texte, et d'autre part, dans d'autres domaines comme la médecine ou les sciences exactes, ce sont bien les versions syriaques d'ouvrages en grec qui ont servi d'intermédiaires aux textes pehlevis, et non l'inverse, comme on le sait depuis longtemps. Budge[12] doutait déjà que Firdousi ait pu baser son livre sur des formes de l'histoire d'Alexandre en vieux persan ou en arabe. Jules Mohl pensait que Firdousi avait utilisé une version arabe faite sur un original grec et ce qu'il écrivait, il y a bien longtemps, n'est-il pas toujours acceptable ? :

> Firdousi paraît n'avoir pas trouvé de matériaux persans pour le règne d'Alexandre le Grand ... mais au lieu de se livrer à son imagination ... il aima mieux emprunter les contes dont les soldats grecs, à leur retour de Grèce, avaient rempli l'Occident. Ces contes avaient été recueillis en plusieurs collections, dont quelques-unes existent encore en grec et en latin et dont une avait été traduite du grec en arabe. C'est à l'aide de cette dernière que Firdousi a rempli la lacune qu'il avait trouvée dans les traditions de son pays ...[13]

Pour illustrer comment la figure d'Alexandre fut perçue par les théologiens zoroastriens, j'ai rassemblé ci-après l'ensemble des textes pehlevis qui s'y rapportent.

Ardā Virāz Nāmag

Le premier chapitre dont nous donnons le commencement ci-dessous (1–11) fait allusion aux nombreuses calamités engendrées par Alexandre, affublé, comme dans tous les autres textes, d'épithètes les plus malveillantes. C'est manifestement un moyen de donner une apparence historique à cet ouvrage qui n'est par la suite qu'un catalogue des péchés auxquels correspondent des châtiments de même nature, le plus souvent très cruels et ressortissant au domaine sexuel[14] :

> (1) On dit qu'une fois que le saint Zoroastre eût propagé dans le monde la religion qu'il avait reçue, (2) au bout de trois cents ans, la religion était dans sa pureté, et les hommes dans la certitude. (3) Mais ensuite, le maudit Esprit Mauvais, le

10 Budge 1889.
11 Nöldeke 1890.
12 Budge 1889, p. LXXXVII.
13 Mohl 1876, pp. LVI–LVII.
14 Tardieu 1985, a montré que ce genre littéraire dépendrait de l'eschatologie grecque, et notamment des Actes apocryphes de Pierre et de Paul.

méchant, pour faire douter les hommes de cette religion, égara le maudit Alexandre, le Grec habitant cn Egypte,[15] qui vint dans le pays d'Iran avec une sévère tyrannie, la guerre et la maladie.[16] (4) Et il tua le gouverneur de l'Iran,[17] détruisit et ruina la Cour et la royauté. (5) Et cette Religion, à savoir tout l'Avesta et le Zand, écrits avec une eau dorée sur des peaux de boeuf apprêtées, avait été déposée à Staxr-Pābagān,[18] dans la Forteresse des Ecritures.[19] (6) Et cet ennemi de mauvais sort, hérétique et méchant, Alexandre le malfaisant, le Grec habitant en Egypte, les emporta et les brûla. (7) Et il tua beaucoup de prêtres, de juges, d'herbeds, de mowbeds, de fidèles, d'experts, et de sages du pays d'Iran, et il jeta parmi les dignitaires et les gouverneurs de l'Iran, les uns contre les autres, la haine et la discorde, mais lui-même fut brisé et se précipita dans l'enfer. (8) Et après cela, les gens du pays d'Iran furent en révolte et en lutte les uns contre les autres, et comme ils n'avaicnt ni souvcrain, ni gouverneur, ni chef, ni prêtre informé de la religion, (9) et que, vis-à-vis des choses divines, ils étaient demeurés dans le doute, de nombreuses variétés de doctrines et de croyances, d'hérésies, dc doutes et de divergences, vinrent à se manifester dans le monde, (10) jusqu'à ce que naquit le bienheureux à l'âme immortelle, Ādurbād fils de Māraspand sur la poitrine duquel fut versé du cuivre fondu, d'après son ordalie qui est rapportée dans le Dēnkard.

Le *Dēnkard*

Le *Dēnkard* contient plusieurs passages relatifs à Alexandre, et qui présentent tous de lui un même portrait négatif.

Un passage du DK III (DKM, p. 335, chap. 345 très court), établit une sorte de trilogie de tyrans :

15 Cette expression ne réfère pas seulement au fait qu'Alexandre pénétra en Egypte après avoir conquis l'Egypte, mais aussi à une assimilation de l'Egypte à la Macédoine, assez répandue chez les Orientaux, cf. MAS'ŪDĪ 1965, II, p. 257.

16 Ces trois calamités ont été à juste titre considérées comme se rapportant de manière négative aux trois fonctions sociales de la théorie dumézilienne, puisque la tyrannie dépend des mauvais souverains, la guerre de la fonction guerrière et la maladie et les épidémies accompagnant la guerre touchent les agriculteurs de la troisième fonction, cf. PANAINO 1990–1991.

17 C'est-à-dire le roi Darius III vaincu par Alexandre. L'expression utilisée ici est inhabituelle et elle est sans doute un indice de rédaction tardive, cf. sur ce point GIGNOUX 1969.

18 Ce toponyme désigne le site d'Istaxr, tout proche de Persépolis, et où officiait le gouverneur Pābag.

19 Ce monument, évoqué dans d'autres textes pehlevis, notamment dans le *Dēnkard* IV (DKM, p. 412), où il est question aussi du "Trésor royal" où aurait été conservée une copie de l'Avesta, n'a pu, en dépit de discussions récurrentes, être identifié ni dans sa localisation ni dans sa fonction. En tout cas, l'identification de cette "forteresse des écritures" ou "mont des écritures" comme l'appelèrent des écrivains postérieurs arabo-persans, ne peut se faire avec la Ka'aba de Zoroastre, qui serait plutôt la tombe de Šāpūr Ier et non un dépôt d'archives, cf. en dernier lieu HUYSE 1998.

> Les trois plus dures calamités de la religion mazdéenne, (causées) par des tyrans, durant le millénaire de Zoroastre, sont : la première, le Xyōnite[20] Arjāsp et tant d'autres avec lui ; la seconde est le félon, au mauvais renom, Alexandre le Grec avec les siens ; la troisième est le démon aux cheveux défaits[21] et ceux (avec) lui.

Ces trois catégories d'ennemis de l'Iran, comme de la religion mazdéenne, sont sans doute les Hephtalites, les Macédoniens et les Turcs.

Dans un autre passage (DK III, chap. 420 [DKM, pp. 405–406[T1]])[22], il est question de la destruction de l'Avesta, mais aussi du vol d'une copie qu'Alexandre aurait fait traduire ou expliquer en grec :

> Parmi les maux (causés) par l'arrivée du félon, au mauvais-xwarrah, Alexandre, au pays d'Iran et à la souveraineté de la religion, la copie de la Forteresse des Ecritures (se trouva) dans l'incendie ; celle qui (se trouvait) dans le Trésor royal[23] parvint entre les mains des Grecs et fut expliquée (ou traduite ?) en langue grecque.

Dans le livre IV du *Dēnkard*, p. 412, il est raconté de même, dans un long développement sur la transmission de l'Avesta, que Darius fils de Darius (c'est-à-dire Darius III, le dernier des rois Achéménides) avait gardé deux copies de l'Avesta et du Zand (ou commentaire), et que le roi parthe Arsacide Valaxš rassembla tout ce qui avait été dispersé « par suite des maux et des troubles (causés) par Alexandre, et du brigandage des Grecs dans l'empire d'Iran », y compris ce qui avait survécu par tradition orale chez les dastours.

La même explication se trouve donc dans le livre IV (DKM, p. 412), où on lit[24] :

> Dārāy fils de Dārāy (= Darius) ordonna que deux copies écrites de tout l'Avesta et le Zand, comme Zoroastre les avait reçus d'Ohrmazd, soient conservées, l'une dans le Trésor royal, et l'autre dans la Forteresse des Ecritures. Valaxš, l'Arsacide, ordonna qu'un memorandum soit envoyé aux provinces (leur demandant) de conserver, dans l'état où ils étaient parvenus dans chaque province tout ce qui avait survécu purement de l'Avesta et du Zand aussi bien que l'enseignement qui en dérive, qui, dispersé dans le pays d'Iran par suite des ravages et des troubles (causés) par Alexandre, du pillage et du vol des Grecs, étaient restés d'autorité, que ce fût par écrit ou par transmission orale.

20 Ce terme désigne les Huns ou Hephtalites avec lesquels les rois sassanides eurent souvent maille à partir et parfois perdirent la vie comme le roi Pērōz. Dans le *Zand ī Wahman Yasn*, chap. 4, p. 58, il est aussi question de ces ennemis de l'Iran qui le domineront à la fin des temps, cf. Cereti 1995.

21 Cette épithète récurrente, très présente dans l'apocalypse citée dans la note précédente, trouve sa référence en Asie Centrale, et renvoie notamment aux Turcs.

22 C'est le dernier chapitre de ce livre, que l'on s'attendrait plutôt à trouver au début puisqu'il tente d'expliquer ou d'inventer une histoire de la transmission de l'Avesta.

23 Il y aurait donc eu deux copies du texte de l'Avesta à l'époque d'Alexandre, ce qui demeure indémontrable. Par ailleurs, on ne comprend guère pourquoi, s'il y avait eu des traductions en grec, absolument rien n'en soit resté.

24 Je cite la traduction de Shaki 1981, p. 118.

Selon le livre V du *Dēnkard*[25], Alexandre est qualifié de *wizendkar* « fauteur de maux » et associé à des meurtriers comme Dahāk[26], ou à de faux prophètes comme Mānī !

Dans le livre VII[27], Alexandre est même considéré comme une créature de Xešm, le démon de la « Colère » qui est l'un des principaux collaborateurs d'Ahriman :

> Parmi les destructeurs, Alexandre, comme il est dit ceci dans la Religion, que des trois qui procurent ensemble l'hiver, Xešm, parmi les créatures d'Āz (?), fera en secret le félon, au mauvais xwarrah, Alexandre.

Enfin, dans le livre VIII (DKM, p. 679), Alexandre est encore une fois présenté comme la cause de la perte des textes sacrés et comme une créature de Xešm :

> Il est révélé que le Créateur omniscient a créé ... les *nasks* [de l'Avesta] ... par l'enseignement de Zoroastre à la *frawaši* adorée. Il fut connu dans le pays d'Iran pendant mille ans. Et après la destruction par le félon, au mauvais xwarrah, créé par Xešm, Alexandre, d'où il a résulté qu'il ne fut plus retrouvé qu'il [l'Avesta] pouvait être en possession des dastours.

Le *Bundahišn*

Ce traité nous fournit aussi un petit couplet sur Alexandre, auquel il fixe une durée de règne de 14 ans[28], et qui consacra l'éclatement de l'empire iranien :

> Ensuite sous le règne de Darius fils de Darius, l'empereur Alexandre accourut de Rome [i.e. la Grèce] et vint en pays d'Iran. Il tua le roi Darius et détruisit (?) toute la lignée des souverains, des mages et des notables du pays d'Iran, éteignit un grand nombre de Feux, s'empara de la religion des mazdéens et brûla l'Avesta et divisa le pays d'Iran entre quatre-vingt dix gouverneurs.[29]

Dans le *Šahrestānīhā ī Ērān*, il est même dit qu'Alexandre le maudit, non seulement brûla l'Avesta, mais qu'il le jeta dans la mer ![30]

D'après un court texte qui veut mettre en valeur la province du Séistān, *Abdīh ud sahīgīh ī Sagestān*, « Merveilles et mérites du Séistan », c'est dans cette région que la religion mazdéenne trouva refuge :

25 Cf. MOLÉ 1967, pp. 110–111. Une traduction plus récente du livre V est à trouver dans AMOUZGAR/TAFAZZOLI 2000.
26 C'est-à-dire le dragon Azdahāk que le roi Frēdōn enchaîna sur le mont Dēmāvand, cf. EIr III, pp. 191–205, s.v. *Azdahā*.
27 DKM, p. 650, MOLÉ 1967, pp. 70–71.
28 Cf. HUMBACH 1991, I, p. 28.
29 T.D. ANKLESARIA 1908, p. 214.
30 Cf. BAILEY 1943, p. 154.

> Quand le maudit Alexandre le Grec vint dans le pays d'Iran, il saisit et tua ceux qui marchaient dans la voie des mages, mais quelques hommes et jeunes gens vinrent au Séistan.[31]

Et le texte ajoute que la foi put revenir *seulement* dans cette région.

Le *Dādestān ī Mēnōg ī xrad* et autres ouvrages

Cet ouvrage, qui appartient au genre littéraire de l'*andarz*, mentionne en un curieux passage Alexandre qu'Ahriman croyait immortel, mais tel ne fut pas le cas, comme si l'auteur voulait détourner ceux qui pensaient avoir « immortalisé » la figure du célèbre conquérant (chap. 8, pp. 27–30) :

> Il est révélé que Jam (Yima), Frēdōn et Kay-Us furent créés immortels par Ohrmazd. Mais Ahriman les changea comme il est connu. Et il semblait à Ahriman que Bēvarasp, Frāsyāg et Alexandre étaient immortels. Mais Ohrmazd, pour un plus grand avantage, les changea, ainsi qu'il est révélé.

Même dans un ouvrage non religieux, et qui se voudrait être un roman historique, un livre très populaire, le *Kārnāmag ī Ardašīr ī Pābagān*[32] on trouve la mention d'Alexandre, et ce qu'il faut aussi souligner, c'est qu'elle apparaît *au commencement du récit*, comme dans d'autres ouvrages, et comme si cette référence à une période désastreuse de l'Iran avait quasiment un caractère obsessionnel. Il représente en tout cas une tradition récurrente véhiculée par les théologiens mazdéens. L'ouvrage raconte la chute du pouvoir arsacide et les conquêtes d'Ardašīr, fondateur de la nouvelle dynastie des Sassanides, y compris ses conquêtes amoureuses.

Il est ainsi écrit dans la Geste d'Ardachir fils de Pābag, que durant le mauvais règne d'Alexandre, Sāsān, berger de Pābag, mais issu de la famille de Darius III avait dû fuir et se cachait parmi des bergers kurdes. Il y a là évidemment un anachronisme fantastique, inventé pour rattacher la dynastie sassanide, au-delà des périodes séleucide et parthe, à la dynastie achéménide.

> Il est ainsi écrit dans la Geste d'Ardachir fils de Pābag qu'après la mort d'Alexandre le Grec l'empire d'Iran avait deux cent quarante roitelets. (2) Isfahan, le Fârs et les régions qui en sont les plus proches, se trouvaient entre les mains d'Ardavān le gouverneur. (3) Pābag était *marzbān*[33] et seigneur du Fârs, et il était de ceux qui étaient appointés par Ardavān. (4) Ardavān siégeait à Staxr. (5) Et Pābag n'avait aucun enfant héritier (de son nom). (6) Et Sāsān était berger de Pābag et il était toujours avec les moutons, et il était de la race de Dārāy fils de Dārāy ; et durant

31 Bailey 1943, p. 161. Le texte pehlevi est à trouver dans Jamasp-Asana 1897–1913, et dans le reprint pp. 25–26.

32 Cf. Čunakova 1987, Grenet 2003.

33 Voir Gignoux 1984.

> le mauvais règne d'Alexandre, il demeura en fuite et allait en se cachant avec des bergers kurdes. (7) Pābag ne savait pas que Sāsān était né de la race de Dārāy fils de Dārāy ...

La *Lettre de Tansar*[34] est un ouvrage anonyme, qui probablement ne fut composé qu'au 6e siècle et qui commence dès les *premières lignes*, à rappeler les conquêtes d'Alexandre en Iran, après qu'il a subjugué les Coptes, les Berbères et les Juifs. Puis il est question d'une correspondance échangée entre Alexandre et son « ministre » Aristote, en se proposant de détruire toute la noblesse perse de peur qu'elle ne se révolte tandis qu'il se rendrait en Inde, en Chine et même au-delà. Aristote le dissuade d'agir ainsi. Alexandre écouta ce conseil et divisa l'empire entre les princes perses, apparemment entre quatre-vingt dix gouverneurs, comme l'atteste aussi le *Bundahišn* (cf. ci-dessus). Mais après quatorze années de règne, il mourut en revenant à Babylone (pp. 26–29). Plus loin (p. 37), l'auteur rappelle qu'Alexandre brûla le livre de l'Avesta à Istaxr, mais que le tiers du livre, connu par coeur, put survivre. Enfin, il est fait allusion (p. 65) aux villes détruites par Alexandre en Iran.

Le *Testament d'Ardachir* a été conservé dans le *Tajāribu-l Umam* d'Ibn Miskawayh, et cet ouvrage en arabe offre d'intéressants parallèles avec la *Lettre de Tansar*. Il s'agit des paroles léguées par Ardašīr à ses successeurs, par lesquelles il leur enseigna la sagesse politique, mais A. CHRISTENSEN[35] considère ce livre comme non authentique, en ce sens que le style est celui des *andarz* du temps de Xusrô Ier. Dans ce livre, après trois pages de considérations morales sur les qualités que l'on attend d'un roi et qui appartiennent au genre du « miroir des princes », il est fait allusion, une fois encore, au règne d'Alexandre, comme pour bien mettre en balance le bon et le mauvais roi :

> [Et tout cela dura] (c.à.d. la mauvaise conduite des rois iraniens) jusqu'à ce qu'il arrivât sur la tête de Dārā fils de Dārā ce qui arriva et qu'Alexandre lui enleva ce qu'il lui arracha de notre royaume. Alexandre considéra plus important de détruire notre puissance, de diviser notre peuple et d'anéantir la prospérité de notre pays que de répandre notre sang. Quand Dieu permit la réunification de notre pays et de l'Etat de nos nobles, il nous arriva ce qu'il nous arriva par la grâce de Dieu.

Le traducteur de ce passage, M. GRIGNASCHI[36], le commente (p. 85, n. 19) en notant qu'Alexandre trouva plus avantageux de diviser l'empire entre de nombreux rois que d'exterminer sa noblesse, une légende qui remonte à l'époque sassanide et qui a été attestée, comme on l'a vu, dans l'*Ardā Vīrāz Nāmag*. Comme l'indique cet auteur, et qui a été déjà noté ci-dessus, il y a un « véritable parallélisme » entre cet ouvrage et la *Lettre de Tansar*, celle-ci constituant la réplique d'un

34 BOYCE 1968.
35 CHRISTENSEN 1929.
36 GRIGNASCHI 1966.

homme de l'Eglise mazdéenne aux solutions des problèmes politiques prônées par l'auteur du « Testament ». Dans ces deux ouvrages, nous possédons les restes d'une polémique sur la manière de restaurer l'Etat sassanide ruiné par les guerres civiles du début du VII[e] siècle. (p. 9)

Et même dans la littérature apocalyptique, on s'intéresse encore à Alexandre comme le sujet de sombres prévisions: le *Zand ī Vahman Yašt* qui a fait l'objet récemment d'une édition moderne[37] contient des prophéties qui ne peuvent démontrer une origine très ancienne de l'apocalypse iranienne, comme le pensent certains, mais qui remontent au mieux à l'époque sassanide tardive. Au chapitre III, Zoroastre demande à Ohrmazd de lui expliquer sa vision dans laquelle il a vu un arbre à sept branches, en relation avec sept métaux et symbolisant les sept âges à venir, un thème qui est nettement lié au septénaire astrologique. Alexandre doit apparaître à la quatrième période (III, 26) :

> Celle [l'époque] en bronze, est le règne des rois Arsacides, qui débarrasseront le monde de l'hérésie de Bouddha et (par lequel) le mauvais Alexandre l'ecclésiastique (?) sera supprimé de la religion, et il sera perdu pour le monde et deviendra invisible.[38]

Dans un autre passage du même traité, VII, 32 [T2], à propos de la destruction des ennemis de la religion à la fin des temps, est encore une fois mentionné Alexandre (VII, 32):

> Et alors Mithra aux vastes pâturages s'écriera: « (En ce qui concerne) ce pacte de neuf mille ans que tu as fait, (il est clair que) jusqu'à présent Dahāg à la mauvaise religion, le Touranien Frāsyāb, Alexandre le grec et ces démons aux cheveux défaits, avec la ceinture en cuir, ont conservé la souveraineté pour une période de mille ans plus que (ce qui était prévu dans) le traité. »[39]

D'après une *Rivâyat* tardive, le *Dēn Vizīrgird*,[40] il est encore indiqué que la perte des *Nasks* de l'Avesta est due à Alexandre, et que son âme est promise à l'enfer (pp. 446–447) :

> Le maudit Alexandre, le Grec, prit plusieurs copies, en langue et en caractères grecs, parmi ces vingt-et-un nasks qui concernaient les étoiles et la médecine, et il brûla les autres nasks ; et l'âme du maudit Alexandre le Grec restera misérable et brûlée dans l'enfer ténébreux jusqu'à la Résurrection, à cause de sa propre vilenie qui insulta la religion de Zoroastre.

On l'aura compris, il n'existe pas au vu de ces textes que j'ai cités, en espérant être exhaustif, le moindre trait positif attribué à Alexandre le Grand dans la tradition zoroastrienne d'époque sassanide.

37 Cereti 1995. Cf. aussi Gignoux 1986.
38 Cereti 1995, p. 152. Ce passage est quelque peu hermétique, mais je suis la traduction de cet auteur.
39 Cereti 1995, p. 165.
40 Cf. West 1892, pp. 438–447.

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Albano-Iranica

Jost Gippert, Frankfurt a. M.

It is a well established fact that for the reconstruction of the Middle Iranian lexicon, the *Nebenüberlieferung* provided by Old Armenian is extremely valuable if not indispensable. In comparison with it, the *Nebenüberlieferung* of Old Georgian has long been underestimated, mostly because it was regarded as a mere offshoot of the Armenian tradition. It can be proved on both linguistic (phonetic) and textual grounds, however, that the Old Georgian share of Middle Iranian lexical items is mostly independent of Armenian as a mediator and that it must be taken seriously as a witness in its own right, thus indicating a more widespread influence of Iranian languages extending into the Caucasian area.[1]

To the two ancient Caucasian *Nebenüberlieferungen*, a third one can now be added after the first manuscript remains of the so-called "Albanian" people have been detected in St. Katherine's monastery on Mt. Sinai. As is well known, this people established an independent state with an autocephalous church in the Middle Ages; situated in what is now the Northwestern part of Azerbaijan, it was adjacent to both Armenia and Georgia, and it must have witnessed as strong an impact of the Iranian world as its neighbours, given that it had been ruled by Arsacid and Sasanian emperors for centuries before.[2] Without anticipating the *editio princeps* of the manuscript remains (Biblical texts mostly from the New Testament),[3] we can take it for granted even now that the Albanian language as represented in them was a predecessor of present-day Udi, a Lezgian language spoken in North-West Azerbaijan and Georgia,[4] and that it was influenced by

1 Cf. Andronikašvili 1968 and Gippert 1993 for detailed studies on this question.

2 The most extensive source on the Caucasian "Albanians" available is the "History of the Alban people" *(Patmowtʿiwn ałowanicʿ)* by the 10th century writer Movsēs Kałankatowacʿi (also known as Dasxowrancʿi); cf. the English translation by Dowsett 1961. Arm. *ałvan-kʿ* corresponds to Greek Ἀλβανοι (→ "Albanians"), the traditional name of the people.

3 The edition is at present being prepared by Z. Aleksiʒe (Tbilisi), J. Gippert (Frankfurt) and W. Schulze (Munich) in cooperation with J.-P. Mahé (Paris) and will be published in the series "Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi" (Brepols, Turnhout) in 2007. The project has been supported by the Volkswagen Foundation since 2000; cf. http://armazi.uni-frankfurt.de/armaz3.htm. For preliminary reports cf. Aleksidze 1997, 2001, 2003, and Aleksiʒe/Mahé 2001.

4 Until recently, Udi was spoken in the towns of Nij and Vartašen in Azerbaijan, the settlement in Okdomberi (formerly Zinobiani) in East Georgia (Kakheti) being an offshoot of the latter town (from the 1920's on). After the Azeri-Armenian clashes of the early

Middle Iranian languages to a similar extent and in a similar fashion as Old Georgian was. This implies that we have to face the same problem here as with the latter language, viz. to determine whether a given lexical item may have been borrowed independently or *via armeniaca*. Given that there are good reasons to believe that the "Albanian" texts were translated from Armenian models, the latter assumption might suggest itself; in the following pages, however, a few examples will be discussed which suffice to show, in my opinion, that not all Iranian elements to be detected in the "Albanian" texts can be traced back to former Armenian usage.

In the rendering of Greek μακάριος "blessed" (in the sense of German "selig", not in the sense of a priestly blessing, German "gesegnet"), Armenian uses the word *erani* which can clearly be shown to be an Iranian loanword. Its basis must be a stem like the one present in Avestan *rāniiōs.kərəitīm* (Y. 44,6; 47,3; 50,2), an epithet of the cow meaning "joy-providing";[5] according to the communis opinio, the stem **rāṇiah-* in this compound is a comparative formation[6] "more joyful" pertaining to the IIr. root we have in Skt. √ran/ṇ.[7] Note that the prothesis of a vowel to the word-initial *r* is a normal feature of Old Armenian, also occurring in the quasi-homonym *eran-kʿ* "loins, hip, thigh" which must reflect a Middle Iranian correspondent of YAv. *rāna-* "thigh".[8]

The Old Georgian equivalent of Arm. *erani* "blessed" is *neṭar-i*; for this word, too, an Iranian etymology has been proposed, tracing it back to MPers. *nēktar*, the comparative formation of *nēk* "good".[9] In contrast to that of Arm. *erani*, this derivation cannot be taken for granted, however, because both the phonetic development[10] and the semantics[11] involved would remain unparalleled. Instead,

1990's, many Udi speakers were expelled from Vartašen and live now scattered about the states of the former Soviet Union.

5 Thus HUMBACH 1991, p. 151.

6 H.W. BAILEY's proposal to derive *erani* from "Av. *rānya-*" (1982, p. 460) is misleading as no such stem is attested in Avestan.

7 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, p. 1523f.; KELLENS/PIRART 1990, p. 310; MAYRHOFER 1986–, II, p. 428, s.v. *RAṆ*); WERBA 1997, p. 369, s.v. *ran*[447] reconstructs "urar. **(H)Ran(H)*".

8 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, p. 1523; HÜBSCHMANN 1897, p. 147, no. 216.

9 ANDRONIḲAŠVILI 1968, p. 358.

10 ANDRONIḲAŠVILI (1968, p. 358) presupposes a MPers. preform "*nēttar* < *nēktar*", which is not attested as such, however. The reference to HÜBSCHMANN, P.St. (ib. Fn. 1) is void, too, as this author only discusses the preservation of the OIr. *-t-* in the given context, i.e., following a(nother) voiceless stop (1895, p. 188). For NPers., too, only *nē/īktar* (with the consonant cluster retained) is attested.

11 ANDRONIḲAŠVILI (1968, p. 358) refers to MPers. *wahišt*, lit. "best (place)" (Georg. *sauḳeteso*) having adopted the meaning of "paradise" (Georg. *samotxe*) which prevails in NPers. *bihišt*. A similar semantic shift into the religious sphere cannot be proved for MPers. *nēktar* or its NPers. descendant, however; cf., e.g., Dēnk. IV,85 (642,13 M) where *nēk-i az nēktarān*, lit. "good over the better" is attached as an attribute to a bowl *(tašt)* which is apt for being used by a ruler, clearly referring to its outer appearance and not to anything mental (*stān tašt-i nēk-i abar nēktarān az hutaštagān i kard* "take the bowl which is the better than the best of [all] the well-formed [bowls] that have been made").

the inner-Kartvelian etymology connecting it with Old Georgian *naṭr-* "to wish, desire, felicitate, congratulate" has a good deal in its favour.[12]

Yet another word meaning "blessed" in the given sense has now been attested for "Albanian". In two passages from the New Testament texts (Mt. 16,17 and Tit. 2,13) and in the initial lines of Ps. 31,1 quoted in a marginal gloss, we read, as the equivalent of Armenian *erani* and Greek μακάριος, a word *bamgen*, which cannot be explained on the basis of Udi (or other Lezgian) word material. A possible source for it can be found in Iranian, however, in the word family surrounding Parth. and MPers. *bām* "splendour, ray" which is clearly associated (or associable) with the religious sphere.[13] It is true that of the words pertaining to this family, none has been detected so far in Middle Iranian that would match Alb. *bamgen* exactly in its formation and phonetic shape, but it is well conceivable that we have the common adjectival suffix *-gēn* here which must have originated in an extension of a primary **-k-* suffix with a secondary **-ēn-* (< **-aiṇa-*) element. Alb. *bamgen* would thus represent an Old Iranian formation **bām(a)kaiṇa-*, presupposing both the Middle Iranian voicing of the

12 The coherence of *neṭar-* with *naṭr-* is clearly indicated by Gen. 30,13 where both words occur side by side, reflecting Greek μακάριος and its derivative μακαρίζω: *neṭar var me rametu mnaṭriden dedani* "Blessed I am, for I am used to being blessed by the women" (Μακαρία ἐγώ, ὅτι μακαρίζουσίν με αἱ γυναῖκες). Andronikašvili (1968, p. 355) obviously regards the Georgian verb to be secondarily derived from *neṭar-*; the phonetic process implied ("*neṭar* > *nṭar* > *naṭr*") remains ad hoc and unparalleled, though. Given that the word has equivalents in the sister-languages of Georgian, Megrelian and Svan, it seems more probable that we have a Kartvelian root here as proposed by Gamqarelize/Maçavariani 1967, p. 159; cf. also Fähnrich/Sarǯvelaze 2000, p. 353f., even though it remains unclear what the *r*-element present in both *neṭar-* and *naṭr-* might have originated in if the root was **naṭ-*. To account for the coexistence of *na-* and *ne-* in Georgian, one might presuppose that the "root" **na/eṭ(r)* emerged by derivation itself, the underlying forms being verbal adjectives (participles) of a root **-ṭ(r)-* built with the prefixes *na-* and *ne-* (cf. Fähnrich/Sarǯvelaze 2000, pp. 350 and 355, for an etymological account of these morphemes). **-ṭ(r)-* might further be identified with the root **ṭṷar-/ṭṷr-* worked out by G. A. Klimov (1998, p. 187; cf. also Fähnrich/Sarǯvelaze 2000, p. 433) on the basis of Megrelian and Svan material; with the meaning "to brighten, enlighten" this root seems close enough to *naṭr-* ("enlightened" > "blessed, felicitated"), and the phonetic structure of this root might be responsible for the *r*-less variants of the latter. Note that both *neṭar-* and *-naṭr-* (the latter also in the adjectival derivative *sanaṭrel-*, lit. "to be blessed") appear in the so-called Khanmeti texts which represent the oldest stratum of the Georgian language attested (ca. 5th–8th centuries); cf. my forthcoming edition of the *Vienna palimpsest Codex Vind. georg.* 2 (to appear in the series "Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi" 2007).

13 Cf., e.g., the attestations of MPers.Parth. *b'm (bām)* "splendour, brilliance" as well as MPers. *b'myg (bāmīg)*, Parth. *b'myn (bāmēn)* and MPers.Parth. *b'myw (bāmēw)*, all meaning "radiant, brilliant, splendid" or the like, in the Manichaean hymns compiled by Reck 2004, p. 184. MPers.B *bāmīg* is often attributed to the word *wahišt* in the sense of "paradise" (e.g., Šnš. ST 22,18; PT Ay.Zar. 2; etc.). None of these words seem to have been used as an attribute of people, however.

intervocalic *k* and the syncope of the word-internal *Fugenvokal*[14] as in MPers. Parth. *nāmgēn* "famous" (from *nām* "name"; MirMan. III, 867), Parth. *zēngēn* "armed" (from *zēn* "weapon"; MirMan. III, 851 a.o.), MPers. *bīmgēn* "fearful" (from *bīm* "fear, terror"; Wiz.Zadspr. 31,3), *sahmgēn* "terrible" (from *sahm* "threat"; PT: Ay.Wuz.Mihr 154f.), *šarmgēn* "ashamed" (from *šarm* "shame"; PT: Hand.Adurb.Marasp. 50), or *ābgēn-ag* "crystal" (from *āb* "water", lit. "water-like"; Šnš. MT 2, 5b side by side with *āb*).[15] With both these changes, the loan might best be attributed to a later Middle Iranian period; as **bāmgēn* has not been attested as such in (either Zoroastrian or Manichaean) Middle Persian, the source may well have been a Northwestern stratum. Note that Albanian resembles both Armenian and Georgian in that it can by no means distinguish long and short *a* vowels, and as in the alphabets of the two neighbouring languages, a letter representing a "long *ē*" is present but with its usage restricted to instances of the rather diphthongal sequence of *e+j*; so we cannot expect Middle Iranian **bāmgēn* to be represented differently from *bamgen* here.

Old Armenian and Old Georgian differ considerably in the rendering of Greek πυρεῖον, θυμιατήριον and other terms denoting "censers". In Armenian, the regular equivalent of this word in the Bible is *bowrvar̄*, occurring e.g. in Heb. 9,4, while Old Georgian uses *sa-cecx-ur-i*, lit. "place (or vessel) for fire *(cecxl-i)*" or *sa-saḳumevl-e-*, lit. "place (or vessel) for incense *(saḳumevel-i)*".[16] Georgian did possess a closer equivalent of the Arm. word, however, viz. *ber-var-i* (with a later variant *berval-i*) which appears in the same sense elsewhere.[17]

14 The MPers. and Parth. derivatives of *bām* might suggest a formation **bāmigēn-* rather than **bāmagēn*, presupposing an OIr. *i*-stem **bāmi-*. The only cognates of this word in Avestan are the YAv. compound *vīspō.bāma-* "all-glittering" (Yt. 10.136) and its extension *vīspō.bāmiia-* (Yt. 15,15); both are no more decisive for this question than MPers. Parth. *b'md'd (bāmdād)* "dawn".

15 In MPers.M *rēškēn* "hurtful, harmful" from *rēš* "wound, harm" (written <ryškyn> in SALEMANN, Man. III, 5) the voicing of the *-k-* did not occur because of the adjoining *š*. Formations such as MPers.B *zamīgēn* "earthen" (Šnš MT 2, 117) or *pambagēn* "made from cotton" (ib. 4, 4) stand apart here as they still rely upon existing stems in *-g* (< **-k*), cf. *zamīg* "earth" and *pambag* "cotton"; synchronically, they must be described as formations in *-ēn* (as the adjectives *pašmēn* "woollen" from *pašm* "wool", or *srūwēn* "horny" from *srū* "horn", occurring in the same contexts).

16 Arm. *bowrvar̄* (var. *bowrowar̄*) stands for Gr. πυρεῖον in Ex. 38,1.3.4 (= Ex. 38,22.23.24 LXX; the Georg. text of the Oškʼi and Jerusalem OT mss. [= OI] of the 10–11th centuries and the Mcxeta Bible [S] of the 17th century has *sacecxur-*); Lev. 10,1 (Georg. OIS *sacecxur-*); 16,12; Num. 4,14; 16,17.18 (M *sacecxur-*); 16,46 (= 17,11 LXX; Georg. M *sasaḳumevle-;* passages missing in O); 4.Reg. (= 2.Reg.) 25,15; 2.Chr. 4,22 (M *sacecxur-*); the Arm. equivalent of πυρεῖον is missing in Ex. 27,3. Gr. θυμιατήριον is rendered by Arm. *bowrvar̄* in 2.Chr. 26,19 (M and the Vienna palimpsest have *sasaḳumevle-*), Ez. 8,11 (OIS and the Gelati Bible [G] have *sasaḳumevle-*), and Heb. 9,4 (all Georg. redactions have *sasaḳumevle-*). In St. John's Apocalypse (5,8), Arm. *bowrvar̄ oski li xnkov*, "a golden censer full of incense", renders Gr. φιάλας χρυσᾶς γεμοῦσας θυμιαμάτων (the Georg. version has *lanḳnani okroysani savseni saḳumevelita* corresponding to the Greek text).

Arm. *bowrvar̄* has been successfully traced back to a Middle Iranian preform **bōδu̯ar* which, with a literal meaning of "perfume-bearing", may well have developed into a word denoting "censers"; the sound changes involved would be typical for the early, "Arsacid" stratum of Iranian loans in Armenian (**ō* in pretonic syllables reduced to *u*, **δ* replaced by *r*).[18] If Georgian *bervar-i* is to be identified with this, its *e* vowel must be explained both if a *via armeniaca* is assumed and if not, as this is not the usual outcome of either Middle Iranian **ō* or Armenian *u*. Assuming the word to have been taken over from Armenian, we might easily see an influence of popular etymology here which connected the word with the verbal root *ber-* meaning "to blow" and, esp., its masdar ("infinitive") *ber-va-*[19]. On the other hand, the *e* might also be regarded as a reflex of an umlaut process if it were traced back directly to an Iranian source still containing an *i* vowel at the morpheme boundary in the given compound, i.e., **bōδi-u̯ar-* < Old Iranian **bau̯di-bara-*. That the first compound member must once have been an *-i*-stem is at least suggested by its Avestan counterpart, *baoiδi-*.[20] Deducing Old Georgian *bervar-* directly from an early Middle Iranian trisyllabic preform **bōδi-u̯ar-* would imply two assumptions, however, that remain problematic: First, the "umlaut" leading from **ō* to **ē* (> Georgian *e*) seems not to be attested elsewhere so far;[21] and second, there are no certain

17 The word seems not to be attested in translations from the Bible but in one of the oldest autochthonous hagiographical texts, viz. the legend of St. Habo of Ṭpilisi (8th century). Here, we have clear allusion to Biblical (OT) traditions: *da ḳualad adgili igi samsxuerṗloysa šenisay emsgavsa bervarsa Ahronissa da Zakariayssa mġdeltaysa, rametu naḳuercxalsa mas zeda cecxlisasa aġvidoda, vitarca sulnelebay saḳumeveltay* "and again, the place of your sacrifice was similar to the censer of Aaron and Zachariah the priests, for from the embers of the fire, it ascended like the scent of incense ..." (80,8ff. in the edition Abula3e 1963). In the Arm. version of the Georgian Chronicle, the *Patmowtʿiwn vracʿ*, *bowrvar̄* is the equivalent of *sasaḳumevle-* again (PV 79,15 ≈ KC 84,12 / MKA MKB 115,13). – Neither *bervar-* nor *berval-* is documented in the Old Georgian dictionaries; the variant with *-l-*, if it exists, shows the usual result of a dissimilation of two *r* sounds in Georgian.

18 Cf. Hübschmann 1897, p. 122, no. 116, and p. 123, no. 119. As against Hübschmann's view, the final *-r̄* of the word does not disprove the derivation of *-var̄* from **-bar-* "bearing" as it might have been affected by a dissimilation (against the first *-r-*); besides, the Iranian origin of *-var̄* has been corroborated by Sogd. *βwδβr-* occurring, among others, in the Vessāntara Jātaka (P1, 3 and 5). In any case, Arm. *varel* "to kindle", regarded as the real source of *-var̄* by Hübschmann, may have exerted a secondary influence by popular etymology.

19 This solution was first suggested by Androniḳašvili 1968, p. 173; it manifests itself in Schultze's translation of St. Habo's legend which has "dem Wehen [= Wohlgeruch]" (1905, p. 41).

20 Cf. Hübschmann (1897) who suggests "zd. **baoiδibara-*".

21 Androniḳašvili 1968, p. 292f., following Marr 1902, p. 106, identifies Georg. *ber-i* "old (person), monk" with MPers. *pīr* "old man" which she regards as an equivalent of OPers. *paruviya-* (in a compound *paruviya-yāra* "passed year" ≈ NPers. *pīrār*, which is not attested though). On the basis of today's knowledge, this would presuppose that MPers. *pīr* reflects OIr. **paru̯i̯a-* as the correspondent of Skt. *pūrviya-* < IIr. **pṛHu̯i̯o-*,

examples proving that the substitution of *δ* by *r* occurred in direct loans from Middle Iranian (as in Armenian): There are quite a lot of Iranian loans in Old Georgian which do show *rs* instead of Middle Iranian *δs*, but they can all have entered the language *via armeniaca*.[22] As to the syncope of the middle syllable, this might have occurred both within Middle Iranian (i.e., before the borrowing but necessarily after the umlauting process) or within the prehistory of Old Georgian (i.e., after the borrowing but before the emergence of literacy); note, however, that within Georgian, *i* is especially resistant against syncopation.[23]

New light is thrown on this bundle of questions by the "Albanian" manuscript remains. In Heb. 9,4, we here read a word *bod'var* as the equivalent of Armenian *bowrvarē* and Greek θυμιατήριον, and it is clear right from the beginning that this represents the same Iranian etymon, albeit in a form closer to what its Middle Iranian sounding might have been in that both the *o* colour of the first syllable vowel[24] and a dental stop instead of the Armenian *r* seem to have been preserved in it. It must be admitted, though, that the exact pronunciation of the third character, here transcribed as *d'*, has not yet been established.[25] As a matter of fact, it is rather rare in the documents, appearing only in a few loanwords; besides *bod'var*, we find it in *d'ip̣-* which means "letters" or the like, most often used in the formulae introducing lectures from St. Paul's epistles but also in Lk. 4,17, 20, and 21 and Mt. 22,29, always translating Arm. *gir* "writing", and in the compounds *ayzid'ip̣* corresponding to Arm. *ašxarhagir* "land writing", with *ayz-* ≈ Arm. *ašxarh* "land", in Lk. 2,1 and *d'ip̣yabaal(ix)-* in Mt. 5,20 and 23,34 corresponding to Arm. *dpir* "writer". It is clear that Alb. *d'ip̣* must represent the famous "Wanderwort" which we find, among others, in Old Persian *lipi*

the *ī* vowel having resulted from an umlaut process comparable with the epenthesis present side by side with an *ao* diphthong in Avestan *paoiriia-*. Such a development might well have gone via a stage with *-ē-* (**pēr*), but the assumption remains problematical as the ("mağhūl") *ē* vowel which we would have to expect in this case seems not to be attested in any variety of New Persian. The identification with Georgian *ber-i* is even more problematical because of the substitution of *p-* by *b-* which is at least unusual in prevocalic position.

22 On the other hand, the existence of an *r* substituting a MIr. *δ* cannot be taken to prove the *via armeniaca* either (as assumed by SCHMITT 1982, p. 450b): As neither (Proto-)Armenian nor (Proto-)Georgian (or Kartvelian) are likely to have possessed dental spirants, both languages might have recurred to the same substitution process in the adaptation of MIr. (as well as Syriac) *δ*.

23 A possible candidate for this case is the Old Georgian quasi-compound *ʒlis-p̣irni* denoting a certain type of religious hymns. If this contains the (syncopated) genitive of *ʒil-i* "sleep" as proposed by ḲEḲELIʒE 1912, p. 341, the word means something like "(hymns to be recited at) the beginning (*p̣ir-*, lit. 'face') of sleep". Cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 277, n. 5, for further considerations.

24 Note that there is no distinction of long and short *o* vowels either in the Albanian sound system.

25 The following considerations have been established in continuous discussions with WOLFGANG SCHULZE; the first person plural here refers to the two of us.

and which is likely to derive from Akkadian *tuppi* (note that a variant *ď'uṗ* also appears in the Albanian palimpsests); within Armenian, the word has not been preserved as a simplex but it is no doubt contained in *dpir* < **dipi̯-* (with unclear suffix), and Albanian now confirms that the first syllable had a high vowel, which was regularly syncopated in Armenian. What, then, does *ď'iṗ* contribute to the question of the pronunciation of the *ď'* character? First, we must state that the Albanian script possesses a second character that must be read as a *d*, viz. the character appearing, among others, in Biblical names such as *davit* (abbreviated as *d~t*); as this character does occur in autochthonous words, too (cf., e.g., *de* "father"), and as it occupies the fourth position in the Albanian alphabet (in accordance with Greek *δ*, Arm. *d*, Georgian *d*, Latin *d* etc.), it is likely to represent a "regular" *d* sound (and we transcribe it as a plain *d*). For *ď'*, then, two interpretations impose themselves: Either this character represents a dental fricative as opposed to the stop denoted by *d*, *ď'* thus matching the *δ* in the assumed preform of Arm. *bowrvaṙ*, or it stands for a palatal variant of the stop, i.e., *d'*. On the basis of the text material available today, this question cannot be determined offhand. From the point of view of modern Udi, neither dental fricatives nor palatal variants of stops can be postulated as a part of the sound system of Albanian. There are three intrinsic arguments in favour of the latter solution, however. First, it would be astonishing to find a dental fricative in the beginning of the word *ď'iṗ*, given that in this position even Armenian preserved the stop in Arsacid loans; and correspondences such as *dang-* ≈ Arm. *dang* "small coin" < MPers. *dān(a)g-*[26] show that Albanian was not prone to a fricativization of word-initial *d*s in loans. Second, there are other indications that an opposition of palatals and non-palatals is reflected by the Albanian alphabet (i.e., *l* vs. *ľ*, *n* vs. *n'*, *ṭ* vs. *ṭ'*), and in *ď'iṗ*, the palatalization of **d-* might well be due to the following vowel, *i*. The same could hold true, then, for *boď'var* if this represents a preform **bōδiu̯ar-*, with an *i* vowel at the compound boundary. The emergence of the palatal would in this case go back as far as the early Middle Iranian period.[27] Note that there seems to be but one Albanian word attested so far which contains a sequence of (non-palatal) *d* + *i*, viz. *madiľ-* "mercy"; obviously, this is a loan from Old Georgian (*madl-i* "id."),[28] and to explain this we would have to assume either that the *i* which must have been due to a secondary anaptyxis was not able to palatalize the preceding *d* or that the process of anaptyxis was simply too late to do so. Third, there is at least one inherited word in the Albanian texts which is consistently written with *ď'*, viz. *ḳoď-* "house". Unlike the loans

26 Cf. Hübschmann 1897, p. 134, no. 162.

27 If this assumption is right, **bōδiu̯ar-* contrasts with the ancestor of Arm. *bowrastan* "garden", lit. "scent-area", which points to a MIr. *Fugenvokal -a-*. Georgian *bosṭan-i* is of no help here as it reflects a later (late MPers. or early NPers.) variant of the word, cf. NPers. *bōstān*.

28 For the time being, this seems to be the only loan from Old Georgian in the Albanian texts.

dealt with here, this word does have a successor in modern Udi, viz. *ķoǯ* "house, home". As the development of palatalized stops to affricates is quite common while a change from dental fricatives to a palato-alveolar affricate would be extremely marked, this can also be taken as an argument in favour of the "palatal" theory. In any case, the derivation of *boďvar* from **bōδiu̯ar-* (< **bau̯di-bara-*) seems well founded, Albanian thus confirming the MIr. etymon proposed for Armenian *bowrvar̄*.[29]

Old Armenian and Old Georgian diverge again, in rendering Greek στέφανος "crown": While the Georgian equivalent, *gwrgwn-i* (to be read *gu̯irgu̯ini*), seems to be based on inherited Kartvelian material (**-gurgu̯-*, a root meaning "to wind")[30], Armenian has *psak* (e.g. in Mt. 27,29), an Iranian loan whose exact source cannot be established since we find a lemma *pusag* "garland" both in (Man.) Middle Persian (e.g., Mir.Man. II, 333) and Parthian (e.g., Mir.Man. III, 861). Here again, "Albanian" agrees with Armenian in using a word *pusaķ* (spelt *powsaķ*) in the same sense (in 2.Tim. 4,8); there are two remarkable differences involved, however. First, the "Albanian" word still shows the first syllable vowel which must have been syncopated, in accordance with the general rule, in pre-literary Armenian, thus clarifying the phonetic structure of the model (theoretically, the Armenian word might just as well represent an earlier **pisak*). In this respect, "Albanian" matches Old Georgian which is also more "conservative" in preserving "pretonic" vowels of MIr. loans that were syncopated in Armenian. Second, the Albanian word begins with a "plain", i.e. aspirated, *p*, thus opposing itself to the glottalized *p* of Armenian. It is true that, as a general rule, we would expect "Albanian" to show the glottalized variants of stops in Middle Iranian loans wherever the models had voiceless stops, quite in the same way as both Old Armenian and Old Georgian, and the *-ķ* in the given word exhibits just this feature. On the other hand, we do meet counterexamples in the two neighbouring languages as well, and there are even cases where one and the same loan is treated differently in this respect; cp., e.g., Arm. *tʿakoyk* "plate, vessel", with an aspirated initial, and Georgian *ṭaķuķ-i* "id." with a glottalized one, both presupposing a MIr. **takōk*.[31] In some of these cases, the divergence may have emerged from dissimilation processes removing sequences of too many glottalized stops, and we can note "Albanian" *daxṭaķ-* "board", the equivalent of Arm. *taxtak* "id." in Heb. 9,4, as an example to show that the substitution of voiced stops was another possible way out of this problem.[32] If these

29 In the sense of "incense", Modern Udi uses *pervar* (W. SCHULZE, personal communication) which cannot reflect "Albanian" *boďvar* but must go back to either Armenian *bowrvar̄* or Georgian *bervar-* (as a secondary loan).

30 Cf. FÄHNRICH/SARǰVELAƷE 2000, p. 156f., with references to older literature.

31 For a thorough investigation concerning this doublet, cf. GIPPERT 1993, p. 245ff.

32 The voiced stop in the word *ṭapang-* "chest, ark", occurring in the same verse as the equivalent of Arm. *tapanak* "id.", can be explained differently: It seems that in clusters consisting of nasals or liquids plus stops, the pronunciation of the stops was neutralized,

assumptions are correct, the divergent realizations of stops cannot be taken as a sufficient indication of independent borrowing, for dissimilations of the given type can occur at any time in everyday usage; and indeed, Georg. *ṭaḳuḳ-i* must be regarded as an Armenian loan because of its *u* vowel (which cannot be motivated otherwise as an outcome of MIr. *ō*) and in spite of its different initial. In contrast to this, the preservation of high vowels in pretonic syllables is much more decisive in this respect, as it must be regarded in connection with the relative chronology of prehistorical sound changes of Armenian: Given that the "syncopation" process must have come to an end in this language before the beginning of literacy, the assumption of a *via armeniaca* for such cases implies that their transfer into "Albanian" (and Georgian) cannot have taken place under the conditions of (Christian) literacy. Whether the Armenian language was in a position then to exert such an influence on its neighbours may remain open to doubt. In any case, the examples dealt with here show that a careful investigation into every single candidate is necessary before final conclusions can be drawn.

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at least to a certain extent; cp. Arm. *vardapet* "teacher" which is represented by both *vardaṗeṭ-* and *varṭaṗeṭ-* in "Albanian". Note that Old Armenian manuscripts show a great deal of fluctuation in clusters of this type, too, so that this may be a feature of Armenian, not "Albanian".

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Old Persian *xšaça-*, Middle Persian *šahr*, Greek ἔθνος

Gherardo Gnoli, Rome

The traditional doctrine on OIran. *xšaça–* and its semantic development, espoused by scholars from Bartholomae[1] to Benveniste[2] and still valid in the main,[3] can be summed up in Gershevitch's words:

> ... as the abstract of a base meaning "to rule" it [*xšaθra-*] first meant "rule, power", then "kingship", "kingdom", "empire" (in MIr. *Ērānšahr*), and, on a smaller scale, "estate", and "town" (NPers. *šahr*).[4]

Gershevitch dwells on the semantic development from an abstract to a concrete meaning; Bartholomae and Benveniste emphasize the coexistence of two meanings, one of them more abstract and the other more concrete. Bartholomae gives a number of meanings, for which he provides examples from Gathic, Standard Avestan[5] and Old Persian: "imperium, regnum, Herrschaft, Reich"; Benveniste aptly puts it that the Iranian term means something that "c'est à la fois le pouvoir et le domaine où s'exerce ce pouvoir, la royauté et le royaume".

More than thirty years ago[6] I made an attempt to reconstruct the semantic development of the Old Iranian concept, in keeping with the historical development of Iranian society in the first millennium BC: namely a sort of secularization of an idea that was originally confined to the religious sphere, a shift from what was eminently a priestly, almost magical power to a political power connected with royalty. The ensuing result was: OP *xšaça-* has only a concrete meaning, "kingdom", while Av. *xšaθra-* has only an abstract meaning, "power". The evolution in Middle Persian and New Persian would seem to confirm the concrete meaning in Old Persian, while the Pahlavi interpretation of the Avestan term – *xwadāyīh* (except in the case of a personified being or *Šahrewar*) – would seem to confirm the abstract meaning of the Avestan notion, similar to the OInd. *kṣatrá*. This argument was backed up by a further study on Av. *xšaθra-*, which concluded that the abstract meaning of this term is the prevalent one throughout

1 Bartholomae 1904, col. 542.
2 Benveniste 1969, II, p. 19.
3 In spite of some recent disagreement: see below, p. 112.
4 Gershevitch 1959, p. 297, with reference also to p. 208.
5 I refer, with this definition, to Gershevitch 1995, p. 3. See my former work Gnoli 2000, pp. 23–24.
6 Gnoli 1972.

the Avesta, particularly in the Gathas,[7] though it did point out that there are some rare occurrences with the concrete meaning "estate", as GERSHEVITCH had already remarked.[8] In any case we must emphasize the fact that, in the Avesta, there is a meaning of *xšaθra-* that could be defined as referring either to time or space, with the locative singular *xšaθre* and the ablative singular *xšaθrāδa*, in passages that refer to the "reign" of Yima, to the time and space in which he ruled.[9]

In a note that M. BOYCE included in an article published in 1990,[10] N. SIMS-WILLIAMS has added considerably to the debate on OIran. **xšaθra-*: he proposes the reconstruction of a "substandard variant" **xšaiθra-* "whether as the result of contamination with **šaiθra-* = Avestan *šōiθra-* 'dwelling-place' or by restoration of the root form *xšai-*".[11] A reconstruction of this kind would account for a series of facts that until now have not been explained in a satisfactory manner: the Man. Sogd. *(')xšyšpt* – in Sogdian script *['x]š'yšpt* – which SIMS-WILLIAMS derives from **xšaiθra-pati-* and proposes reading as *(ə)xšēšpat*; some Greek spellings of the Iranian word for "satrap", such as ἐξαιτϱάπης and the denominative verb ἐξαιθϱαπεύω, with the diphthong -αι-; the connection between the nominal form *Ardašīr* and its variant **Arda(x)ša(h)r*; the connection between Phl. *pādixšīr*, Arm. *patšir* and Inscriptional MP *p'tḫštr(y)*, which could stem from an adjectival derivative with the suffix **-ya-*, such as **pāti-xša(i)θr-iya-*; and lastly, the lack of a phonetically plausible etymology for Khot. *kṣīra-* "country, land, kingdom", and for Tumshuqese *xšera-*, which could be compensated for by reconstructing an OIran. **xšaiθra-*.[12] It is interesting to note that SIMS-WILLIAMS' proposed solution for Khot. *kṣīra-* and Tumshuqese *xšera-* was accepted by the great scholar to whose memory this work is dedicated. R. E. EMMERICK preferred

7 PROVASI 1974.

8 GERSHEVITCH 1959, p. 208. Cf. GNOLI 1972, p. 92; PROVASI 1974, p. 95 and note 35. On the interpretation of *xšaθra-* in Yt. 5.130 that is proposed by KELLENS 2001, p. 749 and is different from the interpretation given by GERSHEVITCH and others, see GNOLI 2005.

9 Y 9.4–5; Yt 15.16; Yt. 19.33 ; V 2.5. The interpretation of these passages – and other similar ones – that is given by KELLENS 1984, pp. 269–271, leads to conclusions that are not very convincing: he insists on the distinction, a fairly nominalistic one, between "royal power" and "magic power". As for Y 9.5 (= Yt 15.16 and cf. V 2.5), the recent translation that PIRART 2004, p. 64, gives for *xšaθra–* is the result of a mechanical use of the expression "emprise rituelle", which even the author himself does not use all the time, as for instance in the translation of V 2.5 *nōiṯ mana xšaθre* "sous mon mandat" (PIRART 2004, p. 169), though he does use it even for the OP *xšaça–* (PIRART 1999, p. 57) and for OP *xšaçapāvan-* "gardien de l'emprise rituelle que le roi exerce sur Ahura Mazdâ" (PIRART 2002, p. 142).

10 BOYCE 1990, pp. 7–8 note 7, and cf. SKJÆRVØ 1983, p. 100.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 8. On the relationship between **xšaθra-* and **šaiθra-* see, amongst others: DE LAGARDE 1866, p. 70; LEHMANN-HAUPT 1921, col. 84; KRETSCHMER 1950, p. 70; SCHLERATH 1960, p. 131; SCHMITT 1976, p. 381.

12 For the bibliographical references concerning the above-mentioned cases see the aforesaid note by SIMS-WILLIAMS *apud* BOYCE 1990. It should be borne in mind that Khotanese also has the form *kṣāra-* < **xšaθra-* with the meaning "power, dominion": BAILEY 1979, p. 67a.

it to the one proposed by E. Leumann and H.W. Bailey (connection of *kṣīra-* with OInd. *kṣétra-* "field") as well as the one by S. Konow (connection with Av. *xšaθriia-*).[13] It likewise met with the approval of Ph. Huyse with regard to the name of Ardašīr.[14] What is more, thanks to this proposal G.-J. Pinault was able to discern in the etymological confusion in Buddhist Sanskrit "and doubtless elsewhere" of *kṣatrá-* "power, dominion" in the sense of *kṣétra-* "field", due to a false etymology, a development that is parallel in a way to the Iranian one and quite unrelated to it, that is later reflected in Tocharian (Toch. A *kṣatrapai* for Skt. *kṣetra-pati-*) through the probable mediation of Gāndhārī.[15] In his study on Av. *xšaθra-* with reference to some Indian languages such as Assamese, Bengali and Gujarati, Provasi had already dwelt on the similar semantic developments of the Indo-Iranian **kšatra-* in the two main linguistic areas.[16]

In actual fact, the theory of a contamination of **xšaθra-* with **šaiθra-* really could explain the origin of this "substandard variant" of the Old Iranian term without touching on the problem of the root, *xšay* or *xšā*, which has recently been dealt with anew by J. Kellens (and which we shall not discuss here).[17] Sims-Williams' proposal clearly takes it as a certainty, in any case, that there is also a concrete-territorial meaning in OIran. *xšaθra-* or *xšaiθra-*, which is well attested in Old, Middle (Inscriptional MP *štry*, Man. MP *šhr*, Phl. *štr'* : *šahr*) and New Persian, as well as in Parthian (Inscriptional Parth. *hštr*, Man. Parth. *šhr* : *šahr*), in Bactrian Þαοϱο and Þα(υ)ϱο, in Khotanese and in Tumshuqese.

Old Iranian **xšaθra-* has, therefore, both an abstract and a concrete meaning, which distinguishes it in part from the Old Indian term. In this connection R. Schmitt, in dealing recently with the fact that in Old Indo-Iranian the equivalent Ved. *kṣatrá-* never has a concrete meaning but only the abstract one, "Herrschafts(gewalt)", unlike the OP *xšaça-* (whereas he, too, considers the Avestan meaning as more of a problem), and he puts forward once more his idea that Indo-Iranian originally had two differently accentuated forms, the oxytone abstract **kšatrá-* "Herrschaft", from which Ved. *kṣatrá-* derived, and the barytone *nomen loci kšátra-* "Herrschaftsbereich", that gave rise to OP *xšaça-*.[18]

Still within the sphere of West Iranian, we should point out that M. Boyce has accurately recorded the various meanings of MP and Parth. *šahr* in the Manichaean texts: "land, country, region; town, world, the world; world of the hereafter, heaven; aeon".[19] Once these meanings have become extended to

13 Emmerick 1997, pp. 45–46 (with the relevant bibliographical references). I am grateful to M. Maggi for helping me to clear up some points in this connection.
14 Huyse 1999, II, p. 13. See also Sundermann 1994, p. 454 note 7 (= 2001, p. 835 note 7).
15 Pinault 2002, pp. 267–268.
16 Provasi 1974, p. 98 note 61.
17 Kellens 2002, pp. 440–441. Cf. Kellens 1995, p. 17; Kellens, Pirart 1990, p. 233; Pirart 2004, p. 278.
18 Schmitt 2003, p. 36. Cf. idem 1998, p. 643.
19 Boyce 1977, p. 84.

"world" – both this world and the hereafter – the range of concrete meanings of the Iranian notion is widened, as in the Armenian loanword *ašxarh* < **xšarh* "land, world".[20] In the case of Manichaean literature the influence of Gnostic-Christian terminology and phraseology is evident. We can take, for instance, a phrase such as the following in M132 with M5861: *kwm šhrd'ryft ny 'c 'ym šhr 'st* "my kingdom is not of this world".[21]

There can be no doubt whatsoever that both MP and Parth. *šahr* have a basic concrete-territorial meaning. The problem lies elsewhere: whether such a meaning can also be recognized in OP *xšaça-*. In the light of what has been said so far there ought not to be any further dispute on the matter, though not everyone is of like opinion. As a matter of fact, J. KELLENS has recently put forward a new argument that is at odds with the traditional doctrine on the abstract and concrete meanings of OIran. **xšaθra-*, coming to the conclusion that

> Nous n'avons aucune raison suffisante de traduire l'iranien ancien **xšaθra–*, dans quelque dialecte ou quelque passage que ce soit, par "royaume, kingdom, Königreich" plutôt que par "royauté, kingship, Königtum".

and he goes on to remark – and we cannot but agree with him on this point[22] – that the acceptation "pouvoir royal" is to some extent a secondary one since it is present when the power is wielded by a sovereign, as in Old Persian where *xšaça-* "est bien le pouvoir qui fait le *xšāyaθiya-*".[23] An accurate rebuttal of KELLENS' argument is given in my contribution to a miscellany of studies in honour of Prof. G.M. D'ERME.[24]

In what follows then attention is focused on the continuity of the concrete-territorial meaning of the Old Iranian concept in the transition from Old Persian to Middle Persian and to Parthian. Those who favour the comparison with Vedic may be prompted, for example, not to take into due account the semantic development of Persian in its various phases.[25] On the other hand, if continuity could not be proved, it would not be inconceivable on purely theoretical grounds to suppose that the concrete-territorial meaning of Middle Persian, and Parthian, *šahr* was something completely new. This gives rise to the opportuneness of the following remarks, that aim at proving the existence of a precise and certainly not casual continuity of the Old Iranian concept, in its concrete acceptation, that can be demonstrated by comparing the Achaemenian and Sassanian inscriptions. This is, so to speak, a completion of the stimulating work done by P.O. SKJÆRVØ on the thematic and linguistic parallels in the Achaeme-

20 SCHMITT 1987, p. 448a.

21 On this Parthian text cf. BOYCE 1975, p. 130 (text byc), SUNDERMANN 1968, pp. 394–395 and MORANO 1998, pp. 133, 136. See also PIRAS 2004, p. 188.

22 Cf. GNOLI 1972, p. 93; PROVASI 1974, pp. 92–93.

23 KELLENS 2002, pp. 439–440.

24 GNOLI 2005.

25 Besides KELLENS, whose argument is referred to several times in our context, another example of this tendency is given by SCHLERATH 1960, pp. 127–131.

nian and Sassanian inscriptions,[26] complemented by Ph. Huyse's remarks, especially with regard to two expressions concerning the lists of the provinces in the empires of Darius I and Šābuhr I and the sovereign's ascent to the throne.[27]

MP *šahr*, which is the outcome of a Median form[28] or a dialectal variant of Old Persian,[29] appears in the Sassanian inscriptions with more than one meaning. In actual fact, the meaning of MP *šahr*, as Henning pointed out, "varies from 'world', 'empire', 'kingdom', 'country' to 'province'".[30] For this reason – he continued – it is important to determine its exact meaning in Šābuhr's inscription at the Ka'ba of Zoroaster, which certainly cannot have been "Reich" as M. Sprengling[31] proposed without making any distinction. Henning pointed out at the time that in ŠKZ *šahr* is used for "province" or, more precisely, for *provincia romana*; something which "does not necessarily imply that all the provinces enumerated in the inscription were *provinciae* in the strict sense of that term".[32]

Now it is true that the meaning "province" – taken in a non-technical sense, whether it refers to the Roman empire or the Persian empire – is by far the most prevalent one in Šābuhr's inscription. It is, however, not the only meaning, although we must agree with Ph. Huyse[33] that the meaning "world", mentioned by Henning as theoretically possible for MP *šahr*, and the meaning "Stadt" proposed by Ensslin as being equivalent to the Greek ἔθνος,[34] do not fit into our contexts. On the contrary, the meanings "empire, kingdom; reign" do fit in. They are attested in *Ērānšahr*, in Greek τὸ Ἀριανῶν ἔθνος and in *Hrōmāyīn* (Middle Persian; in Parthian *Frōmāyīn*) *šahr*, in Greek τὸ ἔθνος τῶν Ῥωμαίων (or ἡ Ῥωμαίων ἀρχή), as well as in the Parthian expression *ud kaδ naxwišt pad šahr awištād ahēm*, which is rendered in Greek as καὶ ὅτε πρώτως ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλίαν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔστημεν: "and as soon as I had established myself in the kingdom".[35] The same meanings are found in Narseh's inscription and in the inscriptions of Kerdīr, in which *šahr ī Ērān, Anērānšahr* and *šahr ī Anērān* also occur,[36] as well as in the phrase *pad šahr ēstēd*, which MacKenzie translates as "established himself in the kingdom".[37]

26 Skjærvø 1985.
27 Huyse 1990, p. 180.
28 See Schmitt 2003, p. 25.
29 Gershevitch 1964, pp. 2, 13–14, 18 (= 1985, pp. 195, 206–207, 211).
30 Henning 1937–1939, p. 828 (= 1977, I, p. 606).
31 Sprengling 1937, p. 657.
32 Henning 1937–1939, p. 828 note 1. See also Rubin 2002, p. 283.
33 Huyse 1999, II, p. 16 note 41.
34 Ensslin 1949, p. 98 note 1.
35 ŠKZ § 6: Huyse 1999, I, pp. 25–26; II, pp. 41–44.
36 Gignoux 1971. See also Belardi 1979, p. 97, for the Middle Persian of the Zoroastrian books.
37 MacKenzie 1989, pp. 57, 63. In this phrase, which, as we have already seen, occurs in the Kerdīr inscriptions and in a similar form in ŠKZ §6 (Parthian: *pad šahr awištād ahēm*), Skjærvø 1983, p. 51 gives *šahr* an abstract meaning, "the royal power, the kingship (Accadian *šarrūtu*)". On this matter see Gnoli 2005, p. 573.

It is interesting to note that, in Šābuhr's inscription, Middle Persian, and Parthian, *šahr* is almost always rendered in Greek as ἔθνος, which appears in both singular and plural declined forms, ἔθνος, ἔθνους, ἔθνει, ἔθνη.[38] The reason for this translation, that has of course been remarked upon on several occasions,[39] has not aroused as much attention as it deserves. But the comparison between the Achaemenian and the Sassanian inscriptions provides a convincing explanation in this respect, confirming the concrete-territorial meaning of OP *xšaça-* and its continuity in MP and Parth. *šahr.*

A comparison of this type makes it absolutely clear that the two terms used to indicate the provinces of the Persian empire in the Achaemenian and Sassanian inscriptions are *dahyu-* and *šahr* respectively. The meaning of the latter term is broader then compared with the meaning of OP *xšaça-* and, in the different interpretations that scholars have given, it oscillates between "kingdom" and "kingship" and it also takes in the meaning of OP *dahyu-* "land, province; people".[40] There are numerous examples that can be given, for instance the lists of the countries in the inscriptions of Darius I and Šābuhr I: the corresponding term to OP *dahyāva* (pl.) is constantly MP *šahr.*[41]

But it is precisely this correspondence that provides further proof of the concrete-territorial meaning of OP *xšaça-*. As a matter of fact, it already exists in the Achaemenian inscriptions in the form of a concurrence of this term with OP *dahyu-*, which is clearly attested in some passages of the inscriptions of Darius I as well as in the more problematical ones[42] of Ariaramnes and Arsames.[43] In some of Darius' inscriptions at Susa and at Suez *xšaça-* is defined as *taya vaẓṛkam*, *taya uvaspam umartiyam*, "which is great, has fine horses and brave men", and in just the same way, in another of this king's inscriptions at Persepolis, it is the land of Persia, *dahyāuš Pārsa*, that is defined as being not only *naibā* "beautiful", but also *uvaspā* and *umartiyā*.[44] The inscriptions of Ariaramnes and Arsames say much the same thing, though with some slight changes: the land of Persia, *dahyāum Pārsam* (in the accusative), which Auramazdā has entrusted to Arsames, is *ukāram* "with brave men (in arms)" and *uvaspam.*[45]

38 BACK 1978, p. 262.

39 ROSTOVTZEFF 1943, p. 24 note 20; PUGLIESE CARRATELLI 1947, p. 216; ENSSLIN 1949, p. 98 note 1; GUEY 1955, p. 119; MARICQ 1958, pp. 306–307 note 15 (= 1965, pp. 48–49 note 15); BERTINELLI ANGELI 1972, pp. 52–59; CHAUMONT 1975, p. 85 and note 2; MANCINI 1988, p. 89; RUBIN 2002, pp. 282–283.

40 Cf. BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 706; BENVENISTE 1969, I, pp. 294, 318–319; HERRENSCHMIDT 1976, pp. 44–45; SKALMOWSKI 2004, pp. 253–254. But see also SCHMITT 1999 in favour of the meaning "Land".

41 Cf. SKJÆRVØ 1985, pp. 594–595; HUYSE 1990, p. 180.

42 LECOQ 1997, pp. 124–126.

43 I have dealt with this subject in my article quoted above (p. 112): GNOLI 2005.

44 DSf 9–12; DZc 34; DPd 6–9.

45 AmH 5–7; AsH 8–10.

The Old Persian inscriptions give us in a nutshell the reason for the use of MP *šahr* as a term denoting not only the empire or the kingdom as a whole (OP *xšaça-*), but also a province or a part of the empire, together with the people settled there (OP *dahyu-*). The concurrence of *xšaça-* with *dahyu-* thus becomes a sort of overlapping of identity. For this reason the translator of the Greek version of Šābuhr's inscription at the Kaʿba of Zoroaster – someone of Mesopotamian origin, possibly from Seleucia on the Tigris[46] – rendered *šahr* with ἔθνος, which corresponded closely to OP *dahyu-*, whose meaning in the Middle Persian outcome *deh* had gradually narrowed down to "village", whereas *šahr* had acquired more and more distinctly, in the administrative geography of the Sassanian empire, the meaning "province".[47] When, in ŠKZ § 6, the translator came up against cases in which he could not automatically render *šahr* with ἔθνος, he was compelled to use a periphrasis such as ἡ βασιλία τῶν ἐθνῶν,[48] whereas once he translated it by ἀρχή in a context in which *šahr* appeared three times explicitly and one more implicitly, if we consider Parthian *hamag Frōm* as being equivalent to *Frōmāyīn šahr*.[49] It is worth noting that ἀρχή appears in Herodotus with the same concrete-territorial meaning referring to the satrapies of the Persian empire: ἀρχὰς κατεστήσατο εἴκοσι, τὰς αὐτοὶ καλέουσι σατραπηίας, "(Darius) set up twenty dominions that they call satrapies".[50] As for ἔθνος, we must remember that it is attested with the meaning of "province" in Greek literary sources, with extended meanings that go from "nation" to "land".[51] R.N. Frye quite rightly emphasized the equation between a land and its inhabitants, between "people" and "land" being identified with each other, in "Near Eastern languages", giving this very example of OP *dahyu-* and MPers. *šahr*, with reference to the inscription of Šābuhr at the Kaʿba of Zoroaster;[52] and recently P. Lecoq has just as rightly pointed out that *dahyu-* narrowed down its semantic field until it came to acquire, in its latest form *deh*, the meaning "village" in Middle and New Persian, just as *šahr* ended up having the meaning "ville" in New Persian.[53]

46 Henning 1952, pp. 513–514 (= 1977, II, pp. 399–400). Cf. Mancini 1988, p. 92; Huyse 1999, II, p. 191. On the hypothesis that the author of the Greek version was of Parthian origin, put forward recently by Rubin 2002, pp. 291–297, see Gnoli 2004, pp. 184–185.

47 Gyselen 2002, pp. 94, 105ff., 118, 171ff.

48 This expression was not used then to render the abstract meaning of OIran. *xšaθra-*, as was suggested by Huyse 1999, II, p. 16 note 4, who also pointed out that "ŠKZ grI 7 ἀρχῆς (s. auch Komm. zu § 6.3.) ist nur eine scheinbare Ausnahme, die darauf beruht, daß der Schreiber der griechischen Fassung die mitteliranische Vorlage falsch verstanden hat". On the contrary, the Greek translation is exact: Gnoli 2004, pp. 186–187.

49 See above, p. 113.

50 Herodotus III 89. Cf. Herodotus I 192 and Rossi 1984, pp. 46–47.

51 Bertinelli Angeli 1972, p. 54 and note 41; Frye 1988, p. 463.

52 Frye, ibid.

53 Lecoq 1997, p. 171.

It has been useful then to retrace the semantic development of the Old Persian term *xšaça-* and the Middle Persian, and Parthian, *šahr*, together with its Greek translation ἔθνος, in order to demonstrate that the exact meaning of the Old Persian term can in no way be confined to an abstract sense. The traditional doctrine in our studies on the sense of OIran. **xšaθra-*, with its two meanings, abstract and concrete, is thus confirmed. The Middle Iranian evidence must not be overlooked. The continuity of a concrete-territorial connotation between Old and Middle Persian is in turn confirmed by the Middle Persian and Parthian in the Sassanian inscriptions and by their Greek translation, which imply that there was already a sort of concurrence between *xšaça-* and *dahyu-* in the Achaemenian inscriptions.

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معاونت کتابخانه ملی ثبت

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The Fire Wāzišt and the Demon*

Almut Hintze, London

In the Middle Persian Zoroastrian texts the fire Wāzišt is the fire of lightning. Residing in the clouds, it belongs, together with the star Tištar, to a group of beneficent beings producing rain. As Tištar is opposed by Apaoš, the demon of drought, so the fire Wāzišt, too, has an opponent. This demon, the story goes, utters a fearful cry called 'thunder' when smitten on the head by the fire Wāzišt. As a result the waters flow and rain is produced. This myth is related or alluded to in a number of Pahlavi texts. The demon's name is Spenjruš *(spnclwš)* or Aspenjruš *('spnclwš)* in several passages of the *Bundahišn*,[1] in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat of the Dādestān ī Dēnīg* 18.d2 and in the Pahlavi translation and gloss to Y 17.11. Its name appears as Sponjagr *(spwncgl)* in *Zādspram* 3.17, besides other variants, and as Spenjagr *(spncgl)* in *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* 4.52.

A demon Spenjagr *(spncgl)* slain by the fire Wāzišt also seems to be mentioned in the Pahlavi translation of Vd 19.40, where *spncgl* renders the Avestan hapax legomenon *spəṇjaγrīm*. The latter is usually considered by scholars to be the proper name of a demon slain by the fire *vāzišta-* (Bartholomae 1904, col. 1619). The form Spenjruš *(spnclwš)* or Aspenjruš *('spnclwš)*, in contrast, is the equivalent of Av. *spiṇjauruška-*, mentioned in Yt 9.31 as the name of a *daēva*-worshipping enemy of Zarathustra's patron, Kavi Vištāspa (Bartholomae 1904, col. 1625).

Editors and translators of those Pahlavi texts where the story is mentioned usually assume that the demon's correct name is the Middle Persian equivalent of Av. *spəṇjaγrīm* and therefore regard the transmitted forms Spenjruš or Aspenjruš as mistaken for Spēnjargāk,[2] Spanjagr[3] or Sponǰagr[4]. However, the discrepancy between the spelling of the name in the Pahlavi texts, on the one

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1 In the manuscript TD2 the readings and attestations are as follows: *spnclwš* 50.11, *spnclws* 123.6, 138.2, *'spnclwš* 187.8, *'spnclwš* 70.7, 135.7, 138.1.4, *'spnclwwš* 64.3.5.

2 West 1880, p. 62 with n. 1, p. 28 with n. 1 *(Aspenjargāk)*.

3 Williams 1990, I, p. 97, II, pp. 36, 158. MacKenzie 1964, p. 513, n. 15, comments that the form *spnclwš* for Av. *spinjauruška-* transmitted by the mss. is written instead of the expected *spncgl* (Spenjagr), Av. *spənjaγriia-* attested in Vd 19.40.

4 Panaino 1990–1995, II, pp. 87, 95.

hand, and its transcription in the scholarly tradition, on the other, justifies doubts about its common interpretation as the Middle Persian equivalent of Av. *spəṇjaγrīm*. Moreover, the meaning of Av. *spəṇjaγrīm*, which is believed to underly the demon's name, is not clear. In spite of HUMBACH's convincing morphological analysis as *spəṇ-jaγri-* (see below n. 29), it is puzzling that a noun meaning 'spattering prosperity' should function as the name of a demon. In an attempt to explain it, HUMBACH refers to the oral tradition of the Mazdayasnians, who interpret it as 'destroying prosperity by spattering water.' Apart from that source being unidentified, this explanation is hardly convincing, not least because the demon is one of *drought*.

In what follows I propose to investigate the attestations of the demon's name in the Pahlavi texts with a view to establishing its correct form in Middle Persian. I shall argue that the demon's name is not Spenjagr but Spenjruš or Aspenjruš in those passages where it is written *spnclwš* or *'spnclwš*. Moreover, the etymology of Av. *spiṇjauruška-* and the question of the meaning of Av. *spəṇjaγri-* will be discussed, and I shall argue that *spəṇjaγri-* is not the name of a demon but an epithet of the fire *vāzišta-*. This interpretation will be supported with reference to a passage from the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. I shall conclude that, while the myth of the fire *vāzišta-* slaying a demon goes back to the Avesta, there is no Avestan evidence for the demon's name. It was during the course of the development of the myth and its meteorological connections, triggered by an association of *spəṇjaγri-* with forms of **sp(r)enj-* 'to burst forth; be bright; sprout', in the Middle Iranian period that the name of the *daēva*-worshipper *spiṇjauruška- (spenjruš)* provided that of the demon, possibly because of its assonance with *spəṇjaγrīm (spenjagr)*, the meaning of which was no longer understood. From this there also originated the reinterpretation of *spəṇjaγrīm* as a demon's name and the confusion in some of the Pahlavi texts of two names for the demon slain by the fire Wāzišt.

1. The name of the demon slain by the fire Wāzišt

Perhaps the most detailed account of the battle between the fire Wāzišt and the demon is found in the *Iranian Bundahišn*. According to this myth, the demon Spenjruš or Aspenjruš resides in the clouds and is, along with the demon Apaoš, in conflict with the rainmakers. Apaoš is opposed to Tištar, and Aspenjruš to the fire Wāzišt (TD2 50.11, 135.7, 187.8), who is said to have been created in the clouds in defiance of the demon Aspenjruš.[5] The latter is smitten on the head in the clouds by the fire Wāzišt with a club *(gad)*, and as a result the waters flow and rain is produced. The club is like the blazing of fire and is also called 'light-

5 Since the forms Spenjruš and Aspenjruš vary indiscriminately in the passages relating to the two sets of opposed pairs, the optional initial vowel of Aspenjruš could be either analogical on the name of the demon Apaoš or, more likely, as suggested by N. SIMS-WILLIAMS (e-mail of 10 October 2004), merely prothetic.

ning' *(rōzāg)*. When struck on the head, Aspenjruš utters a fearful cry *(wāng)* which likewise is referred to as 'thunder' *(yarrānāg)*. Finally, the fire Wāzišt is said to be the body of the fire of Spenāg Mēnōg with water in the clouds. In the manuscript TD2 the text runs as follows (137.15–138.7):

137.15	'MT pt'[6] ZK 'dwynk' YHWWN-yd 'thš y w'zyšt' cygwn BYN
138.1	'pl BR' YHBWN-t' YK'YMWN-yt' hmyst'lyh 'spnclwš šDY'
138.2	ZK MY' t'cynyt' W gt' 'L L'šH y spnclwš šDY' ptkpyt'
138.3	ZK gt dcšn' 'thš t'cšn' [t'cšn'][7] y 'thš MY' l'y
138.4	lwšnyh BYN 'pl YHWWN-yt' MNW lwc'k' KRYTWN-d W 'spnclwš
138.5	'MT' ZK gt QDM ptkwpyt' K'L' shmkn' 'BYDWN-yt' MNW gl'n'k
138.6	KRYTWN-d 'thš-c w'zšt' tn' hm 'thš y spyn'k mynwk
138.7	LWTH MY' BYN 'pl

137.15	*ka pad ān ēwēnag bawēd ātaxš ī wāzišt ciyōn andar*
138.1	*abr be dād ēstēd hamēstārīh aspenjruš dēw*
138.2	*ān āb tāzēnēd ud gad ō sar ī spenjruš dēw pahikōbēd.*
138.3	*ān gad dazišn ātaxš. tāzišn ī ātaxš āb rāy*
138.4	*rōšnīh andar abr bawēd kē rōzāg xwānēnd. ud aspenjruš*
138.5	*ka ān gad abar pahikōbēd wāng sahmgen kunēd kē yarrānāg*
138.6	*xwānēnd. ātaxš-iz wāzišt tan ham ātaxš ī spenāg mēnōg*
138.7	*abāg āb andar abr*

When it happens that way, the most invigorating[8] fire, as
it has been created in the clouds in opposition to the demon Aspenjruš,
makes that water flow and strikes his club upon the head of the demon Spenjruš.
That club (causes) the burning of fire. Because of the flow of fire into the water
there is brightness in the clouds which they call lightning. And when
he [i.e. the fire] strikes that club upon (him), Aspenjruš utters a fearful cry which
they call thunder.
The most invigorating fire (is) even also the body of the fire of the Bounteous Spirit
with water in the cloud.

6 The transliteration pt' for Pahl. *pad* follows O. Hansen: *Die mittelpersischen Papyri der Papyrussammlung der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*. Berlin 1938, pp. 8, 17. Further support for this reading is given by D. Weber: "Kalligraphie und Kursive: Probleme der Pahlavi-Schrift in den Papyri und Ostraca", in: W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo (eds.): *Medioiranica. Proceedings of the International Colloquium organized by the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven from the 21st to the 23rd of May 1990*, Leuven 1993 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 48), pp. 183–192, and "Remarks on the development of the Pahlavi script in Sasanian times", in: *The Proceedings of the Copenhagen Symposium Religious Texts in Iranian Languages*, edited by F. Vahman and C.V. Pedersen, Copenhagen [2007] (in press). Arguments in favour of PWN are put forward by Ph. Huyse: "Ein erneuter Datierungsversuch für den Übergang vom Schluß-*y* der mittelpersischen Inschriften zum Endstrich im Buchpahlavi (6.–7.Jh.)", in: D. Weber (ed.): *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. A Volume of Iranian Studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie*, Wiesbaden 2004, pp. 51–68.

7 This word is erroneously written twice.

8 On form and meaning of Av. *vāzišta-* see Hintze 2007, on Y 36.3.

In both the Avestan and the Pahlavi texts, the fire *vāzišta-* is one out of several fires. The *locus classicus* for this distinction in the Avesta is Y 17.11, where the heavenly fire is worshipped as the son of Ahura Mazdā together with five different fires:

Y 17.11 *θβąm ātrəm ahurahe mazdå puθrəm yazamaide*
ātrəm bərəzisauuaŋhəm yazamaide
ātrəm vohu.friiānəm yazamaide
ātrəm uruuāzištəm yazamaide
ātrəm vāzištəm yazamaide
ātrəm spāništəm yazamaide
ˣxšaθrō.nafəðrəm nairiiō.saŋhəm yazatəm yazamaide
ātrəm vīspaną̄m nmānanąm nmānō.paitīm yazamaide
ahurahe mazdå puθrəm
aṣauuanəm aṣahe ratum yazamaide
maṯ vīspaēibiiō ātərəbiiō

We worship you, the fire, the son of Ahura Mazdā.
We worship the fire of high strength.
We worship the fire who loves what is good.
We worship the most joyful fire.
We worship the most invigorating fire.
We worship the most bounteous fire.
We worship Nairyōsaŋha,[9] the grandson of rule,[10] worthy of worship.
We worship the fire, the master of all houses.
We worship the son of Ahura Mazdā,
the truthful one, the model of truth,
together with all fires.

Three of those names, namely *ātar- vāzišta-* 'most invigorating fire', *ātar- uruuāzišta-* 'most joyful fire' and *ātar- spāništa-* 'most bounteous fire' are also found in the YH (Y 36.2–3) from where they probably derive.[11] The Pahlavi translation of Y 17.11 explains that the fire Wāzišt slays the demon Spenjruš:

Y 17.11 'thš w'zyšt YDBHWN-m [ZK ŠDY' spnclwš[12] MHWTWN-yt']
ātaxš wāzišt yazēm [ān dēw spenjruš zanēd]

We worship the fire *wāzišt* [that one slays the demon *spenjruš*]

9 In Y 17.11 *Nairiiō.saŋha-*, the messenger *(ašta-)* of Ahura Mazdā (Vd 19.34), is, like its Ved. cognate *nárāśáṁsa-*, a name for the ritual fire.

10 This epithet of *nairiiō.saŋha-* is attested twice and occurs in two spellings. One is that of a compound, *xšaθrō.nafəðrō* (gen.sg., Ny 5.6). The other is that of the acc.sg. *xšaθrəm nafəðrəm* (Y 17.11), edited without variants by GELDNER 1886–1896, I, p. 71, where both members of the compound are inflected, see BARTHOLOMAE 1904, cols. 547, 1055, n. 1.

11 NARTEN 1986, p. 157, n. 84.

12 DHABHAR 1949, p. 94, edits *spnclwš*, while *Persian Rivayats* p. 59, n. 8 (no. 4), has *spnclwšk*.

In the Pahlavi texts, the distinction of five fires is found, for instance, in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, which in A. V. Williams' translation reads as follows:

> PRDd 18.d1: (In) one place (it is) revealed that the fire (is) so valuable, Ohrmazd created the body and soul of Fire from his own mind and thought, and he created its radiance and glory from the light of the Endless Light.
>
> PRDd 18.d2: And he made five (fires). One (is) that which burns before himself in Garōdmān, and with this he makes true the essence of men; and one (is) that which he created in the body of men; one (is) that by which he smites the demon *Spanjagr; and one (is) that which he created in water and plants; one (is) that which he desired to create in the material world.[13]

The phrase in PRDd 18.d2, rendered by Williams as 'that by which he smites the demon *Spanjagr', refers to the fire *vāzišta-*. The reading *⁺spncgl* on which his transcription *Spanjagr is based, is not found in the manuscripts but results from an emendation in his *Pahlavi Rivāyat* I 96 from a transmitted word which he transliterates as *spnclwd'k'* (*ibid.*, p. 244). The ambiguous character of the Pahlavi script, however, also allows the same word to be read as *spnclwšk' /spenjrušk/*. The latter is probably the correct form, because, apart from the suffix *-ka-*, it agrees with the demon's name in the *Iranian Bundahišn*.

A transcription Sponjagr is justified in *Zādspram* 3.17, where the name is transmitted as *spwncgl* (or rather: *sprncgl*, see below p. 131) by the manuscripts K 35 (fol.239r l.15) and BK.[14] By contrast, the manuscript TD offers a reading *spncl'šn'*.[15] The latter form could be transcribed as *spenjarāšn* and interpreted as corrupted from *spenjruš*. In any case, in spite of the different forms of the name in Zs 3.17, this demon, which is presented as the opponent of the fire *wāzišt*, forms part of the two sets of opposed pairs, the other being Apaoš contra Tištar. In Zs 3.17 the demon Sponjagr has the same function as Spenjruš/Aspenjruš in the *Bundahišn* and Spenjrušk in the *Pahlavi Rivāyat* of the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*.

The demon's name also occurs as Spenjagr in *Škand Gumānīg Wizār* 4.52, where it is spelt *spənzagar* in Pazand, and *spncgl* in a surviving fragment of the Pahlavi version[16]:

> ŠGV 4.52 MN hcdl y 'LḤ-šān 'ltyk y tyštl W spncgl ŠDY'
> 4.53 W 'thš y w'cšt W 'p̄'wš ŠDY'

13 Williams 1990, II, p. 36 (translation), I, p. 96f. (Pahlavi text). Further references to the five fires are given by him in part II, p. 157f.

14 *Codices Avestici et Pahlavici bibliothecae Universitatis Hafniensis*, vol. IV: *The Pahlavi Codex K35, Second part, containing the Epistles of Manushchihr and the Selections of Zādhsparam*. Copenhagen 1936, p. 67. Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, pp. 148, 199, 425, transcribe the name as Sponjagr, while Anklesaria 1964, p. 23, interprets it as Spen-jagr.

15 Anklesaria 1964, p. 23; Gignoux/Tafazzoli 1993, p. 325.

16 Jâmâsp-Âsânâ/West 1887, pp. 23, 199, 267; de Menasce 1945, pp. 54, 55, 60.

4.54 ʾp̄'ryk šPYL mynwg'n y LWTH̱ twmyk'n
pt̲' w'l'n krt'lyh W swt bht'lyh y 'L d'm'n

4.52 *az azēr ī awēšān ardīg ī tištar ud spenjagr dēw*
4.53 *ud ātaxš ī wāzišt ud apāoš dēw*
4.54 *abārīg wēh mēnōgān ī abāg tomīgān*
pad wārān kardārīh ud sūd baxtārīh ī ō dāmān

Below them (is) the battle between Tištar and the demon Spenjagr
and the most invigorating fire and the demon Apaoš
(and) the other good spiritual (beings) with the darkness
about the production of rain and the distribution of benefits to the creatures.

This passage exhibits a curious confusion between the two sets of opposed pairs in so far as Spenjagr is presented not as opposed to the Fire Wāzišt but to Tištar, whose enemy otherwise is always Apaoš.

It emerges from this survey that the name of the demon opposed to the fire Wāzišt is usually Spenjruš/Aspenjruš (*Bundahišn*, Pahl. version of Y 17.11) or Spenjrušk (PRDd 18.d2), the Middle Persian equivalent of Av. *spiṇjauruška-*. It could be Sponjagr in *Zādspram* 3.17 (*spwncgl* K 35 BK, with the variant *spncl'šn'* in TD, possibly representing *spenjarāšn*) and it is Spenjagr in ŠGV 4.52 (Paz. *spəṇzagar*, Pahl. *spncgl*, with a mix-up of the agents in the opposed pairs) and apparently also in the Pahlavi translation of Vd 19.40, where it is a transcription of the Avestan word *spəṇjaγrīm*.

2. Av. *spiṇjauruška-*

The name *Spenjruš* or *Spenjrušk* is the Middle Persian equivalent of Av. *spiṇjauruška-* referred to in Yt 9.31 as the name of a *daēva*-worshipping enemy of Kavi Vištāspa. Zarathustra's patron prays to the deity Druvāspā and requests the following favour:

Yt 9.31 *uta azəm nijanāni*
tąθriiāuuaṇtəm dužδaēnəm
uta azəm nijanāni
+spiṇjauruškəm daēuuaiiasnəm

And that I may slay
Tąθriiāuuant of bad belief.
And that I may slay
the *daēva*-worshipping Spinjauruška[17].

17 GELDNER 1886–1896, II, p. 124, edits a form which could be read either as *spinjaurušəm* or, assuming that the sign *š* may also represent the ligature *šk*, *spinjauruškəm*. That the latter is the correct reading emerges unequivocally from the facsimiles of F1 (JAMASP-ASA 1991, p. 118) and E1 (fol. 238r l.1–2, KOTWAL/HINTZE, forthcoming).

There is no extant Pahlavi translation of this passage. However, it is to be expected that the name of the *daēva*-worshipper Spinjauruška would be written *spnclwšk*, just like that of the demon smitten by the Fire Wāzišt in the Pahlavi texts. This implies that either the same name was used for both a man and a demon or that the *daēva*-worshipper of the Avesta had himself become a *dēw* in the Pahlavi texts.

The formation and meaning of *spiṇjauruška-* are uncertain.[18] Bartholomae's (1904, col. 1625) connection of °*uruška-* with the Latin adjective *luscus* 'blind, obscure, unintelligible' is untenable because *luscus* probably derives from an earlier **nuscus* attested in the noun *nuscītiō* 'night-blindness', from *nuc-scītiō*, an earlier form of *luscītiō*.[19] Bartholomae relates the first part of the name *spiṇjauruška-* to an otherwise unattested noun *spiṇja-* which he considers to be the name of a tribe.[20] However, it is more likely that the first member is the same as that in *spəṇjaγri-*, i.e. *spən-* 'prosperity'. This requires the assumption that *spin-* goes back to earlier *spən-*, possibly under the influence of the following palatal stop *-j-*, i.e. *spanj°* > *spənj°* > *spinj°*.[21] A form with *spən-* is attested in the otherwise corrupted variant reading of the manuscript J10 *spəṇzurōšakəm*.

The second part of the compound is then °*jaruška-*. This could be a diminutive form with the suffix *-ka* attached to an *-uš-* stem from a root *jar/gar*. In Indo-Iranian, stems in *-uš-* are, like those in *-as-*, neuter *nomina agentis* expressing the carrying out of the action denoted by the verbal root.[22] While there are no other examples in Avestan for the further suffixation of Indo-Iranian action nouns in *-as-*, *-uš-*, *-iš-* with *-ka-*, Vedic parallels include *a-cchandás-ka-* 'without metre', Epic *dhānuṣká-* 'archer', literally 'provided with a bow' (*dhánuṣ-*, *AiGr.* II:2, p. 523), TS *an-āśír-ka-* 'without blessing' (*āśíṣ-* 'wish', *AiGr.* II:2, p. 537, §367 bε). The suffix *-ka-* does not change the meaning when attached to a nominal stem which forms part of a compound.[23] The meaning of the suffixed formation is therefore that of a Bahuvrīhi and could be either 'provided with ...' or 'occupied with ...' (*AiGr.* II:2, p. 522ff.). In addition, the suffix *-ka-* may also add a pejorative semantic component, since Av. *spiṇjauruška-* is the name of a deceitful person.

18 Mayrhofer 1979, p. 77, comments that the etymology is "völlig unklar".

19 Walde/Hofmann, I, p. 838f.; Clare 1982, pp. 1052, 1207. Ernout/Meillet 1959, p. 371, point out that the noun occurs with initial *n-* already in Plautus, *Festus* 176, where it could be due to the influence of *nox* 'night'. They consider *luscus, luscitiosus* as "mot populaire, d'origine inconnue".

20 Bartholomae (1904, col. 1619) connects *spinja-* with *spəngha-*, the proper name of a truthful person. For an uncertain OP equivalent **spanga-* see Hinz 1975, p. 225 with references, Mayrhofer 1979, p. 76.

21 On the sound change *span-* > *spən-* see de Vaan 2003, p. 482. The sound change *-ə-* > *-i-*, however, occurs normally after, not before a palatal *j́, c, j, ž*, see Hoffmann/Forssman, p. 63, §30.dd.α.

22 *AiGr.* II:2, pp. 229, 489f.; Brugmann 1906, p. 534.

23 *AiGr.* II:1, p. 102f., § 45c, 1930, III, p. 518, §361d; F. Edgerton: *The k-suffixes of Indo-Iranian*, Leipzig 1911, pp. 8, 18, 29ff.

The morphological segmentation of the name is thus *spiṇ-jar-uš-ka-*. The noun *spəṇ-ja-yr-i-*, in contrast, is formed from a reduplicated root. HUMBACH 1991, II, p. 172, regards the name of the *daēva*-worshipper as a diminutive of *spəṇjayri-*. However, in order to avoid the semantic difficulties of his explanation, it is preferable to assume that the underlying root *gar/jar* in *spiṇ-jauruška-* is different from but homonymous with that in *spəṇ-jayri-*. Of the various roots *gar/jar* in Indo-Iranian, *gar* 'to welcome, honour' (IE $*g^{w}erH$) and *gar* 'to wake' (IE $*h_{1}ger$) are excluded for semantic reasons. Possible candidates among those remaining include Ved. *gar*^{i} 'to raise (a weapon)' (IE $*g^{w}elh_{1}$, according to MAYRHOFER 1986–2001, I, p. 470) and Av. *gar*, Ved. *gar*^{i} 'to swallow' (IE $*g^{w}erh_{3}$, MAYRHOFER 1986–2001, I, p. 469f.).

The only Avestan evidence for a root *gar*^{i} 'to raise (a weapon)' has been thought to be the isolated form *ni-yrāire*, which occurs twice only in Yt 10.40 (BARTHOLOMAE 1904, col. 512). However, this form is probably to be emended to $^{\times}$*niγnāire* with INSLER 1967, who assumes a scribal error.[24] So far, however, the emendation has been a pure conjecture because GELDNER 1886–1896, II, p. 134, does not record any variant readings. It now receives additional and decisive support from the manuscript J18, not used by GELDNER, of the K.M. JAMASPASA's collection,[25] where a form with *-n-* is attested at the first occurrence (*niγnāiri*, fol. 138v l. 4) while the reading is *niγrāiṛa* the second time (fol. 138v l. 9).[26]

There remains then only the root *gar* 'to swallow'. It occurs in the compounds *aspō.gar-*, *nərə.gar-* 'swallowing horses', 'swallowing men', both of which function as epithets of the 'horned serpent' slain by the hero Kərəsāspa (KELLENS 1974, p. 30f.). In the morphological analysis presented above, it would be the only possible root underlying the name *spiṇjauruška-*. While it is hard to justify *-jauruška-* as a *nomen agentis* governing *spiṇ-* (**'swallowing prosperity'), the *-ka-* suffix could be used to turn a basic Bahuvrīhi into a name, or to mark it as pejorative. The compound could thus mean 'occupied with the swallowing of prosperity', 'characterized by the swallowing of prosperity'. The name would describe a deceitful person who swallows prosperity as his food, gobbles up prosperity.

There are other stories in the *Yašt*s (and later Epic) which suggest that daevic creatures 'swallow' the good things of life. In addition to the 'horned serpent' that swallowed men and horses (Yt 19.40), there is also the monster Gandarəβa who rushed about with his mouth wide open 'to destroy the bodily living beings of truth' (Yt 19.41). Furthermore, Yima is said to have brought prosperity back on earth after it had been taken away by the demons (Yt 19.32). Such parallels confirm that this sort of name is appropriate for a *daeva*-worshipper, even if it

24 Cf. KELLENS 1974, p. 152, n. 3, 1984, p. 164, who considers the emendation favourably.

25 The manuscript is described by HINTZE 1994, p. 56, and 1989, p. 45.

26 On Vedic *gar*^{i} 'to raise (a weapon)' see A. HINTZE: "Indo-Iranian $*gar$ 'to raise aloft'." In: G. SCHWEIGER (ed.): *Indogermanica. Festschrift Gert Klingenschmitt*. Taimering 2005, pp. 247–260.

may be figurative like Homeric δημόβορος 'devourer of the common stock'. The meaning is also nasty enough to make the transference to a demon plausible.[27]

3. Av. *spəṇjaγrīm*

The Avestan noun *spəṇjaγrīm* is attested only in Vd 19.40, where the *ātar-vāzišta-* is said to slay a demon:

> Vd 19.40: *ātrəm vāzištəm frāiiazaēša*
> *+daēum.janəm spəṇjaγrīm*
>
> You shall worship the fire *vāzista-*
> which slays the demon, the *spəṇjaγrīm*

That one particular demon is slain by the fire emerges from the accusative singular case of the first member of the compound *+daēum.jan-*.[28] The form *spəṇjaγrīm* is analysed by Bartholomae 1904, col. 1619, as the acc.sg. of a masculine stem *spəṇjaγriia-*. Syntactically he considers the acc. to be governed by the root noun *°janəm*. Interpreting *spəṇjaγrīm* as the name of the demon slain by the fire *vāzista-*, he translates the phrase as 'you may worship the *vāzišta-* fire, the one that slays the demon, the Spənjaγrya'.[29] The Pahlavi translation of this verse, however, is ambiguous as to the interpretation of *spəṇjaγrīm*, which is not translated but transcribed as *spncgl*:

> Vd 19.40 'thš y w'zyšt pr'c YDBHWN-šn'
> MNW ŠDY' MHYTWN-yt spncgl
>
> *ātaxš i wāzišt frāz yazišn*
> *kē dēw zanēd spenjagr*
>
> One shall worship the most invigorating fire,
> which slays the demon, the *spenjagr.*

Bartholomae describes *spənjaγrīm* as a compound of the elements *spənja-* and *aγriia-* 'first' (Bartholomae 1904, col. 50), but without further analysis. More convincing is Humbach's explanation that it consists of *spən-* and *jaγri-*.[30] The

27 This section on the name *spiṇjauruška-* has greatly benefited from discussions with Elizabeth Tucker, who also drew my attention to the Greek parallel.

28 Geldner 1886–1896, III, p. 130, edits two words *daēum. janəm.* On compounds with *jan*, cf. Duchesne-Guillemin 1936, p. 72f.; Kellens 1974, pp. 145–163, esp. p. 154.

29 That Bartholomae interprets *spəṇjaγrīm* as the demon's name emerges unequivocally only from the German translation thanks to the grammatical distinction of gender in that language: "Das Vāzista-Feuer, (das) den Daēva schlägt, den Spənjaγrya, sollst du verehren!" (Wolff 1910, p. 432). Also in Kellens' translation (1974, p. 154) *spəṇjaγrīm* is unambiguously taken as the name of the demon: "Offrez le sacrifice au feu vāzista, qui tue le démon Spəṇjaγri".

30 Humbach 1959, II, p. 64, 1991, II, p. 172; cf. also Kellens 1974, p. 154 with n. 1.

latter equals Vedic *jághri-* 'spattering' attested only once in RV 1.162.15, where, with regard to the sacrificial horse, one is advised:

> RV 1.162.15 *mā́ tvāgnír dhvanayīd dhūmagandhir*
> *mókhā́ bhrā́janty abhí vikta jághriḥ /*
>
> Do not let the smoky-smelling fire envelope you with smoke[31];
> do not let the shiny pot boil over spattering.

From a morphological point of view, *jághri-* is an adjective from the reduplicated root *ghar* 'to drip, sprinkle'. Such forms with an accented reduplicative syllable, zero-grade root and a primary *i*-suffix are agent nouns usually referring to the repetition of the action denoted by the verbal root.[32] Literally, *jághri-* thus means '(repeatedly) sprinkling, spattering, spurting'. The stem of the Av. compound has been credibly posited by HUMBACH as *spəṇjaγri-* and translated as 'spattering prosperity'. Like his predecessors, HUMBACH interprets it as the name of a demon. However, in spite of his convincing morphological analysis, it is difficult to accept that a noun with such a meaning would serve as a demon's name.

Some insight into the meaning and function of this compound may be gained from a comparison of the *Vīdēvdād* passage with a stanza from the *Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. J. NARTEN has shown that in Y 36.2 the heavenly fire of Ahura Mazdā is addressed and invited to come down and merge with the ritual fire. After this process has taken place, the ritual fire is identified not only with Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire but also with the deity's most bounteous spirit.[33] In Y 36.3, the worshippers approach *(pairijasāmaidē)* the transformed ritual fire, addressing it by the 'most invigorating of names' *(nāmanąm vāzištəm)* of Ahura Mazdā's fire:

> Y 36.3 *ātarš vōi mazdå̊ ahurahiiā ahī*
> *mainiiuš vōi ahiiā spāništō ahī*
> *hiiaṯ vā tōi nāmanąm vāzištəm*
> *ātarə mazdå̊ ahurahiiā*
> *tā ϑβā pairijasāmaidē*
>
> You are truly the Fire of the Wise Lord.
> You are truly his most bounteous spirit.
> We approach you,
> O Fire of the Wise Lord,
> (addressing you) by what is indeed the most invigorating of your names.

NARTEN 1986, pp. 157–159, argues convincingly that this *vāzišta-* of names is the one mentioned in the preceding sentence, i.e. Ahura Mazdā's most bounte-

31 The nonce form *dhvanayīt*, a secondary *iṣ*-aorist injunctive in the *mā́* prohibitive (preventive) clause, is formed from the causative stem *dhvā́naya-*, see NARTEN 1964, p. 155f., JAMISON 1983, p. 115 with n. 17, HOFFMANN 1967, p. 63.

32 *AiGr.* II:2, p. 291f.; TICHY 2000, p. 50.

33 NARTEN 1986, p. 155f., cf. HINTZE 2007 on Y 36.3 n. 1.

ous spirit *(mainiiuš spāništō)*. The identification of the ritual fire with Ahura Mazdā's heavenly fire, which is invoked in Y 36.2, is made in the first *ahī*-clause. The second such clause equates the ritual fire, now identical with Ahura Mazdā's heavenly one, with the deity's most bounteous spirit. The latter was mentioned in Y 36.1 in its function of retributing evil. According to NARTEN, it is because of this judicial role that in Y 36.3 *spəṇta- mainiiu-* is called the most invigorating *(vāzišta-)* of all the names for the divine fire.[34]

The Pahlavi translation of Y 36.3 confirms NARTEN's interpretation of *vāzišta-* as the name of the ritual fire in which *spəṇta- mainiiu-* is present in so far as the Av. clause *ahiiā spāništō ahī hiiaṯ vā tōi nāmanąm vāzištəm*[35] is translated in the sense that the fire's characteristic or personality *(xwēš)* is called *abzōnīg*, which translates Av. *spāṇišta-*, when its name is *wāzišt*[36]:

Y 36.3 'thš pṯ' ZK y 'whrmẓd 'k's 'YT [pṯ' dyn' y 'whrmẓd] W pṯ' mynwḳyh 'k's 'YT' [+ZY -š[1] 'YT'[2] 'MT -š pṯ' wlhl'nyh BR' YTYBWN-d] ||①
'pzwnyk 'YT +NPŠḤ[3] 'D 'MT +'w'[4] LK[5] ŠM cygwn w'zyšt' ||②
'n'[6] 'thš y 'whrmẓd y LK pṯ' ZK y KR' 2 BR' +YHMTWN-ym[7] ['YḴ-š hyhl[8] y mynwḳ W gytyḳ hc-š L'WHL YHSNN-m[9]] ||③

1	ZK-š DHABHAR ZY-š K5 J2	4	'LḤ y DHABHAR 'w' K5 J2	8	hyhl DHABHAR 'k'l J2
2	'YT' y DHABHAR 'YT' J2	5	LK DHABHAR LK' J2	9	YHSNN-m DHABHAR YHMT deleted before YHSNN-m J2
3	BNPŠḤ DHABHAR NPŠḤ J2	6	'n' DHABHAR, J2		
		7	YHMTWN-m DHABHAR YHMTWN-ym J2		

ātaxš pad ān ī ohrmazd āgāh ast [pad dēn ī ohrmazd] ud pad mēnōgīh āgāh ast [+ī-š ast ka-š pad wahrāmīh be nišīnēnd] ||①
abzōnīg ast +xwēš tā ka +ō tō nām ciyōn wāzišt ||②
ān ātaxš ī ohrmazd ī tō pad ān ī harw dō be +rasēm [kū-š hixr ī mēnōg ud gētīg az-š abāz dāram] ||③

The fire has knowledge of that belonging to Ohrmazd [of the religion of Ohrmazd] and it has knowledge of the *mēnōg* [it has it when it is established as a *Wahrām* fire]. ||①
Bountiful is its own when it corresponds to your name of *wāzišt*. ||②
We approach that fire of you, O Ohrmazd, provided with both [that is, I hold back from it the filth of the spiritual and physical (world)]. ||③

34 KELLENS/PIRART 1988–1991, III, p. 138, consider *vāzista-* itself as that name. On the meaning of *vāzišta-* see above n. 8.

35 By splitting the Av. sentence in the middle after *vōi* and before *ahiiā*, the Pahlavi translation separates *mainiiuš* from *spāništō*.

36 The Pahlavi text is given according to the edition of DHABHAR 1949, p. 169. A reading different from the form edited by DHABHAR but attested in one of the manuscripts is marked by a plus sign (+). The symbol || indicates the end of a section in the manuscript J2, where the text switches from Avestan to Pahlavi. Different sections are marked by an index number in order to facilitate finding corresponding clauses of the transliterated and transcribed Pahlavi text and the translation.

The tradition that the fire *vāzišta-* is identical with Ahura Mazdā's most bounteous spirit was also known in the Middle Iranian period. This is confirmed by the passage from the *Bundahišn*, quoted above on p. 121, where the fire *wāzišt* is said to be the body of the fire of the bounteous spirit (TD2 138.6). The text also suggests that the fire Wāzišt has an affinity to water thanks to its identity with the fire of Spenāg Mēnōg.

In the course of the Yasna ritual, it is from Y 36.3 onwards that this divine fire, which is also Ahura Mazdā's most bounteous spirit, is believed to inhabit the ritual fire. If the fire *vāzista-* is the one in which Ahura Mazdā's most bounteous spirit *(mainiiuš spāništō)* is present, then the compound *spəṇjaγri-*, rather than being a semantically unsuitable name for a demon, could be an epithet of that fire. It is because of the presence of *mainiiuš spāništō* or *spəṇta- mainiiu-*, that the fire *vāzista-* is said to 'spurt *spən*': *spəṇ-jaγri-*. Accordingly, Vd 19.40 should be translated as follows:

> Vd 19.40: *ātrəm vāzištəm frāiiazaēša*
> *+daēum.janəm spəṇjaγrīm*
>
> You shall worship the most invigorating fire
> the one that slays the demon, the one that spurts prosperity.

Tradition elaborated on the myth that this 'most invigorating' fire slays a demon. That the myth goes back to the Avesta is evidenced by the fire's epithet *+daēum.janəm* in Vd 19.40. While the demon is not named in the Avesta, the *daēva*-worshipper's name *spiṇjauruška-* was reinterpreted to become the demon's name *spenjruš* in Middle Persian. This emerges from the Pahlavi translation of Y 17.11 quoted above on p. 122 and from other texts. One reason why a *daēva*-worshipper of the Avesta became the demon opposed to the fire Wāzišt in such texts can be seen in the phonetic similarity of his name to the fire's epithet *spəṇjaγrīm*. The whole myth could have been secondarily derived from Vd 19.40, where *spəṇjaγrīm* was re-interpreted as agreeing with *daēum*. Subsequently, *spəṇjaγrīm* was confused not only with the name of the *daeva*-worshipper *spiṇjauruška-* but also, as N. SIMS-WILLIAMS suggested to me, with a Middle Iranian word **sp(r)enjan* vel sim. meaning 'lightning'. The meaning 'thunder' of this word is attested, for instance, in Buddh.Sogd. *'spr'yncn* P9.36 'thunder-bolt'. E. BENVENISTE, *Textes sogdiens*, Paris 1940, p. 220, writes *'spr'ynch* (with final *-h*, thus also BAILEY 1979, p. 473b), but N. SIMS-WILLIAMS kindly informs me that this was corrected by GERSHEVITCH in an unpublished annotation to his copy of W. B. HENNING's *Sogdica*, London 1940, p. 31. SIMS-WILLIAMS further comments that "[t]he annotation is in connection with the entry "*sprync nsnng*" in a Manichaean Sogdian glossary fragment, which GERSHEVITCH proposed to read *spryncn snng* (with different word-division) and to interpret as "thunderbolt". For *snng* (lit. "stone") = *vajra* = "thunderbolt" he refers to Gr.Bd. 139sq. The MP or Parthian equivalent in the glossary fragment is missing, but should have begun with the letters ʿ + *s* (or, theoretically, ʿ + *š*),

so it may well have been a close cognate of the Sogdian form, with prothetic ʿ before the group *sp(r)-*."[37]

Iranian **sparg* 'to burst forth; to be light; to sprout' belongs to an IE root **sp^{h}r̥h$_{2}$g* or **sb^{h}r̥h$_{2}$g* 'to issue, burst forth' (of sound, light, fire, water, plants)[38] widely attested in IE languages such as, for instance, in Ved. *sphūrjáti* 'to thunder, resound, roar'; Av. *(fra-)sparəya-* 'sprout', Gr. ἀσφάραγος, ἀσπάραγος 'asparagus'; Old English *spearca*, Engl. *spark*; Latin *spargō* 'to scatter, emit'; Gr. σφαραγέομαι 'to burst with a noise, crackle, sputter; to be full to bursting (of udders)'. Other Middle Iranian cognates include Khot. *ṣparggä* 'noise, twang' (of bows) (Bailey 1979, p. 415b) and Man.Sogd. *sprγmyy* 'flower'. Since in Middle Persian a word cannot begin with three consonants, *spr-* has been simplified to *sp-*, cf. Pahl. Psalter present stem *spz-* 'to sprout, to blossom', indicating */(ə)spĭz /* or */(ə)spĕz / <* **spr̥jya-*;[39] Pahl. *spyc- /spīz-/* 'to shine; sprout', Man.MP *ʿspyxtn*, *ʿspyz-*;[40] Pahl. *spycšn'* /spīzišn/ 'sprouting' (e.g. Zs 30.35), 'brilliance' (e.g. Zs 34.25), Man.MP *ʿspyzyšn* 'brightness' M 781.50, "a stylistic variation of *rwšn*" (Henning 1947, pp. 40, 46).

The meteorological connections, which the myth of the fire Wāzišt slaying a demon developed, could have been triggered by an association of the first part of the fire's epithet, resegmented as *spəṇj-ayri-*, with a similar sounding word derived from **sparg* 'to burst forth; to be light; to sprout', of which a form with nasal infix is attested in Khwaresm. *isprenjik* 'to blossom' < **sprenja(ya)-*.[41] The meaning of this root is also close to that underlying the epithet's second part *jayri-* 'spurting'. Thus a demon's name could have been formed meaning either '(flash of) lightning' or 'thunder', 'thunderbolt '. An older form of the demon's name could be preserved in Zs 3.17 if the reading of K35 and BK is interpreted as representing *sprncgl /sprenzgar/* or */spernzagar/* rather than *spwncgl /sponjagr/*.[42] In the Pahlavi script, the spelling *sprncgl* differs from *spncgl /spenjagr/*, transcribing Av. *spəṇjayrīm*, only by one additional vertical stroke. The form *sprenzgar*, possibly an Avestan loanword, could have produced an optional variant *spenzgar* adapted to Pahlavi phonology. The identity of the latter with */spenjagr/* could have motivated the use of a different, but similar sounding proper name, *spinjruš*, of an evidently evil person, to substitute the name with **sparg* 'to burst

37 N. Sims-Williams, e-mail of 10 October 2004.

38 Mayrhofer 1986–2001, II, p. 778, and 1956–1980, III, p. 545f.; Bailey 1979, p. 473b; Pokorny 1959–1969, pp. 996–998; Rix et al. 2001, p. 586.

39 Henning 1947, p. 47 [= Henning 1977, II, p. 281].

40 MacKenzie 1971, p. 76.

41 Henning 1947, p. 47, n. 5; Morgenstierne: "Iranian Elements in Khowar", in: BSOS 8 (1935–1937), p. 662; M. Samadi: *Das chwaresmische Verbum*, Wiesbaden 1986, p. 199.

42 That the name of the demon could be a corruption of a word meaning '(flash of) lightning' and that the variant *spwncgl* in Zs 3.17 could perhaps be read **sprncgl* and thus preserve a trace of an older form was suggested to me by N. Sims-Williams in an e-mail of 10 October 2004.

forth; be light; sprout' at a time when the myth had already developed its meteorological connections. That the root **sparg* was involved in the development of the tempestuous aspects of the myth is suggested by the detail of the demon's fearful cry also called 'thunder' when hit on the head by the fire.

The entire myth appears to be an aetiological account of the origins of lightning and thunder. The fact that, apart from two instances (*Zādspram* 3.17; ŠGV 4.52), *spənjaγrīm* was not used to provide the demon's name, indirectly indicates that even at that time this noun was not understood as the name of a demon. Rather, some memory of the 'spurting' *(°jaγri-)* nature of the fire *vāzišta-* has been preserved in the detail of the story that the club, which the fire uses to hit the demon's head, is like the blazing of fire also called 'lightning'.

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The Indian God of Wine, the Iranian Indra, and the Seventh Amə̄ša Spəṇta

Helmut Humbach, Mainz

1. Soroadeios, Śarva, Saurva

In his work *Deipnosophistai* 'The Learned Banquet',[1] the Greek polyhistor Athenaeus (ca. 200 BC) concludes his list of wine-producing regions and places and of the tastes of their respective products by quoting a pertinent fragment from an unidentified work of Chares of Mytilene, which runs: *Par' Indois timatai daimōn hos kaleitai Soroadeios, hermēneuetai de hellēnisti oinopoios* "there is a god *(daimōn)* worshipped by the Indians who is called *Soroadeios*, which is rendered in Greek as 'winegrower' *(oino-poios)*."[2]

The name of the Indian *daimōn* and its Greek translation have attracted the interest of scholars since the early times of Indological studies. August Wilhelm von Schlegel (1767–1845), the founder of Indian Philology in Germany, was certainly right when analysing it as a compound *Soroa-deios* with *deios* rendering Sanskrit *deva* 'god'. Yet, he was less felicitous when he took *Soroa* as standing for Skt. *Sūrya* 'the sun or its deity', thus constructing the equation *Soroa-deios* = Skt. *Sūrya-deva* 'Sūrya, the (sun-)god', which was unsatisfying with regard to both phonology and semantics.[3]

Christian Lassen (1800–1876), a former student of Schlegel's and a great scholar as well, corrected "Greek" *deios* to **deuas,* which was quite unnecessary. Yet, he rightly attached significance to Chares' Greek rendering of *Soroa-deios* as 'winegrower' *(oino-poios)* and tried to make out the Sanskrit underlying Greek *oinos* 'wine'. Realizing that wine has never been cultivated in India and, therefore, no Sanskrit word for wine is known, he resorted to Sanskrit *surā* 'spirituous liquor'. By correcting *Soroa* to **Soura* he obtained "Greek" **Souradeuas* for underlying Skt. **Surā-deva* 'god of spirituous liquor', a deity whose name and function are, however, unknown in Hindu mythology.[4]

1 *Deipnosophistai* are 'people learned in the mysteries of the kitchen' (thus Liddell/Scott: *Greek-English Lexicon*). The translation 'The Learned Banquet' is taken from *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. Athenaeus.

2 Athenaeus 1,48 (p. 27d Kaibel).

3 August Wilhelm Schlegel: *Indische Bibliothek* I,2 (1823) 250, cf. Wecker in: *Realencyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*, Bd. 3A, 1 (1927), p. 1138.

4 Christian Lassen: *Indische Alterthumskunde* 2^2 (1873), p. 703.

This solution no less than SCHLEGEL's would presuppose that the Sanskrit underlying the element *Soroa* was either very incorrectly recorded by Chares (or his authorities) or highly corrupted by its transmitters. Neither assumption is conclusive.

LASSEN's procedure was less contestable at his time than it came to be in the 20th century. Nevertheless, his **Soura-deuas/*Surā-deva* found its way into the commentary on Chares in FELIX JACOBY's famous edition of the fragments of the Greek historians.[5] In a contribution to the editor's commentary on the Chares fragment, the indologist FRIEDRICH SCHRADER (born in the year of LASSEN's death) produced extensive reflections on the invented deity, which he concluded with a reference to a mythical person named *Surā* [certainly personified liquor HH.], who arose from the churning of the ocean by the gods in Indian mythology.[6]

No scholar seems to have taken into account that,

- first, if the element *deios* (Skt. *deva*) of "Greek" *Soroa-deios* is rendered by Greek *daimōn,* then its element *soroa* is not merely rendered by Greek *oinos* 'wine', but by the complete compound *oino-poios* 'wine-grower';
- second, *soroa* 'wine-grower' is not necessarily an appellative noun, but it is rather the name of the wine-growing god in question: *Soroa-deios* is the wine-grower par excellence, the divine wine-grower;
- third, Chares of Mytilene was the chamberlain of Alexander the Great, whom he accompanied on his expedition; he is justly listed by Jacoby among the Alexander historians;
- fourth, it is true that wine has never been grown in India proper, but as early as in Alexander's time it was cultivated in the Irano-Indian borderlands. Viticulture was possibly brought to this region by Greeks deported from

5 FELIX JACOBY: *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker [= FGrHist].* The Chares fragment under discussion is listed under *FGrHist* 625, fragm. 17 (= Part II B of the work, p. 657ff.)

6 FRIEDRICH SCHRADER in ib. Part D, 436f.: "Das erste Glied des Kompositums ist zweifellos skt. *surā* oder *surā. surā* ist das gewöhnliche Wort für 'Rauschtrank' im weitesten Sinne; *surā* ein zur Erklärung von *surā* (fem.) erfundener männlicher Eigenname, der bisher allein aus der Pāliliteratur bekannt ist als Name des Entdeckers der angeblich nach ihm benannten *surā*. Die Entdeckung des Rauschtranks ist nämlich das Thema der köstlichen 512. der Geschichten von den früheren Leben des Buddha. In der brahmanischen Mythologie jedoch ist *Surā* ein weibliches Wesen, eine Tochter des Meergottes Varuṇa, die bei der berühmten Quirlung des Ozeans durch die Götter nebst anderen Dingen und Personen zum Vorschein kam. – *Suradeuas* kann man ohne weiteres als skt. *Surā-deva* oder *Sura-deva* verstehen, nur ist leider dieses Kompositum nicht zu belegen; mit *Soroadeios* dagegen ist nicht recht etwas anzufangen, weder als *oinopoios* noch in anderem Sinne. Vielleicht ist aber doch beachtenswert, daß in dem großen Märchenwerk Kathāsaritsāgara (Ozean der Erzählungsströme), in der 47. Geschichte, in einer Aufzählung von Helden des Dämonenheeres einer dieser Dämonen *(Asura)* den Namen *Surādhava* [read *Surādhara* HH.] 'Rauschtrank-besitzer' oder 'Rauschtrank-bewahrer' trägt."

Asia Minor under Darius and Xerxes, but in the view of Alexander and his companions it was Dionysos who had brought wine and ivy there on his campaigns toward the East. Particularly the city called Nysa by the Greeks, which Alexander reached soon after his entrance into India, impressed itself on the memory of the Greeks: its abundance of wine and ivy gave rise to a ten-day bacchanal celebrated by both the inhabitants of the place and the Macedonian soldiers in honour of the god of Nysa, whom the Greeks equated with *Dionysos* , transposed into Latin as *Liber Pater*;[7]

- fifth, by tradition the Greeks were inclined to the so-called Interpretatio Graeca of the divine names and religious practices they encountered in foreign countries. Thus neither the authorities of Arrian nor those of Curtius Rufus had taken the opportunity of recording the indigenous name of the Dionysos of Nysa, but it goes without saying that it was *Soroadeios*. This name seems to be a splinter of a lost work in which Chares had recorded in unadulterated form the indigenous names of the gods mentioned by him;
- sixth, the name of *Soroa-deios* recalls that of *Śarva*, a god *(deva)* in Sanskrit literature, and that of his Iranian "cousin", the Avestic *Saurva*, who had become a devil *(daēva)* in Zarathushtra's picture of the world.

Strangely enough, in the phonetical appearance of his name, Chares' *Soroadeios* resembles much more closely the Avestic devil *Saurva daēva* than the Indian god *Śarva deva*. Yet, this resemblance is misleading. At Alexander's time no trace of Iranian influence can be made out in those border regions of India except for the person called *Akouphis* by Arrian. In this author's description, *Akouphis* would have been that prominent citizen of (democratic) Nysa who surrendered the city to Alexander, but he was rather an important ruler among the insignificant petty kings *(reguli)* whom the conqueror encountered on his way to the Indus and who had all necessarily been tributaries of the Achaemenids.[8] As a matter of fact, *Akouphis* is a Persian title rather than an epichoric proper name. It stands for (Early) Middle Persian **Ākōfīc* > **Ākōfīz* 'mountain-dweller', here used in the sense of an official in charge of a certain mountainous area'.[9] The title contains West Iranian *kaufa/kōf* 'mountain' (as contrasted with

7 Curt. 8,10,15ff. *Credo equidem non diuino instinctu, sed lasciuia esse prouectos, ut passim hederae ac uitium folia decerperent, redimitique fronde toto nemore similes bacchantibus uagarentur. 16. Vocibus ergo tot milium praesidem nemoris eius deum adorantium iuga montis collesque resonabant, cum orta licentia a paucis, ut fere fit, in omnes se repente uulgasset. 17. Quippe uelut in media pace per herbas adgestamque frondem prostrauere corpora. Et rex fortuitam laetitiam non auersatus large ad epulas omnibus praebitis, per decem dies Libero Patri operatum habuit exercitum.*

8 Curt. 8,10,1 *Igitur Alexandro finis Indiae ingresso gentium suarum reguli occurrerunt imperata facturi, illum tertium Iove genitum ad ipsos peruenisse memorantes: Patrem Liberum atque Herculem fama cognitos esse; ipsum coram adesse cernique.*

9 Cf. the plural Old Persian *Ākaufačiyā* 'mountain-dwellers', name of an unidentified satrapy in Xerxes' Persepolis inscription *h*, line 27.

East Iranian *gari/gar*), which points to it having been conferred on the person in question or on one of his ancestors or predecessors by the Achaemenids. Thus *Akouphis* is a trace of the West Iranian terminology of the Achaemenid administration rather than a term of some variant of East Iranian religion, and it cannot be adduced to support the possibility of an Iranian origin of the Indian *Soroadeios*. For the present, the Avestic devil *Saurva daēva* is to be discarded in favour of the Indian god *Śarva deva*, but we shall return to him below.

It is particularly the name of Mount *Mēros* on whose slope the ten-day bacchanal took place, which gives clear evidence of Nysa belonging to India not only as a geographical but also as a cultural area. Deriving the name from Greek *mēros* 'thigh', Alexander and his companions connected it with the Greek myth of thigh-born Dionysos, but, as is well-known by indologists, *Mēros* is a mountain name particularly represented by Sanskrit *Meru*, which in Hindu mythology is the fabulous centre of our continent Jambudvīpa, but which is also used as an appellative in the name of *Tirich Mir*, a mountain in Chitral.[10]

The Indian *Śarva* is not mentioned in the Rigveda (RV), but a number of instances of his name are found in the Atharvaveda (AV). In the majority of these he is connected in a rather untypical way with other gods, but a typical one is AV 10,2 where the gods *Śarva* and *Bhava* are presented as manifestations of the god *Rudra*. One of Rudra's aspects is his being the best of physicians (RV 2,33,4) who disposes of healing medicines. These certainly included Soma, the ritual drug of the Vedic period (RV 6,74). Soma, which was abandoned later on, was evidently replaced by wine in the Rudra/Śarva ritual of Nysa and its region.

2. The Iranian Indra and the Amәšа Spәnṭas

Śarva's Iranian "cousin", the devil *Saurva* is attested twice in the Videvdād of the Avesta. A number of further occurrences, part of which certainly originate from lost Avesta texts, are found in the Pahlavi text Bundahišn (Bdh.). These sources offer at least some indirect hints regarding the nature of the *Soroadeios* of Nysa. In Bdh. 27,7 *Saurva* is called leader of devils, and evil authority, oppression, unlawfulness and violence are attributed to him.[11] On the one hand this recalls Rudra in his function as father and leader of the Maruts, a troop of wild deities, on the other hand it impressively mirrors, but with a negative evaluation, the *lascivia* of the bacchantic worshippers of the Nysaean god which is

10 GEORG MORGENSTIERNE (*Irano-Dardica*, Wiesbaden 1975, p. 114): "The imposing mountain, visible from afar, which dominates Chitral and the surrounding districts, is known by a number of names. In Khowari it is called *Teric Mēr*, a name which I, following a suggestion of Professor Konow, have ventured to derive from Sanskrit **tirīca* and Meru."

11 V. footnote 16.

enthusiastically described by Curtius Rufus.[12] Yet, the occurrences of *Saurva* also provide us with some valuable information about the dispute of early Zoroastrianism with the inherited Indo-Iranian religion.

Vid. 10,9–10 offers a list of five devils *(daēvas)* who belong to the so-called chief-devils[13]:

1. *Indra,* the devilish "cousin" of the Indian god *Indra* (RV etc.);
2. *Saurva,* the devilish "cousin" of the Indian god *Śarva* (AV etc.);
3. *Nåŋhaiθya daēva,* a devilish "relation" of the Indian *Nāsatyas,* a couple of two divine helpers in time of need such as the Greek Castor and Pollux (RV etc.);
4. *Taurvi* 'the winner', cf. Skt. *tū́rvi* 'winning' (RV);
5. *Zairi* 'the yellow one', from Av. *zairi* 'yellow', cf. Skt. *hári* 'yellow' (RV), which is well-known as a name of Vishnu/Krishna, well-known from its most popular vocative *Hare Krishna.*[14]

These five chief-devils are fallen deities who had originally been prominent gods of a pre-Zarathushtrian, and the first three of them certainly of a Proto Aryan, pantheon. The list of the five is repeated in Vid. 19,43 where, however, *Aŋra Mainyu (Ahriman)* 'the Harmful Spirit', is put at its head:

A. *Aŋra Mainyu daēvanąm daēvōtәma* 'the most devilish of devils'
1. *Indra daēva*
2. *Saurva daēva*
3. *Nåŋhaiθya daēva*
4. *Taurvi*
5. *Zairi*[15]

The addition of *Aŋra Mainyu (Ahriman),* a spiritual concept of Zoroastrianism, gives the list some Zoroastrian appearance, but the number of one-plus-five is, so to speak, non-canonical. In the Bundahišn the number has been enlarged to one-plus-six by inserting the Zoroastrian *Aka Manah/Akōman* 'Evil Thought' between *Aŋra Mainyu/Ahriman* and *Indra.* Thus the canonical number of one-plus-six chief opponents of Ahura Mazdā and his six archangels, the *Amәša Spәntas* of the Younger Avesta (Phl. *Amahraspandān*) was obtained:

12 Curt. 8,10,16 v. footnote 7.

13 The chief-devils are explicitly called *kamālīgān dēwān* in Bdh. 1,55 and 27,11 quoted below.

14 Vid. 10,9–10 *paiti.pərəne Indrəm ... Saurum ... Nåŋhaiθəm daēum ... Tauruui ... Zairica haca nmāna haca vīsa haca zaŋtu haca daiŋhu* "I banish Indra, Saurva, the Daēva Nåŋhaiθya (and) Taurvi and Zairi from this house, village, district (and) country."

15 Vid. 19,43 *Aŋrō Mainiuš pouru.mahrkō daēuuaŋąm daēuuō, Iŋdrō daēuuō Sauru daēuuō, Nåŋhaiθəm daēuuō, Taurvi Zairica* "the murderous Harmful Spirit [Ahriman] (who is) the devil of devils, the devil Indra, the devil Saurva, the devil Nåŋhaiθya, Taurvi and Zairi." Here, several other devils such as Aēšma are added, who, however, are of no relevance in the present connection.

Ahura Mazdā/Ohrmazd 'Wise Lord' vs. *Aŋra Mainyu/Ahriman)* 'Harmful Spirit'

1. *Vohu Manah/Wohuman* 'Good Thought' vs. *Aka Manah/Akōman* 'Evil Thought'
2. *Aša Vahišta/Ašawahišt* 'Best Truth' vs. *Indra/Indar*
3. *Xšaθra Vairiya/Šahrewar* 'Desirable Power/Rule' vs. *Saurva/Sauru*
4. *Spəṇtā Ārmaiti/Spandārmat* 'Holy Right-mindedness' vs. *Nāŋhaiθya/Nāhais*
5. *Haurvatāt/Xwardād* 'Integrity' vs. *Taurvi*
6. *Amərətāt/Amurdād* 'Immortality' vs. *Zairi*[16]

Further Zoroastrianization of the list of chief-devils is seen in several Bundahišn passages, in which the inherited *Nåŋhaiθya* is gradually replaced by the canonical *Tarōmaiti/Tarōmat* 'arrogance' attested as early as in the Gāthās.[17]

The most drastic result of the development described above regards *Indra/Indar*, who had been inherited from the Proto-Aryan period. He had to cede his first place among the chief-devils of *Aŋgra Mainyu/Ahriman* to the Zoroastrian newcomer *Aka Manah/Akōman*. Thereby he followed his opponent, the inherited *Aša Vahišta/Ašawahišt*, who had ceded his prominent position among the archangels of Ahura Mazdā in favour of *Vohu Manah/Wohuman*. This change

16 Bdh. 5,1 *Ahriman ō Ohrmazd, Akōman ō Wohuman, Indar ō Ašavahišt, Sauru ō Šahrewar, Nāhais (kē Tarōmat xwānēnd) ō Spandārmad, Tarī-z ō Xwardādt, Zairī-z ō Amurdād* "Ahriman against Ohrmazd, Akōman against Wohuman, Indra against Ardawahišt, Sāwur against Šahrewar, Nāhais (whom they also call Tarōmat) against Spandārmat, Tauri against Xwardād, Zairi against Amurdād."

Bdh. 27,5ff. *Akōman kār ēn kū wattar-mēnišnīh ud anāšīh ō dāmān dādan;* 6. *Indar dēw kār ēn kū mēnišn ī dāmān az frārōnīh kardan ōgōn afsārēd ciyōn snēxr-ī xūb afsārd;* 7. *Sauru dēw, kū sardār ī dēwān, kār ēn kū duš-pādxšāyīh ud stahm ud adādastānīh ud must-kārīh;* 8. *Nāhais dēw kār ēn kū axonsandīh ō dāmān dahēd;* 9. *ciyōn gōyēd kū kē cīz ō ān mardomān dahēd kē dād ēn kū šabī ud kustīg nē abāyēd dāštan ēg-ā-š Indar ud Sauru ud Nāhais šnāyēnīd bawēnd;* 10. *Tabri-z dēw ān kē zahr ō urwarān dāmān gōmēzēd,* 11. *ciyōn gōwēd kū Tabri-z tarwēdār Zairi-z ī zahr-kardār;* 12. *awešān harw šaš kāmālīgān dewān gōyēd, abārīg hamkār ud ayār ī awešān hēnd*
"5. The work of Akōman is this: to produce evil-thinking and discord among the creatures; 6. the work of the devil Indar is this: he freezes the minds of the creatures from practising righteousness just like frozen snow; 7. the work of the devil Sauru, leader of devils, is this: (he produces) evil-authority, oppression, unlawfulness, and violence; 8. the work of the devil Nāhais is this: he produces discontent among the creatures, 9. as one says: 'he who will give something to those men whose creed is this that they ought not to have the sacred shirt and thread-girdle, shall have propitiated Indra, Sauru and Nāhais'; 10. the devil Tauri is he/she who urinates poison onto the vegetable creations, 11. as one says: Tauri the smiter and Zairi the venom-maker. 12. These six are called the chief-devils, the other ones are their collaborators and helpers."

17 The gradual replacement of *Nāhais* by *Tarōmat*, the canonical opponent of *Spandārmat*, is seen in Bdh. 1,55 *pas Nāhais (*ud *pas Tarōmat)*, better transmitted 5,1 *Nāhais (kē Tarōmat x^{v}ānēnd)*, 34,27 *Tarōmat (ī hast Nāhais).*

of the position of *Aša*, which took place in the Young Avestic period and which is reflected in the Young Avestic calendar, has been analysed in a forthcoming article.

Indra/Indar continues to play a part in the Avestic demonology, e.g., in the description of the eschatological events in Bdh. 34,27 *pas Ohrmazd Gannāg Mēnōg, ud Wohuman Akōman, ud Ašawahišt Indar, ud Šahrewar Sauru, ud Spendārmat Tarōmat (īhast Nāhais), ud Xwardād ud Amurdād Tari-z ud Zairi-z ... gīrēnd* "then Ohrmazd will take hold of the Harmful Spirit [= Ahriman], and Wohuman of Akōman, and Ašawahišt of Indar, and Šahrewar of Sauru, and Spandārmat of Tarōmat (who is Nāhais), and Xwardād and Amurdād of Tairi and Zairi."

As we see, the Gathic opposition *Aša* 'Truth' vs. *Drūj* 'Deceit' is replaced in the Bundahišn by the opposition *Ašawahišt* vs. *Indra*. Cf. the Gathic line Y 48,1 *yezī ... Aša Drūjəm vāŋghaitī* "when one will have overcome Deceit by Truth".[18] Its Pahlavi translation has *ka ... Ahlāyīh Drūj wānēd* 'when Truthfulness overcomes Deceit', which is nothing out of the common but which is unexpectedly glossed *Ašawahišt Indar* '(when) Ašawahišt (overcomes) Indar'. Whereas the Gathic line depicts Zarathushtra's poetical picture of the events, the gloss reproduces the theological variant well-attested in the Bundahišn.

When looking up the remaining Bundahišn references to Saurva one also comes across Bdh. 1,55 *Gannāg Mēnōg pad ān padyāragōmanīh az kamālgān dēwān nazdist Akōman frāz kirrēnīd ud pas Indar ud pas Sauru ud pas Nāhais (×ud ×pas Tarōmat) ud pas Tari-z ud Zairi-z ud pas abārīgān dēwān, haftom xwad Gannāg Mēnōg* "for opposition, the Evil Spirit [= Ahriman] fabricated Akōman, first of the chief-devils, and then Indar, and then Sauru, and then Nāhais (×and ×then Tarōmat[19]), then Tari and Zairi – and then the other devils –, seventh (he fabricated) himself, the Evil Spirit."

The end of this passage reflects Bdh. 1,53 which says of Ohrmazd *u-š nazdist Amahraspandān dād haft bun – pas abārīg –, ān ī haftom xwad Ohrmazd* "Ohrmazd first created the seven fundamental Amahraspandān/Amәša Spәntas – then the other ones –, seventh (he created) himself, Ohrmazd." The one-plus-seven schema clearly mirrors the Mazdayasnian calendar of the Younger Avesta, in which not only the first but also the eighth and, furthermore, the sixteenth and twenty-third days of each month are dedicated to Ahura Mazdā, each of them being called *daδušō* '(day) of the creator'.

Thus the study of *Soroadeios*, the Indian god of wine, and *Saurva*, his Iranian "cousin", results in a very simple solution of the much disputed Avesta passage Yt. 13,83/19,16, in which Ahura Mazda, the creator *(daδβå)* is said to be the father not of six but of seven archangels *(Amәša Spәntas)*, unintentionally implying

18 Or better "when truths [= manifestations of Truth] will have overcome Deceit".
19 V. footnote 17.

that he would be his own father: *yōi hapta hamō.manaŋhō, yōi hapta hamō. vacaŋhō, yōi hapta hamō.šyaoθnå̊ŋhō yaēšąm asti ... hamō ptāca frasāstaca yō daδβå̊ Ahurō Mazdå̊* "the seven who are of the same manner of thinking, the seven who are of the same manner of speaking, the seven who are of the same manner of acting, ... whose father and master is the same, Ahura Mazdā, the creator." As we see, the Mazdayasnian calendar plays an enormous part in the theology of the Younger Avesta and the Bundahišn and in their demonology as well.

Quand Darius parle à Darius

Jean Kellens, Paris

Il y a vingt-cinq ans, la découverte d'une traduction araméenne permettait à Nicholas Sims-Williams de revoir en profondeur le dernier paragraphe de l'inscription b de Darius à Naqsh-i Rustam (DNb 50–60 = § 3).[1] Le nouvel état du texte a été réexaminé par Rüdiger Schmitt[2] et figure comme suit dans l'édition du *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*.[3]

> *marīkā, dṛšam azdā kušuvā, ciyākaram ahi, ciyākaramtai ūnarā, ciyākaramtai parīyanam ; mātai ava vahištam θadaya, tayatai gaušāyā θanhyāti ; avašci āxšnudi, taya paratar θanhyāti.*
>
> *marīkā, mātai ava naibam θadaya, taya ... kunavāti ; taya skauθiš kunavāti, avašci dīdi ; marīkā, ... mā patiyātaya..., māpati šiyātiyā ayaumainiš bavāhi ... mā raxθa(n)tu ...*
>
> « O young man, very much make known of what kind you are, of what kind (are) your skills, of what kind (is) your conduct ! Let not that seem the best to you which is spoken in your ears ; listen also to that which is said besides.
>
> O young man, let not that seem good to you, which the ... does ; what the weak one does – observe that too ! O young man, do not set yourself against the ..., moreover do not become (a man) without fervour in counter-attack owing to your blissful happiness ! Let not ... ! »

Schmitt (pp. 127–128) a dressé la liste des indices qui montrent que ce texte était à l'origine indépendant du reste de l'inscription, un constat qui fait qu'en principe, on ne sait pas qui parle à qui. L'introduction convenue « le roi Darius dit » fait défaut et la désignation de l'interlocuteur comme *marīka* pose un délicat problème d'interprétation. Dans les faits, on ne peut guère douter que le locuteur est Darius, puisque, dans les inscriptions achéménides, c'est toujours le roi qui parle, et Schmitt (pp. 129–130) a montré de manière convaincante que *marīka-*, conformément à son étymologie indo-iranienne (< **marya-ka-*, voir véd. *márya-* et av. *mairiia-*), signifiait « jeune homme » plutôt que « serviteur ».

1 Nicholas Sims-Williams : « The final paragraph of the tomb-inscription of Darius I (DNb, 50–60) : the Old Persian text in the light of an Aramaic version. » Dans : BSOAS 44 (1981), pp. 1–7.

2 Rüdiger Schmitt : « Bemerkungen zum Schlussabschnitt von Dareios' Grabinschrift Dnb. » Dans : AoF 26 (1999), pp. 127–139.

3 Rüdiger Schmitt : *The Old Persian Inscriptions of Naqsh-i Rustam and Persepolis.* London 2000, pp. 33–44.

A trois reprises dans ses inscriptions, Darius s'est donné un interlocuteur. Chacun est interpellé dans la phase finale du texte, traditionnellement consacrée au futur,[4] et a été choisi selon la logique du message. Dans l'inscription de Behistun, destinée a démontrer sa légitimité royale, Darius charge un successeur potentiel (« toi qui seras roi plus tard ») d'assurer la pérennité de sa parole. Dans Naqsh-i Rustam a, il demande à l'homme, au mortel en général *(martiya)*, de ne jamais compromettre son œuvre de pacification de l'empire. La figure du *marīka* n'a pas cette immédiate netteté. Sur la base du sens de « jeune homme », deux hypothèses ont été avancées. Celle d'un représentant du corps des jeunes guerriers[5] présente une faiblesse fondamentale : elle est friable comme la thèse du « Männerbund », qui l'a inspirée et qui est aujourd'hui radicalement contestée.[6] L'hypothèse du prince héritier,[7] retenue par SCHMITT (p. 131), ne se heurte à aucune objection rédhibitoire, mais on peut se demander pourquoi le successeur présumé n'est pas désigné, sinon par son nom, du moins par sa qualité de fils ou, comme dans Behistun, de roi futur. Le fait que la version araméenne, insérée dans celle des derniers paragraphes de Behistun, omette de traduire *marīka* est un indice ambigu.

Il existe, dans l'ensemble des documents que nous a transmis l'Iran ancien, une situation précise où l'interlocuteur d'un dialogue est, alors que cela ne va pas de soi, explicitement défini comme un jeune homme. C'est la rencontre des deux âmes du défunt que raconte le Hādōxt Nask et où la *daēnā* s'adresse à l'*uruuan* en l'appelant *yuuan* « jeune homme ». Le *yuuan* avestique, comme le *márya* védique, est un célibataire nubile[8] et l'emploi du mot dans ce contexte vise à définir la situation de l'âme masculine vis-à-vis des rapports matrimoniaux.[9] Or DNb est un miroir du prince, mais aussi une épitaphe. On peut admettre qu'après avoir fait le bilan de ses qualités, Darius (ou, peut-être, sa *daēnā*) franchit l'étape de la mort et s'adresse à son âme en voie de gagner l'au-delà. Le discours de DNb présente plusieurs points communs avec celui du Hādōxt Nask.

4 Sur les inscriptions achéménides comme « triptyques temporels », JEAN KELLENS : « L'idéologie religieuse des inscriptions achéménides. » Dans : JA 290.2 (2002), pp. 417–464 [pp. 432–434].

5 RICHARD N. FRYE : *The Heritage of Persia*. New York 1963, pp. 50–51, rejoint par PIERRE LECOQ : *Les inscriptions de la Perse achéménide*. Paris 1997, p. 224.

6 Sur STIG WIKANDER : *Der arische Männerbund*. Berlin 1938, voir THOMAS OBERLIES : *Die Religion des Rigveda I*. Wien 1998, p. 210 n. 293, avec bibliographie.

7 JARED S. KLEIN : « Coordinate Conjunction in Old Persian. » Dans : JAOS 108 (1988), pp. 387–417 [p. 406].

8 L'avestique oppose, avec le même sens de « célibataire nubile », *yuuan-* positif à *mairiia-* négatif. Le vieux-perse semble ne pas avoir été affecté par la dégradation péjorative de **marya-*, mais il est possible aussi qu'il ait opposé **marya-* négatif à **maryaka-* neutre, comme certains textes avestiques opposent *maŝiia-* négatif à *maŝiiāka-* neutre (JEAN KELLENS : « L'éloge mazdéen de l'ivresse. » Dans : *Annuaire du Collège de France 2002–2003*. 2004, pp. 815–844 [p. 833]).

9 JEAN KELLENS : « L'âme entre le cadavre et le paradis. » Dans : JA 283.1 (1995), pp. 19–56 [pp. 39–41].

1. Le souci essentiel est de faire apparaître ses qualités *(azdā kar ciyākaram …)*. Pour Darius, il ne s'agit pas d'établir son rapport avec la triade de la pensée, du mot et du geste, mais l'exactitude de la description qu'il a faite de lui-même. D'où la répétition de *ūnara-*. Néanmoins, le comportement religieux est sans doute évoqué par *parīyana-* (< *pari-ayana-* : Sims-Williams, p. 4), « service rituel accordé aux dieux » d'après véd. *pári* + *i* et v.-av. *parī* + *gam*.[10]
2. L'accent est mis sur l'impression que l'on ressent de ce que l'on perçoit (*θadaya, saδaiieiti* récurrent de H2.7 à 11). Dans DNb, le domaine de l'ouïe est régi par l'opposition entre ce qui est dit « aux oreilles » (loc. duel : Sims-Williams, p. 5) et ce qui est dit *paratar*. Ce mot, resté en discussion entre Sims-Williams (p. 5) et Schmitt (pp. 133–134), ne fait aucune difficulté si on accepte l'analyse que Michiel de Vaan a faite de l'adjectif avestique *pārəṇtara-* « situé de l'autre côté » : le comparatif **paratara-* de **para-* (= véd. *pára-*) « éloigné », remodelé en **paraṇtara-* par analogie avec son antonyme *aṇtara-* « intérieur » et affecté de l'allongement de la première de quatre voyelles brèves successives.[11] L'adverbe *para(n)tar* « depuis l'autre côté » serait-il une évocation de l'au-delà des dieux, d'où surgit la *daēnā* ?[12]
3. Le concept eschatologique de *šiyāti* « sérénité, confiance en le bonheur posthume » est mentionné à l'instrumental dans la rection de l'adjectif négatif *ayāumaini-*, comme, dans celle de *yāumaini-*, au § 2h, *dastaibiyā utā pādaibiyā* « avec les mains et les pieds ». Aucune analyse de *yāumaini-* n'emportant la conviction,[13] il est préférable de s'en remettre empiriquement, comme Sims-Williams (p. 6), à la traduction accadienne *ga-áš-ra-ak* « fort, ferme, sûr, habile ». La prohibition « ne sois pas incapable de sérénité ! »[14] invite le *marīka* à ressentir le même sentiment *(šāiti-)* que l'*uruuan* de H2.2, 4 et 6.

10 Johanna Narten : *Der Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*. Wiesbaden 1986, pp. 139–142.

11 Michiel de Vaan : *The Avestan Vowels*. Amsterdam 2003, p. 63.

12 L'opposition qui régit la vue échappe à l'analyse. On attend logiquement que « ce que fait le faible » s'oppose à « ce que fait le fort », mais la lacune ne permet de restaurer aucun mot connu signifiant « fort » (Schmitt, pp. 134–136).

13 Et pas plus que celle de Jacques Duchesne-Guillemin (« Old Persian yāumaniš. » Dans : *W. B. Henning Memorial Volume*, London 1970, pp. 140–142) celle (retenue par Schmitt, p. 137) de Karl Hoffmann (« Altpers. *afuvāyā*. » Dans : *Corolla linguistica. Festschrift Ferdinand Sommer*. Wiesbaden 1955, pp. 80–85 [pp. 84–85], qui a le mérite d'être ponctuée de points d'interrogation.

14 Le verbe du premier volet de la prohibition parallèle *mā … māpati …* (Sims-Williams, p. 6) est vraisemblablement la 2ème sing. inj. A. du prés. causatif *yātaya-* de *yat* « se mettre en place », mais le préverbe est incertain. Sims-Williams (p. 6) suggère *parā*, tandis que Schmitt (p. 136) s'en tient à *pati*. Aucun de ces deux préverbes n'est attesté avec *yat* dans l'ensemble des documents indo-iraniens anciens. Dans le premier cas, on traduira par « ne fait pas se mettre en place à l'écart » ou « n'échoue pas à faire se mettre en place » (sur le sens du préverbe, Jean Kellens et Eric Pirart : *Les textes vieil-avestiques II*. Wiesbaden 1989, p. 266), une prohibition qui vise à prévenir un échec rituel.

4. La prohibition *mā raxδatu* est le seul débris du passage consacré à la contrepartie du bon *marīka*. Formellement, *raxδa-* peut être le prés. inchoatif (donc intransitif) de la racine représentée par véd. *raṃh* et av. *raṇj*. Le déplacement rapide et léger, sautillant, est un effet de l'ivresse de haoma (Y 10.8 et 19), dont les vertus eschatologiques sont connues.

Darius a lui aussi invoqué son *animula vagula blandula* (dans son cas, nécessairement masculine). Elle peut à présent « aller à l'accès » (XPf §4 *gāδavā šiyu*) que figure l'entrée du tombeau sur la falaise.[15]

15 Cette interprétation du mot *gāδu-* a émergé d'une conversation avec CLARISSE HERRENSCHMIDT.

Sino-Hvatanica Petersburgensia

Part II

Hiroshi Kumamoto, Tokyo

With the publication of these Khotanese documents in the Institute of Oriental Studies, St. Petersburg, it is intended to supplement the two major volumes, *Saka Documents VII: the St. Petersburg collections* (1993) and *Saka Documents Text Volume III: the St. Petersburg collections* (1995), by R.E. Emmerick, the great scholar to whose memory this article is dedicated, and M.I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, who kindly gave permission to publish them here. The first part dealing with three fragments (Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928 as A), which make up an almost complete sheet of a sales contract of a camel, was published in *Manuscripta Orientalia*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2001). However, due to unforeseeable circumstances for both myself and Professor Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja, the article went to press without the author's checking the proofs, with the result that it is printed full of errors. In the meantime all these manuscripts were published in facsimile in Shanghai in the series of the photo edition of the Russian Dunhuang manuscripts[1], and the Chinese texts of these bilingual documents were edited by Professors Zhang Guangda and Rong Xinjiang of Beijing University.[2] In what follows the Chinese texts as published by Zhang and Rong are reproduced unless otherwise noted. In addition the camel contract with a complete translation is appended at the end.

B. Дх 18916

A large sheet of paper consisting of two separate pieces of unequal size pasted together in the middle. It appears that the two pieces originally bore separate documents, one Chinese, which is nearly complete, and one Khotanese, which is not (here edited as the recto). They were later put together so that the blank side (here the verso) could accommodate a longer document in Khotanese. Much reduced photos of both sides are found in *Dunhuang Manuscripts* Vol. 17,

1 *Dunhuang Manuscripts* ... Vol. 17 (2001).
2 Zhang/Rong 2002.

p. 281. The Chinese text, dated to 780 (*dali* 大曆 15th = *jianzhong* 建中 1st, 4th month, 1st day), urgently demands two pieces of ox skin for saddles and drums.[3] It mentions the silent invasion of the enemies, possibly the Tibetans according to ZHANG and RONG, against which a drum alert is considered necessary. It is signed by the great general (*da jiangjun* 大將軍) Zhang Shun 張順, who also issued the order of SI P 103.14 (*Saka Documents Text Volume III*, 140f.).

Recto (fig. 1)

Chinese text
1. 韄皷牛皮二張[
2. 牒得舉稱　奉處分[
3. 因恐賊黙來侵抄　辰宿至要皷聲相應[者]
4. 自各牒所由處　牒舉者　準狀各牒　火急限[當]
5. 日内送納　遲科附者　故牒
6. 大曆十五年四月一日　判官果穀x x 進
7. 知鎮官大將軍張順

Khotanese text[4] (fig. 2)
1.]ta kau tcyāṃ-kvi'nä śaṃdā haṃbujsai hūñūṃ a [
2.] a'ysāṃja spāta-t-ūṃ maṃ niśtä haṃdira prrūṃ bu x-i
3.]ḍa pahaiya drraya st(u)ra-ṃ va dva padya drrū(ṇ)ä ṣi['] x-au x-i [
4.]-ä x jsa śau ttäñä aysgedi tta tta-ṃ [

Translation of the Khotanese text
(To?) the General *–ta Kau* bowing down to the ground I speak … the girl … We have no *spāta* here. The Inner Post … She (*or* they?) fled. Three pack animals for me(?) … healthy (?) in two ways … with … buys one in it back such that …

Notes
1.]*ta kau*: Part of a name, probably Chinese. A possible candidate would be 趙剛 Zhao Gang, who is mentioned as *youyi fushi* 遊奕副使[5] in Дx 18917; see ZHANG/RONG 2002, p. 225f. His name would be expected to appear as *kṣa(')tä kau (kāṃ)* in Brāhmī. The Khotanese text of Дx 18927 (C below) suggests that the Chinese loanword for "general" (*jiangjun* 將軍 < tsi̯aŋ ki̯uən) was used rather loosely referring to Chinese officials.

3 The same phrase is found in the Hoernle Chinese document no. 2 translated by CHAVANNES, in *Ancient Khotan* 524.

4 Here as well as in other texts, [ ] means the broken part of the MS with or without editor's restoration, ( ) partly visible letter(s), { } editor's deletion from the MS, < > editor's emendation to the MS, and x an illegible letter. Uncertain Chinese characters are marked with a box □.

5 Not found in HUCKER. Somewhat "assistant scout."

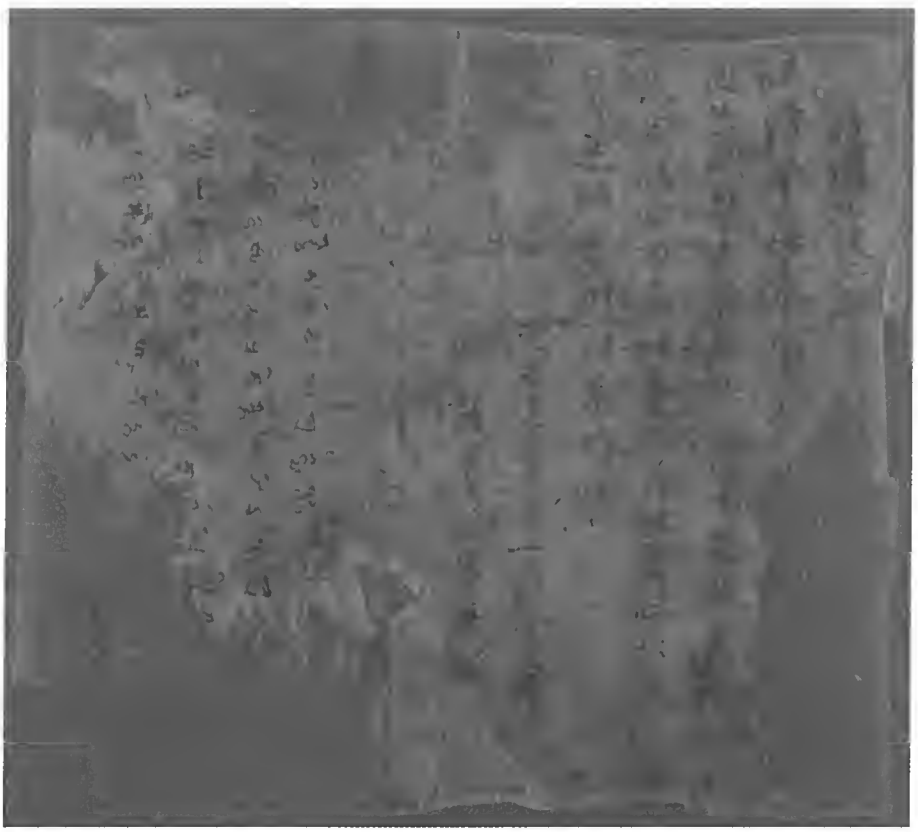

Fig. 1: Дх 18916 *recto*

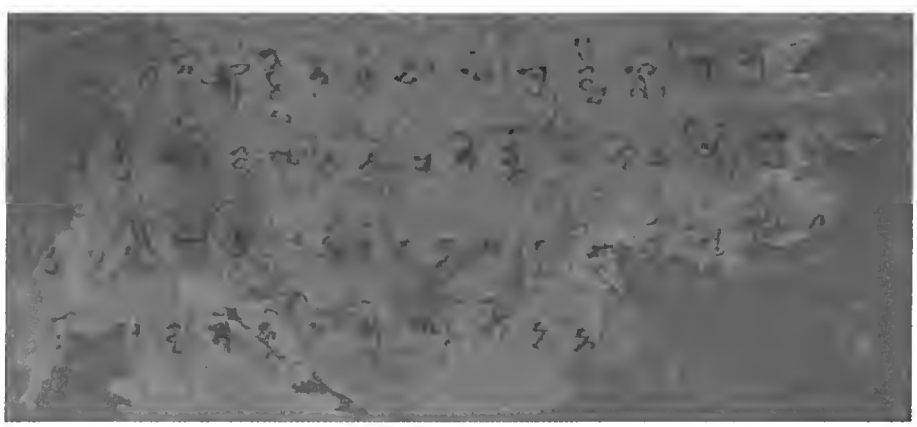

Fig. 2: Дх 18916 *recto*, Khotanese text

1. *śaṃdā haṃbujsai hūñūṃ*: An expression frequently found in pleas. See e.g. Or.11344.12.b1 (*KT* 2.37, *Catalogue* 114), M.T.a.i.0033.1 (*KT* 2.71, *Catalogue* 270), Balawaste 0154.1 (*KT* 3.131, *Catalogue* 381), Iledong 026.a1 (*KT* 3.134, *Catalogue* 566), M.T.0411.a1 (*KT* 5.194, *Catalogue* 121), M.T.0468.a1 (*KT* 5.200, *Catalogue* 116), M.T.a.iii.0080.1 (*KT* 5.213, *Catalogue* 272), M.T.a.vi.0084.a1 (*KT* 5.217, *Catalogue* 281), and Or.9615/6 and Or.9615/11 (newly published in *Catalogue* 81, 82).
3. *pahaiya*: A perfect intransitive of either the 3sg. fem. or 3pl. masc. So it would be "the girl" or "the three pack animals" who fled.
3. *drrū(ṇ)ä*: The remaining trace of the second akṣara could be *ṇa*, but not *na*.

Verso

Khotanese text (fig. 3)

1.] lastak[ä] nāma x
2. budadāysä
3. mara x-u x
4.] dä
5.] x thau hauḍä 1 u nama 1 300 50 mūrä
6.] śā ṣṭä
7. altāṃ mūrä hauḍä 200 u nama hauḍä 1
8. arrjāṃ nama hauḍä 1 u thaunakä śau 400 mūrä u thau śau 500 50 mūrä u baṇä śau
9. hīye hatcasti 200 50 6 – nva ttaśī mūrä 1000 400 80
10. sudilä namatä hauḍä 3 tcūrä-saya [
11. budai thaunakä hauḍä 1 [

Translation

1–3. Lastaka (?) by name ... Budadāysa ... here ...
5–7. ... gave cloth one, and gave felt one, (worth) 350 *mūrās*. ... is one (?) ... Altāṃ gave *mūrās* 200, and gave felt one.
8–11. Arrjāṃ gave felt one, and cloth one, (worth) 400 *mūrās*, and cloth one, (worth) 550 *mūrās*, and a bundle one. He *cancelled his own (worth) 256 *(mūrās)*. According to Dashi[6] (it is worth?) 1,480 *(mūrās)*. Sudila gave felt three, four-hundred ... Budai gave cloth one ...

Notes

9. *hatcasti*: For the meaning "*cancelled" see EMMERICK/SKJÆRVØ 1997, p. 159ff.

6 Chinese. A title for a Buddhist monk.

C. Дх 18927

A sheet of paper consisting of two pieces pasted together. The position of lines 4 and 5 relative to the joint suggests that they had formed a single sheet before the whole text (or at least lines 4 and 5) was written. A photo is found in *Dunhuang Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, p. 287. The Chinese text in three lines on the right-hand (or upper) piece is complete, with the indented third line giving the date

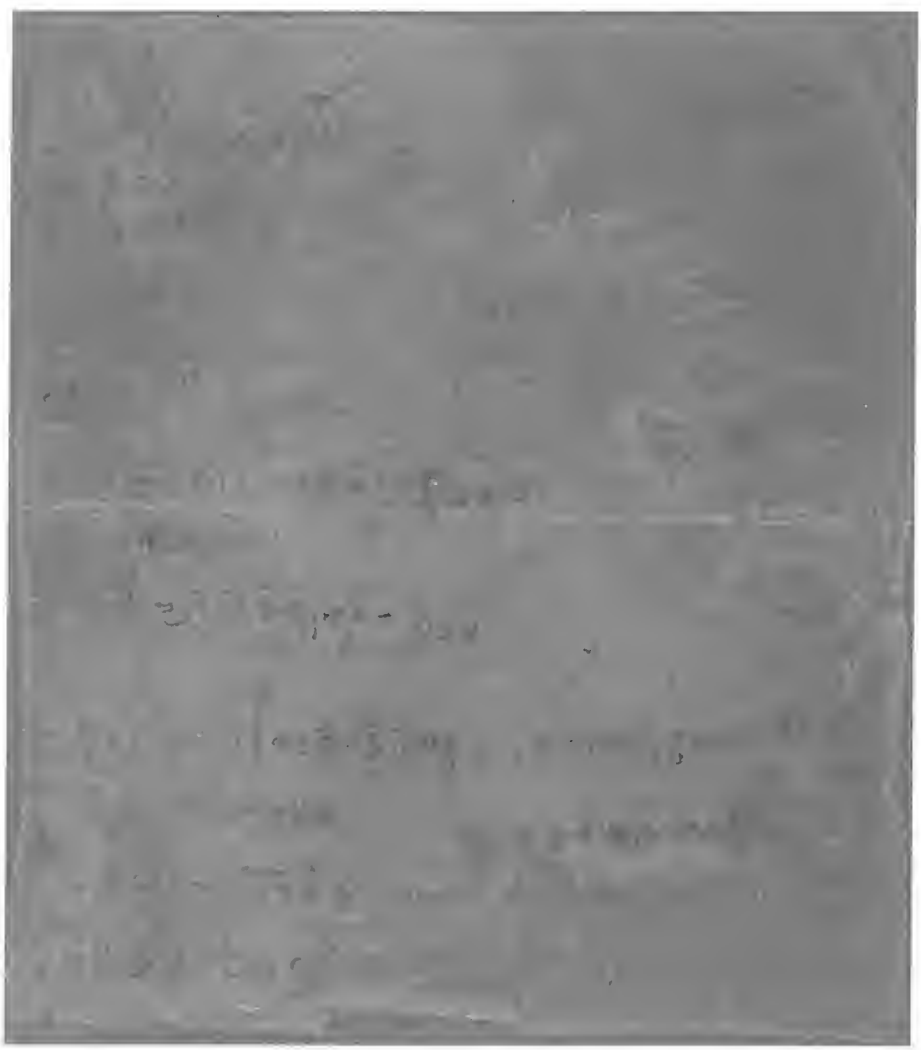

Fig. 3: Дх 18916 *verso*, Khotanese text

and the signature. It is dated to 785 (*jianzhong* 建中 6th = *zhenyuan* 貞元 1st), twelfth month, twenty-first day. The document is issued by an official named Wei Zhongshun 魏忠順, who appended the character 順 as his signature (*huaya* 花押) in three places, after the second and third lines of the Chinese text as well as after the 5th line of the Khotanese text. All these three signatures, beside being quite clumsy, show a peculiarity in the last two strokes of the X shape, clearly distinct from the signature of the same character by the General Zhang Shun 張順 in SI P 103.14 (Plate 110b in *Saka Documents VII*). The recognition of the fact that all three signatures belong to the same person leads to the belief that the Chinese text and the Khotanese one in lines 4 and 5 are in fact closely related, against the earlier view that they are unrelated (see Part 1). The Khotanese text of line 2 is an abbreviated summary of the Chinese text,[7] and is written by a different, and much less skilled, hand than that of lines 4 and 5. Line 4 gives the date as the 18th year, 1st month, 10th day, which is in all likelihood just a few weeks after the date in the Chinese part.[8] From this it follows that the 18th year of the reign of the Khotanese king Viśa' Vāhaṃ was 786, while according to the elaborate calculation by ZHANG and RONG (1997) the year 786 is assumed to have been the 20th year of his reign. As a consequence one is forced to reconsider not only the dates of Hedin 24, Hedin 21, Hedin 15, Hedin 16, Dumaqu C and Dumaqu D, which are the cornerstones of Khotanese chronology in the eighth century, but also the whole framework of the reign of Viśa' Vāhaṃ and his successors, as proposed by ZHANG and RONG. I discussed this problem in May 2004 in the symposium on "The Kingdom of Khotan" at the British Library, and the paper will be published as part of the proceedings in the near future.

Text (fig. 4)

1. 守捉使牒傑謝百姓紇羅捺供行軍入磧
2. 打駝麻卅斤　順 hvī hīvī kṣau ṣṭi 40 kiṇa
3. 建中六年十二月廿一日行官魏忠順抄　順
4. || salī 10 8 (mā)śta cuātaja haḍā 10 ttiña beḍa gaysātajä vikausä kaṃhä
5. hauḍe 10 6 sä kiṇa gvī tcyāṃ-ḳvinä nāte thīṣī hīyāṃ dva akṣa<ra> 順

Translation of the Khotanese part

2. It is a voucher of Hvī. 40 *jin* 斤 (< kiən).

4/5. Year 18, the Cvātaja (1st) month, 10th day. At that time Vikausa of Gaysāta gave hemp, 16 hundred *jin*. General Gvī took two (hundred?) of the Thī-ṣī's. Signature 順

7 An order of the *shouzhuoshi* 守捉使 ("garrison commander"; cf. *ṣṣūkṣāhä* "garrison" recognized by YOSHIDA 1997, p. 568). It mentions Rruhadatta, a commoner of Gaysāta, entering the desert along with the army, as well as 40 *jin* of hemp.

8 It is known from Chinese-Khotanese bilingual documents in the eighth century that the month and day in Khotanese, which uses the native month names, agree without exception with those in Chinese.

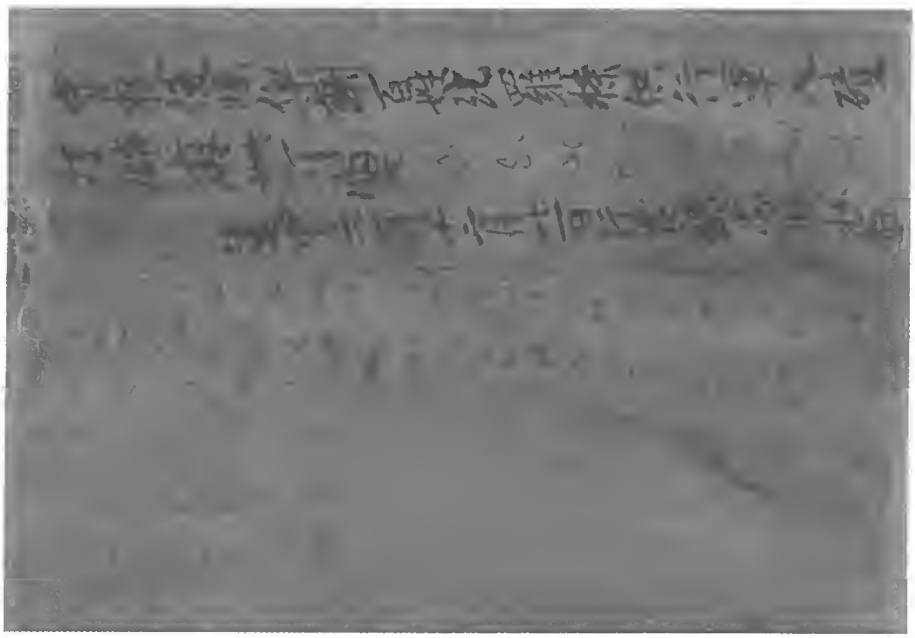

Fig. 4: Дx 18927

Notes

1. 紇羅捺: *Heluona* (< γuət lâ nât). This is a transcription of the Khotanese personal name Rruhadatta, who also appears, both in Chinese and in Khotanese, as a guarantor in the camel contract of the year 781 (A). The first character represents some sort of onset glide in the Iranian initial r-sound unfamiliar to Chinese (Yoshida 1998). It was read as *qi* 訖 (< kɨət) by Zhang and Rong (2002). But the character *he* 紇 is preferred here because, in addition to phonological reasons, the same character is used in Xuan Zang's *Travels* in the transcription of Rōb (modern Rūi)/Samingān in Bactria.[9]
2. hvī: The personal name *Hvī* must represent the surname of Wei Zhongshun 魏忠順 (< ŋɨuəi). Such nasal velar initials, called Yimu 疑母, are known to be represented in the Brāhmī transcription of Chinese both by *h-* and by *g-*. In the Chinese Vajracchedikā in Brāhmī, the same scribe uses either *h-* or *g-* for Chinese *ŋ-*. Here it is but natural to assume that *Gvī* in line 5, written by a different hand, also represents the same name.
5. gvī: See above.
5. thīṣī: A Chinese title? See *thyänä-ṣī* and *thịnä ṣī* in Khot (IO) 74.vii. a6 (*KT* 5.310, #683; *Catalogue* 442).

9 紇露・悉泯健國 in Vol. 1.

D. Дx 18930

A small piece of paper. Also in *Dunhuang Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, p. 289. This fragment is important because it confirms the identification, first proposed by ZHANG and RONG (1987) from circumstantial evidence, of the place name Gaysāta in Khotanese documents and Jiexie 傑謝 in Chinese documents. The Chinese text says: "Gaysāta ... One piece of ox skin."

Text (fig. 5)
Chinese
1. 傑謝 [
2. 牛皮壹張 [
3. 抄

Khotanese
1. || gayseta gūha-kaṃgä [

Translation
In Gaysāta. Ox-skin ...

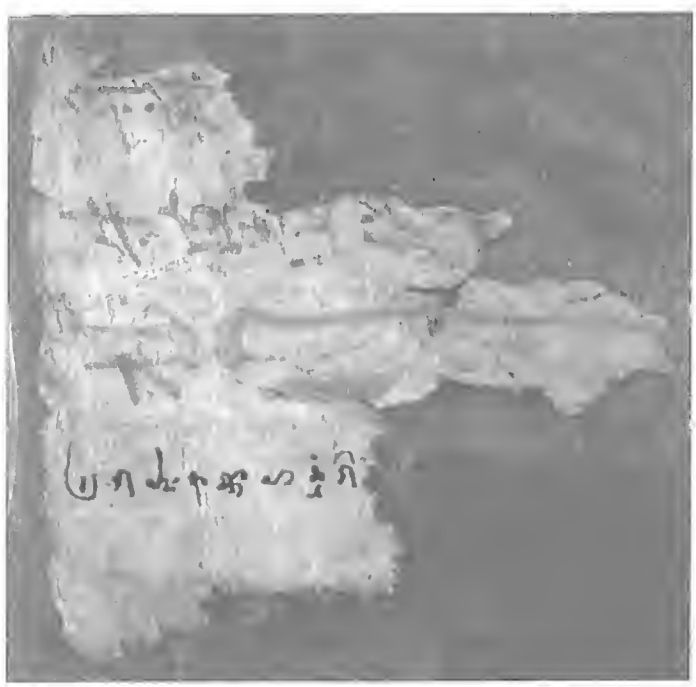

Fig. 5: Дx 18930

E. Дx 18931

A small fragment. Also in *Dunhuang Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, p. 289. Possibly a name list in Chinese with interlinear transcription in Khotanese, although the remaining portions do not match. The Chinese form of *moshi* 末士 is probably the same as *mocha* 末查 representing the Khotanese name Marṣaka in A. The character *pian* 偏 would be the beginning of the name Pheṃdūka also in A. The second line in Chinese showing only part of the characters is not read by Zhang and Rong (2002).

Fig. 6: Дx 18931

Text (fig. 6)
Chinese

] 蘇末士偏 [

Khotanese

1.] (pu)ñadattä jsā [

Translation

Puñadatta …

F. Дx 1461

A paper slip. The other side has an unrelated Chinese document. See *Dunhuang Manuscripts*, Vol. 8, p. 191. This piece has been known since Men'šikov's *Catalogue* (Vol. 1, p. 659), where the Khotanese part, actually a summons order by a local official, is described as "a writing in 'vertical Brāhmī' script in Sanskrit. A prayer text (incantation?)".

Text (fig. 7)

1. ‖ sīgū tta parī – birgaṃdara pa' phanya gayseta spāte pharṣe vara khu tta ra pīḍaki hīśtä ttinī
2. vā bvaittä mara āskuīra hiysda himīrau

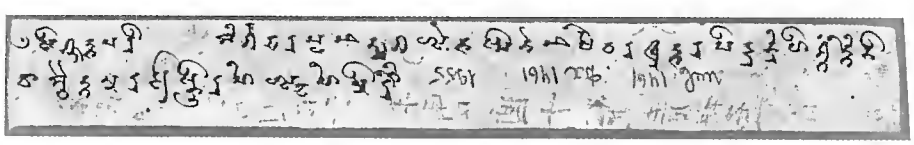

Fig. 7: Дx 1461

Translation
Sīgū orders thus: "(You who are) *spātas* (and) *pharṣas* in Birgaṃdara, Pa', Phanya (and) Gaysāta there. When this message comes (to you), ride immediately hither (and you) should be present here in Āskūra."

Notes
1. sīgū: In this form the name is not found elsewhere, but see SI P 140.1.1 (*Saka Documents VII*, plate 127e) *spāta sagū tta parī* "Spāta Sagū orders thus" (in *Saka Documents Text Volume III* the name is read as *sa x*).
1. phanya: Probably the same as the place name Phaṃña. See KUMAMOTO 1996, n. 58.
1. ttinī: See EMMERICK/SKJÆRVØ 1997, p. 66f.

Fig. 8: Дх 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дх 18928

Appendix:
A. Дx 18926 + SI P 93.22 + Дx 18928[10]

Text[11] (fig. 8)

K1 || ulä śau dasalä

C1 野駝壹頭父拾歲

K2 10 6 mye salye rarūyä māśtä 20 1 mye haḍai hamīḍaka gaysātaja braṃ[*mūjsai āstaṃna*?

C2 大曆十六年六月廿一日傑謝合川百姓勃[門貿齊

K3 ttye / pracai(na) cu kṣīrve mūrä puḍa ya ttye pracaina mī vaña ulä parāṃdi (nva?) [

C3 等 / (為)役次負稅錢遂將前件駝(買) [与 ? ? ? 斷

K4 ni hīvī x / mi nvahi sinä tcinä vīra kṣasi ysārrụ būnä ulä paphvāṃ(d)i [

C4 作駝[價] / (錢)壹拾陸阡文其錢及(駝) [當日

K5 x-i x-yi hä / [ ] h(ve?) himāt(e) x x ul(ä) / (h)īyą ñā<py>e si maṃ hī x-ī [

——— (break) ———

C5 交]相分付了後有識認一(仰) [主保知當

K6 x-ī yā yana x

C6 不関買人之事官有政法[人從私契

C7 両共平章畫指為記

C8 錢主

K7 || braṃ[*mū*](js)ai (salī) x (60) 5

C9 駝主百姓勃門貿齊[年六十五

K8 || puñargaṃ salī 30 5

C10 保人勃迹仰年[卅五

K9 || (vi)sarrjāṃ salī 60 1

C11 保人勿薩踵年[六十一

K10 || ma(rṣ)äkä salī 30 1

C12 保人末查年[卅一

K11 || rruhadattä [*salī*] (*20?*) 5

C13 保人紇羅捺年[廿?五

K12 pheṃdūkä (sa)lī 30 1

C14 保人奴ㇾ偏年卅一

K13 [*vikausä salī*] 30 4

C15 保人勿苟悉年卅四

10 See also *Dunhuang Manuscripts*, Vol. 17, pp. 287–288.

11 A slash (/) in lines from K3 to K5 marks where SI P 93.22 joins Дx 18926.

Translation[12]
One male (wild?) camel, ten years old. Dali 16th year (= Jianzhong 建中 2nd year, = 781), 6th month, 21st day. Braṃmūjsai from *Hechuan* ("Conflux") in Gaysāta and others (*Khot.* "together"), in order to bear (the burden of) the tax money for official labor (*Khot.* "for the reason that the state money (= the taxes) was owed"), hereupon sell the aforementioned camel (*Khot.* "for that reason now they sold the camel") to ... The price of the camel was fixed as sixteen thousand *wen* (*būnä* in Brāhmī) in (copper) coins. That money (as agreed upon) and the camel changed hands (*Khot.* "they collected the camel") on the very same day. If afterwards anyone should recognize (the camel and claim its ownership), the owner (= seller) and the guarantors shall unilaterally deal with such, and it shall be none of the buyer's business. The authorities have the government's laws, (but) people observe private contracts. Both parties agree and have their finger-seals affixed.

Buyer:
- Owner of the Camel: Commoner Braṃmūjsai (65 years old).
- Guarantor: Puñargaṃ (35 years old).
- Guarantor: Visarrjāṃ (61 years old).
- Guarantor: Marṣäkä (31 years old).
- Guarantor: Rruhadattä (25? years old).
- Guarantor: Pheṃdūkä (31 years old).
- Guarantor: Vikausä (34 years old).

Notes
For the detailed justification of the above reading and translation, see Part 1 preferably in the original electronic version at:

http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/pdf/SinoHvat.pdf

as well as the colour photos at:

http://www.gengo.l.u-tokyo.ac.jp/~hkum/pdf/SinoHvat_photo1.pdf

ZHANG and RONG (2002, p. 232ff.) read a few characters, mostly in the transcription of Khotanese names, differently. I do not think it is necessary to change my readings after theirs.

12 According to the partly reconstructed Chinese version, which is more complete than the Khotanese. Differences in the Khotanese version are also indicated.

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La versification en parthe et son héritage persan

Gilbert Lazard, Paris

1. Introduction

Notre très regretté collègue Ronald E. Emmerick, dans son immense labeur de déchiffrement et d'analyse des textes khotanais et de description de leur langue, n'a pas dédaigné de consacrer quelques articles à des questions de versification. Dans l'un d'eux en particulier (1973), il fait un ingénieux et instructif parallèle entre la technique du vers en khotanais et celle de Commodien, poète latin post-classique qui chanta les mérites du christianisme. L'une et l'autre présentent un stade intermédiaire entre une poésie quantitative, faite de successions réglées de syllabes longues et brèves, et une poésie accentuelle, dont le rythme est assuré par le retour des ictus.

Cette étude a retenu mon attention parce que je me suis moi-même intéressé à une question comparable, mais en quelque sorte inverse. Dans une partie des articles publiés dans divers recueils sous le titre commun d' « Etudes sur la versification dans les langues irano-aryennes »[1], j'ai tenté de préciser la nature des règles de versification dans la poésie en parthe et en moyen-perse et aussi formulé des hypothèses sur une possible filiation entre la technique de cette poésie préislamique et celle de la poésie quantitative en persan classique. Ainsi, alors que Emmerick a analysé le passage d'une versification quantitative à une versification accentuelle, j'ai moi-même essayé d'apercevoir les voies par lesquelles les rythmes d'une poésie accentuelle se sont peut-être perpétués en s'adaptant à une versification quantitative.

C'est une petite étude du même genre que je dédie ici à la mémoire de notre collègue trop tôt disparu.

2. Structures et correspondances

C'est à partir des poèmes manichéens en parthe publiés par Boyce (1954) que j'ai élaboré quelques hypothèses sur les principes de la versification en moyen-iranien occidental (EVLIA 6) : parthe et moyen-perse, ces deux langues sœurs,

1 Abrégé EVLIA ; voir la bibliographie. Le présent article est EVLIA 13.

ont cn effet des systèmes phonologiques si semblables qu'il est très probable que la poésie y utilise les mêmes procédés.[2] Tous les spécialistes s'accordent à penser, à la suite dc HENNING (1950), qu'elle n'cst ni quantitative ni syllabique, mais accentuelle. J'ai soutcnu que la quantité des syllabes y joue néanmoins un certain rôle, cn ce sens que la distinction principale est non pas entre syllabes brèves et longues, mais entre syllabes légères et lourdes : sont légères toutes les syllabes brèves et les longues des mots accessoires ou situécs en position de prothèse ou d'anaptyxe ; sont lourdes les autres longues. Les ictus portent toujours sur des syllabes lourdes et coïncident généralement, mais pas toujours, avec des accents de mots. Le nombrc de syllabes entre les ictus est variable, mais celui des lourdes est limité.

La poésie parthe se présente par groupes de deux vers (distiqucs), dont chacun sc divise lui-même en deux hémistiches. J'ai cru pouvoir montrer dans EVLIA 6 que, dans les deux cycles publiés par BOYCE, et aussi dans le poème étiqueté M 10 (hymne manichéen au Moi Vivant), chaque hémistiche comprend deux séquences (ou « pieds ») faites d'une syllabe (lourde) portant l'ictus précédée d'une ou plusieurs syllabes. Ces séquences constituent donc les unités de base de la versification. Elles comprenncnt un nombre variable de syllabes, dont au maximum trois lourdes (y compris celle qui est frappée de l'ictus) dans les poèmes des deux cycles BOYCE et deux lourdes seulement dans l'hymne M 10. Cette différence entre les premiers et le second indique qu'ils sont composés dans des mètres différents. Il m'a semblé possible de reconnaître le même genre de structure dans les quelques morccaux poétiques conservés (plus ou moins incorrectement) en moyen-perse littéraire (pehlcvi) (EVLIA 9, 10, 12), et aussi dans un morceau épique dc tradition orale en baloutchi (EVLIA 8).

Du moyen-perse au persan l'évolution phonologique est minimc. La principale innovation en persan est sans doute que les syllabes brèves y sont plus fréquentcs, notamment à cause de l'abondance des emprunts à l'arabe. Mais dans l'ensemble le système a peu changé et les rythmes naturels de la langue ont dû rester à peu près les mêmes. Dans ces conditions on peut penser quc la versification quantitative instaurée en persan sous l'influence de l'arabe pourrait bicn, d'une manièrc ou d'une autre, continuer ceux qui se faisaient sentir dans la versification accentuelle de la poésie préislamique ou, en d'autres termes, que la versification persanc classique résulte de l'adaptation dcs mètres anciens au principe quantitatif. Cette idée n'est pas nouvelle : ellc a été exprimée jadis par BENVENISTE (1932, p. 293) et plus réccmment par UTAS (1994, p. 140). Si on l'admet, on est conduit à rechercher des parentés entre ces mètres anciens et les mètres les plus usuels de la poésie pcrsane classique.

2 Je demande pardon aux lecteurs qui retrouveront dans le développement qui suit un exposé déjà fait dans d'autres articles. Mais je suis bien obligé de le reprendre ici pour les lecteurs qui n'ont pas sous la main les articles en question.

De fait, il existe quelques traces de techniques intermédiaires. La plus instructive est le distique *Ahu-ye kuhi*, dont le mètre n'est pas quantitatif, mais dont le rythme coïncide de près avec le mètre du robāi classique (EVLIA 1). Les autres laissent entrevoir l'apparition de la rime, étrangère à la poésie parthe et constante en persan classique.

Cela dit, on peut préciser davantage les relations. Il m'a paru possible de mettre en correspondance plusieurs types de mètres accentuels avec plusieurs mètres usuels dans la poésie persane. Par exemple, le mètre du poème pehlevi qu'on a intitulé « A hymn to wisdom » peut être schématisé par la « formule structurale » suivante :

(x) (x) X (x) x X (x) (x) X x X,

où X symbolise les syllabes portant l'ictus et (x) les syllabes susceptibles de manquer, et qui doit être accompagnée des conditions suivantes : 1) il n'y a pas plus de deux syllabes lourdes (dont l'une sous ictus) dans chaque pied, 2) les syllabes facultatives ne sont jamais ni présentes ni absentes toutes ensemble (v. EVLIA 8 et 9). Cette formule est remarquablement semblable au schéma du motaqāreb de la poésie épique et narrative en persan :

⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ – – ⏑ –

On constate de plus que

1) les syllabes à ictus du mètre accentuel correspondent à des longues du mètre quantitatif (mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie : les longues peuvent correspondre à des syllabes sans ictus) ;
2) les brèves du mètre quantitatif correspondent à des syllabes facultatives du mètre accentuel (mais la réciproque n'est pas vraie : des syllabes facultatives peuvent correspondre à des longues).

On est tenté de conclure que le motaqāreb, que les spécialistes de prosodie arabe ont parfois soupçonné d'être d'origine iranienne ainsi que quelques autres mètres (Grunebaum 1955, p. 18), résulte de l'adaptation du mètre accentuel en question à la versification quantitative.

La même procédure, appliquée à quelques autres textes, aboutit à des résultats analogues, donc à soutenir la thèse selon laquelle certains au moins des vers persans résultent de l'adaptation de vers accentuels issus de la tradition préislamique (v. une récapitulation provisoire dans EVLIA 11 et dans Lazard sous presse). Cette thèse ne peut certes être tenue pour véritablement démontrée, mais le fait que les correspondances indiquées ci-dessus entre mètres accentuels et mètres quantitatifs sont respectées dans tous les cas examinés lui confère une certaine vraisemblance.

3. De la poésie parthe à la poésie persane

Je voudrais ici réexaminer dans le même esprit la versification des poèmes parthes des cycles BOYCE. Elle a déjà été analysée en détail dans EVLIA 6, mais sans que soit posée la question de ses possibles relations avec la versification persane classique. On trouvera dans cette étude antérieure le texte des morceaux les mieux conservés, accompagné de l'indication de la quantité des syllabes (longues, brèves ou ambiguës), ainsi que de la division en pieds définie par les positions occupées par les ictus, celles-ci établies par une discussion serrée. Pour ce qui nous concerne ici, il suffit de cette division en pieds et de la caractérisation des syllabes comme lourdes (sigle : L) ou légères (sigle : o). On en trouvera le tableau en annexe. Les pieds y sont séparés par des espaces : le dernier L de chaque pied représente la syllabe portant l'ictus. Cette disposition permet de saisir d'un coup d'œil la distribution des différents types de pieds selon le nombre et la nature des syllabes qui les composent.

Voici donc, dans les échantillons représentant les deux cycles de poèmes, Huwīdagmān (sigle : H) et Angad rōšnān (sigle : AR), la distribution des pieds selon le nombre de syllabes[3] :

	H	%	AR	%
1 syllabe	1	0,6	0	0,0
2 syllabes	28	17,5	99	35,4
3 syllabes	77	48,1	124	44,3
4 syllabes	46	28,7	47	16,8
5 syllabes	7	4,4	9	3,2
6 syllabes	1	0,6	1	0,3

On voit clairement que la longueur typique d'un pied, pour les deux cycles, varie de 2 à 4 syllabes, avec un sommet de fréquence à 3 syllabes. Les pieds d'une seule syllabe sont très rares, à supposer qu'ils existent vraiment : nous ignorons bien des détails de la prononciation. Ceux de plus de quatre syllabes sont fort rares aussi et sans importance statistique. On note encore que les pieds sont en moyenne plus courts dans AR que dans H. Le calcul des moyennes donne, pour H, 3,2 et, pour AR, 2,9.

3 Les chiffres sont légèrement différents de ceux qui figurent dans EVLIA 6, pp. 384–385, du fait de choix différents dans le cas de quelques vers susceptibles d'être scandés de plus d'une manière. Ces petites variations ne modifient pas sensiblement les proportions ni les conclusions qu'on peut en tirer.

Voici maintenant la distribution des types de pieds selon leur position dans le vers.

H :	1re position	2ème position	3ème position	4ème position	Total
1 syllabe	1	0	0	0	1
2 syllabes	2	10	7	9	28
3 syllabes	14	27	17	19	77
4 syllabes	19	4	13	10	46
5 syllabes	5	0	1	1	7
6 syllabes	0	0	1	0	1

AR :	1re position	2ème position	3ème position	4ème position	Total
1 syllabe	0	0	0	0	0
2 syllabes	21	31	18	29	99
3 syllabes	30	34	29	31	124
4 syllabes	16	4	19	8	47
5 syllabes	3	1	3	2	9
6 syllabes	0	0	1	0	1

On constate que les pieds « irréguliers », c'est-à-dire comptant moins de deux syllabes ou plus de quatre, se trouvent surtout en première et troisième position et sont très rares, voire inexistants en deuxième et quatrième position, c'est-à-dire en fin d'hémistiche. Le calcul des moyennes le confirme : on trouve pour les pieds de deuxième et quatrième position 2,9 pour H et 2,7 pour AR, soit des chiffres inférieurs aux moyennes générales. Comme les fins d'hémistiche sont les parties les plus sensibles, celles où le rythme doit être le plus reconnaissable, on peut tenir pour acquis que les mesures les plus typiques sont celles qui se trouvent dans cette position et que ce sont celles-là qu'il convient de prendre en considération pour chercher des relations avec la versification persane.

Regardons donc la nature des syllabes qui les constituent (en laissant de côté les quelques pieds « irréguliers »). Nous savons que, dans les poèmes des deux cycles la limitation de trois lourdes par pied est une règle. La distribution des deux types de syllabes, lourdes et légères, dans les cas typiques, c'est-à-dire en fin d'hémistiche, est la suivante :

	H		AR	
	2ème pied	4ème pied	2ème pied	4ème pied
L L	6	7	22	20
o L	4	2	9	9
L L L	9	9	12	16
o L L	14	9	11	11
L o L	1	1	5	3
o o L	3	0	6	1
o L L L	1	7	1	3
L o L L	1	1	1	1
L L o L	2	1	1	1
o o L L	0	0	1	2
o L o L	0	1	0	1
L o o L	0	0	0	0
o o o L	0	0	0	0
Totaux	41	38	69	68

Ce tableau fait apparaître

1) la plus grande abondance de pieds dissyllabiques dans AR que dans H. Cette différence nous est connue : elle a déjà été exprimée ci-dessus par la différence des moyennes du nombre de syllabes par pied, et elle ne fait que préciser la différence de longueur des vers notée jadis par BOYCE (1955, p. 47 ; v. aussi EVLIA 6, p. 386).

2) une tendance, commune aux deux cycles, à préférer les pieds comprenant 2 ou 3 syllabes lourdes :
   - H : 39 pieds à deux lourdes et 31 à trois lourdes, en tout 70 sur un total de 79,
   - AR : 75 pieds à deux lourdes et 39 à trois lourdes, en tout 114 sur un total de 139.

3) une tendance, commune aussi, à placer les syllabes légères vers le début.

Au total il apparaît que la forme typique du pied comporte deux syllabes lourdes et deux syllabes facultatives, dont au maximum une lourde, ce qu'on peut schématiser ainsi :

(x) (x) x X

Cette forme, avec de rares déviations, se trouve deux fois dans l'hémistiche, quatre fois dans le vers.

Quelle conclusions tirer de ces remarques dans la quête des rapports avec la versification persane classique ? Le pied comprend typiquement quatre positions. Or on trouve très souvent l'équivalent en poésie persane : les séquences de quatre syllabes sont la base de différents mètres quantitatifs persans qui comptent pami les plus usuels. Ce sont les suivantes :

a) ⏑ – – –
b) – ⏑ – –
c) ⏑ ⏑ – –
d) ⏑ – ⏑ –

Ces séquences se trouvent dans des vers narratifs et dans des vers lyriques ; la quatrième est ordinairement associées à la troisième, avec laquelle elle alterne (⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – –). Les différents mètres qu'elles fondent (*hazaj, ramal, xafif, mojtass*, etc.) sont très fréquents.

Il est facile de mettre en parallèle la forme typique du pied de nos poèmes parthes et ces séquences de la métrique persane classique. Les correspondances sont conformes aux règles que nous avons cru reconnaître : à l'ictus correspondent des longues et les brèves correspondent à des syllabes facultatives. Les séquences des vers persans comprennent deux ou trois longues comme la forme parthe comprend typiquement deux ou trois syllabes lourdes. En outre, excepté dans la séquence d, les brèves figurent vers le début, de même que les syllabes lègères des vers parthes. Il n'est donc pas déraisonnable d'imaginer une certaine parenté entre les rythmes de cette poésie préislamique et quelques-uns des mètres persans les plus usuels, c'est-à-dire une certaine filiation des uns aux autres.

Il est difficile de préciser davantage les relations. Risquons cependant une conjecture supplémentaire. Nous avons vu que les vers du second cycle (AR) sont en moyenne plus courts que ceux du premier (H), parce que les pieds dissyllabiques y sont plus nombreux. On peut être tenté de mettre cette différence en rapport avec celle qui distingue les séquences persanes c et d, qui comprennent deux brèves, des séquences a et b, qui n'en comprennent qu'une. Les vers du cycle H seraient alors, d'une certaine manière, les ancêtres des mètres persans composés des séquences a et b et ceux du cycle AR ceux des mètres formés des séquences c et d.

Pour finir sur une note moins aride, illustrons les séquences en question par la citation de quelques vers persans célèbres, qui chantent dans la mémoire de tous les Iraniens. Leur musique pourrait, si nos hypothèses sont justes, donner quelque idée de celle de la lointaine poésie parthe.[4]

4 Les vers qui suivent, à l'exception du premier, sont catalectiques, c'est-à-dire amputés de la dernière syllabe. C'est une différence avec les vers parthes, qui sont toujours acatalectiques, donc formés de deux hémistiches égaux.

agar ān Tork-e širāzi be dast ārad del-e mārā (Hāfez)
⏑ – – – ⏑ —— ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – –
« Si cette Turque de Chiraz s'emparait de mon cœur … »

bešnow az ney čun šekāyat mikonad (Mowlavi)
– ⏑ – – – ⏑ – – – ⏑ –
« Ecoute la plainte du roseau … »

zolf° āšofte-o xoy karde-o xandānlab-o mast (Hāfez)
– ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ – – ⏑ ⏑ –
« Cheveux fous, tout en sueur, la lèvre riante et ivre … »

salāh-e kār° kojā-o man-e xarāb° kojā (Hāfez)
⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑ –
« Où est la perfection et où suis-je moi misérable ? »

Annexe

Huwîdagmân IVa

1a	L o L L	o L L	L L	o L L
b	o o L o L	L L L	o L L	o L
2a	L L L	o L L	o L	o L L
b	L L	L L L	o L L	L L
3a	L L L	o L	o L L	L L L
b	o L o L	o L L	o o L L	o L L L
4a	L o L L	o L L	o L L	o L L
b	o L L	o L	o L L	o L L
5a	L L L	o L L	o o L L	L L L
b	o o L?	L L	o L L	L L
6a	o o L L	L L	o o L L	o L
b	o o L L L	o L	o L o L	L L
7a	L L o L	L L	L L L	L L L
b	o L	L L L	L L L	o L L L
8a	L o L	o L L	o o L L	L L
b	o L L L	o o L	o o L	o L L L
9a	o L o o L	L o L L	o L L	L o L L
b	o L L	L L	[...]	
10a	o L L L	o L	L L o L	L L
b	L L o L	L L	o o L	o L o L

Huwîdagmân VIc

1a	L o L	o L L	o o o L	o L L
b	o L o L	L o L	o L L L	L L L
2a	o L L L	o L L	L L	o L L
b	o o L L	o o L	L L L	o L L
3a	o L o L	o L L	o o o L	o L L
b	o o L	o L L L	[...]	
4a	o L L L	L L L	o L L L	L L
b	o o L L	o L L	L L	L L L
10a	o o L	L L L	[...]	
b	L	o o L	o L L	L L L
11a	L o L L	L L L	L L L	o L L
b	o o L L L	L L L?	o L L L	o L L L?
12a	o o L L	L L o L	L L?	o o L L L
b	o L L	L L L	o o L L	L L L
13a	o o L L	L L o L	o o L o L	L L o L
b	L L L	o L L	o L L L	L L
14a	o o L L L	o L L	o o L o L L	L L L
b	o L L L	o L L	o L	L o L
21a	[...]		o L L	L L L
b	L o L	L L L	L L L	o L L L?
22a	o L o L	L L	o L L	o L L L
b	o L L	o L L	o L	o L L L

Angad rošnân VI

1a	o o o L	L L	o L	o L L
b	L L	L L L	o L L L	L L
2a	o L	L L	o L L	L L L
b	o o L	L L	o L	L L L
3a	o L	L L L	o L o L	L L
b	o L	o o L	L L o L	L L
4a	o L L	o L L	L L o L	o L
b	o o L	L L	o L L L	L L L
5a	o L	o L L L	o L L	L L
b	o L	L L	o L L	L L
7a	o o L	L L	o o L L	L L
b	o L	L L L	o L L	o L L
8a	o L L	o L	o L L	L L L
b	L L	L o L L	o o L L	L L
10a	o L L	L L L	o L	o L L
b	o L L	o L	o o L L	o L

| | | |

67a	o o L L	o L L	o o L L	o o L
b	o L L	o o L	o L	L L L
68a	o L o L	L L	L L L	L o L L
b	o o o L	L L L	L L	L L L
69a	o L L	o L L	o L	o L L
b	o L L L	L o L	o o L L L	L L
71a	o L L L	L L	o L L	L L
b	L L	o o L	o o L	o L o L L
72a	o L	o o L	L o L L?	L L L
b	o L	o L L	L o L	L L
73a	o o L	L L L	o L	o L o L
b	o L	L L	o L L	L L L

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The Leader of the People of Chach in the Sogdian Inscriptions and Coin-Legends

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The administrative, military and class vocabulary of the Sogdian language, which for a whole millennium was a language of international trade and cultural contacts over a vast territory, from Bukhara as far as the Great Wall of China, is well-known from documents, religious and secular texts and coin-legends. Sogdian titles denoting a king, a leader, an owner of a country, town or village are composed from the Old Iranian verb **xšay-* 'to be able; to rule, to reign' and the Old Iranian compound words **xva-tāva-* 'self-powerful, autocrat' and **xva-bava-* 'independent, autonomous'. The following words belong to such titles: Sogdian *xšyδ*, *'xšyδ*, *'xšyyδ /xšēδ*, *əxšēδ/* 'king' (Arabic *ixšīd*), from Old Iranian **xšaita-*, Avestan *xšaēta-*;[1] Sogdian *'xšywn*, *'xšywn'k*, *xšywny(y) /xšēwanē*, *əxšēwan*, *əxšēwanē/* 'king, owner';[2] Sogdian *xwt'w /xutāw/*, *xwβw*, *xwβ /xuvu*, *xuv/* 'sovereign, prince'. The title "king" in Sogdian text and coin-legends was frequently reproduced by the ideogram MLK' /Aramaic *malkā́/*, *xutāw* and *xuvu/xuv* in the documents from the fortress on mount Mugh and in the coin-legends it was quite often denoted by the ideogram MR'Y /Aramaic *márī* 'my lord'/ and its spelling variant MRY'. In the Sogdian inscriptions on toreutics, originating from Chach (Tashkent oasis), and in the legends of the coins issued by the apanage rulers of Chach, the titles "sovereign, ruler" are reproduced by the spelling MRY'.

In the article "Middle Persian and Sogdian inscriptions on silver vessels", written in co-authorship with V. G. Lukonin and published in 1964 (VDI, No. 3), I published the readings and translations of several Sogdian inscriptions. In this

1 Cf. *'xs(rw-'xš)yδ* 'blessed (?) king' in the Sogdian Manichaean tale: *ms xw 'xsr(w-'xš)yδ [MN] ɣntrw m'yδ 'prs* 'again the blessed (?) king in such a way asked the spirit of waters ...', see Henning 1945, pp. 481–482, ll. 31–32. With *'xsrw* compare Middle Persian, New Persian *xusraw*, Sogdian *'kwsrw*, *'kwsr'w* in the rock inscriptions of the 10th to early 11th centuries from the tracts of the Terek-say and Kulan-say in the Talas valley, see Livšic 1981; 2004, p. 144f.

2 Chr. Sogd. *xšwny /xšewanē/* 'king', *xšwnc /xšewanč/* 'queen' along with Chr. Man. *xšywn- /xšēwan-/*; Man. *'xšywnky' /əxšēwankyā/* 'power, rule, reign', Man. *'xšywnymync*, *MLK'mync /xutāwmēnč* ?/ 'powerful, seigniorial, regal'. Compare in the Man. Sogd. tale: *MLK'mync nγwδn ptmwγt* "he put on the royal dress", see Henning 1945, p. 478, l. 7; Gershevitch 1954, §§ 269, 1084, 1086, 1103, 1189, 1230, 1253, 1635.

Fig. 1

brief article I would like to suggest some corrections to these readings and an attempt to interpret the administrative term, which is used in inscriptions and coin-legends originating from Chach, and which was evidently known in Samarkandian Sogd as well.

An inscription on a silver plate with the image of a Kushanshah in a horned crown, hunting for wild boars (fig. 1), published in the atlas of JA. I. SMIRNOV *Vostočnoe serebro [Oriental Silver]* (pl. XXV, 53), was found in the village Kerčevo of the Čerdynski district of Perm' province and is presumably dated back to the 4th century.[3] The plate is imperfect, about ½₀ of the surface being broken off. The weight of the preserved parts is 639 grams. The inscription on the outside of the plate is linear and deeply engraved in a single line of early Sogdian writing; by paleography the inscription can be attributed to the 4th–5th centuries. Near the inscription is a tamgha of the same form as on several emissions of the copper and bronze coins with Sogdian legends, issued in Chach in the 5th–7th centuries. The inscription on the plate reads: *MY'R š''w c'c'nn'pc*

3 The plate has an exact stylistic counterpart in a plate of the British Museum (POPE 1938–1939, I, p. 724), on which the crown is identified with that of Shahpur II. On the date of the plate and on the reading of the inscription by E. HERZFELD, F. A. ROSENBERG and W. B. HENNING see the bibliography in Livšic/Lukonin 1964, p. 170, n. 116–119.

4 Cf. LIVSHITS 2003, p. 49. YU. YOSHIDA mistakenly reads at the beginning of the inscription *my'rx''n* "Mayārkhān" instead of *MY'R š''w* (YOSHIDA 2002, p. 191). The tracings of a letter *š* in the inscription are unusual. On the symbols for units preceding the figures 20 and 10 in this inscription see HENNING 1958, p. 53 (see below on the same sequence of figures in the inscription from Southern China).

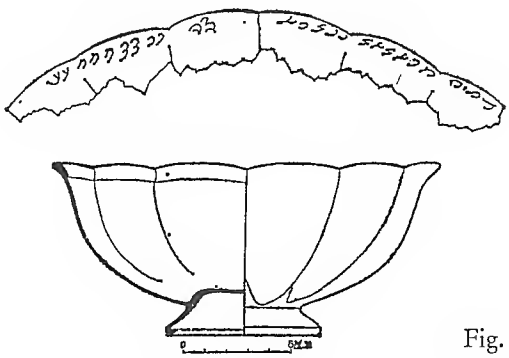

Fig. 2

3+3+3+20+10 styrk / xuv(u) Šāw čāčānnāfč šīsnū stērak / 'Prince Shāw, the leader of the people of Chach. (Weight) is 39 staters'.[4] If one considers a stater to be equal to 16,5 grams, the weight of the plate before breakage could have been roughly 643 grams.

The name *Šāw (š''w)*, lit. 'Black' (cf. Russian *Černov*) is attested also in the Mugh document Nova 3 (Verso, 20), cf. also the name *Šāwč (š'wc)* in the other Mugh document (B-8, Verso, 2). The title *čāčānnāfč* has the literal meaning 'belonging to (suffix *-č*)[5] the people of Chach'. Sogd. *n'β*, Chr. Man. *n'f /nāf/* 'people, community' is a continuation of Old Iranian **nāfa-*, Av. *nāfa-* 'navel; kinship, family' (cf. Av. *nabānazdišta-*, Middle Persian *nabānazdišt*, Old Indian *nābhānédiṣṭha-* 'nearest related' [Bartholamae 1961, cols. 1040, 1062]; Middle Persian *nāf* 'family, clan', *nāfag* 'navel', New Persian *nāf, nāfe*).[6] In Khorezmian *n'f* 'town', *hm-n'fc* 'compatriot' (Benzing 1983, p. 318).

The title *čāčānnāfč* is also represented in the fragmented Sogdian inscription on a silver bowl, found in Southern China, near Canton.[7] The preserved part of the inscription (fig. 2) has the following text:] *spy(?)t sp c'c'nn'pc 1+1+20+20 styrk*]*Spētasp(?) čāčānnāfč čətfārăs-δwă stērak* '[This vessel (?) is of] Spētasp,

5 On this suffix see Gershevitch 1954, §§1000–1005.

6 Derivations from *nāf* in Sogdian are numerous: Chr. *n'fc* 'guest', Buddh. *n'βc'ny* 'local, popular', Buddh. *n'βc'kh* 'country', *n'βcy'*, *n'βcyh*, *n'βcy'kh* 'country', Man. *n'fcyk* 'tribe, family', Buddh. *n'βcyk* 'compatriot; inhabitant of country'; Buddh. *n'ββ''r* 'ruler, owner', Man. *n'βn'mk* 'a list of peoples'. Compare also Khot. **nāha-*, Gen. Sg. *neha* 'navel', Man. Parth. *n'p /nāf/* 'family, kin', Man. Middle Persian *n'pzyndg /nāfzīndag/* 'Manichaean community' (lit. 'living family', see Boyce 1977, p. 60), Arm. *nahapet* 'head of family' (from Middle Persian **nahpet*, **nahbed* ?), Ossetic Dig. *naf(f)ä* 'navel', Kurd. *nav*, *naväk*, *nābek*, Bal. *nāfay*, *nāpag*, Pashto *nu*, *nom*, Shughn. *nāf*, Rush., Khuf. *nēf*, Yazgh. *nāf*, Ishk. *nōf*, Munj. *nūfa*, Yidga *nif*, Yaghn. *nofa* (IE **enebh-*, **enbh-*, **onbh-*, see Pokorny 1959–1969, p. 314; Bailey 1979, p. 181; IESOJa II, p. 149).

7 See Yoshida 2002, p. 190.

Fig. 3

the leader of the people of Chach. (Weight) is 42 staters' (672 grams).[8] Before the numeric characters is a tamgha, differing from that on the plate from Kerčevo and on Sogdian coins issued in Chach (cf. YOSHIDA 2002, pp. 190–191). By paleography the inscription could be dated back to the 4th–5th centuries.

Copper coins issued in Chach presumably in the 4th–5th centuries, which were found in great number during the excavations on the site of Kanka (80 km to the south-west of modern Taškent, 8 km from the bank of the Syrdarya), have on the obverse the profile image of the head of the ruler, while on the reverse there is a tamgha in the centre and a Sogdian inscription around the rim (fig. 3): *c'c'nn'pc wnwn xwβ /čāčānnāfč Wanūn xuv/* 'The leader of the people of Chach the prince Wanūn' (the photographs of the coin are in RTVELADZE 2002, pp. 231, 238–241; for the reading of the legend cf. YOSHIDA 2002, p. 191). The name *Wanūn* (or *Wanōn*) has the meaning 'Victorious, Victor' and can be considered as a hypocoristic from a compound with a component *-wanūn* in the second

8 The reading *spytsp (Spētasp)*, lit. '(having) white horses', is only presumable – the tracings of *y* in this word differ greatly from *y* in the word *styrk* (to be read as *spztsp*?). The numeral 40 in the Sogdian texts as far as I can judge is still unattested. It might have had a form **ctβ'r(')s /čətfārăs*, Old Iranian **čaϑwārsas*, Av. *čaϑwarə-sant*, *čaϑwaras*, Old Indian *catvāriṃ-śát-* (BARTHOLOMAE 1961, col. 578). Cf. Sogdian *šys /šīs/* '30', Av. *ϑrisąs*, Sogdian *pnc's /pančās/* '50', Av. **pančasąs* (GERSHEVITCH 1954, §§ 958, 1316, 1323), Pashto *calwešt* '40', Middle Persian, New Persian *čihil*, from **čaϑvŗsat-* (MORGENSTIERNE 2003, p. 17).

part, cf. the Sogdian names *Nnywnwn* 'Victorious (owing to the goddess) Nanay', *Rzmwnwn* 'Being victorious in the battle' in the rock inscriptions of the 4th–6th centuries from the valleys of the Upper Indus region (Sims-Williams 1992, pp. 61, 68, 75).

For the contexts of usage of the Sogdian *nāf* 'people, community' one can bring forth two examples from the Mugh documents. In the second part of the marriage contract – an obligation of a bridegroom to the guardian of a bride, written in the form of a letter from the former person (document Nova 4, Verso, 9–10), we read: *rty ZNH n'm'k wyspy n'βy prm'n ZY šw'm'k* 'and this letter is efficient and going for the whole people'. The Mugh marriage contract was composed evidently in Samarkand on the day of Asman of the month Maswōghich in the tenth year of the rule of the king Tarkhūn (the 27th of April 711, cf. SDGM II, pp. 17–44; Gershevitch 1962, p. 93; cf. Yakubovich 2002, p. 6). In the Sogdian contract (of the year 638) on the purchasing of a Samarkandian bondmaid by the Chinese Buddhist monk, which was found in a burial ground near Turfan (Yoshida/Moriyasu 1988), there is a similar formulation (Recto, 15): *rty ZNH δ'ypwsty... prβrmykw wyspy n'βyh šwyn'k prm'n*. Sogdian *prm'n*, as it was noted by N. Sims-Williams, could have a meaning such as 'strongly obligatory' and be considered as a loan-word from Old Indian *pramāṇa* 'dimension; measure; proof'. In the Bactrian juridical document, which was found in Tochi (Pakistan, near the border with Afghanistan) and published by N. Sims-Williams, there is a formulation: *tado faro kiso wāwaro parmano* 'let this (= document) be obligatory (and) regulatory for all' (Sims-Williams 2000, pp. 90–91, 216).

Sogdian *nāf* in the meaning 'community' is attested also in the Mugh document A-13, dated by the month Khurēzhanich of the 14th year of the rule of the Panjikent prince Dēwāshtīch: *MN pncyknδc β'nkr'm ZY MN n'β kw trx'n ZY βyyprnw rty c'nkw 'M ptz'nkh pcwzδ rty δβryδ MN 'βtmy šm'rkw ZKn c'kw yttkw pr'srδyk 100+20+20+10 δrxmy* 'from the Panjikent counsellor (?) and from the (Panjikent) community to Tarkhān and Waghifarn. And when you will receive this notice, pay out 150 drachmas from the seventh day (of the month Khurēzhanich?) according to this document from (the amount) of the yearly tax for the use of the bridge' (SDGM II, p. 69; cf. SDGM I, p. 38; SDGM III, pp. 71–72; Henning 1939, p. 89, n. 1; Grenet/de la Vaissière 2002, p. 187, n. 33).[9]

9 Henning (1939, p. 89, n. 1) showed that *βγyprn* is a personal name. The combination *kw trx'n ZY βyyprnw* could also be translated as 'to tarkhān, (whose name) is Vaghifarn *(Vayifarn)*'. In SDGM III, pp. 71–72, such a translation of the beginning of the document A-13 is given: "from the Panjikent *β'zkr'm* and *n'β* to the beloved tarkhan and sovereign. And as soon as you will receive the certification, pay out from *'βtm* the bills of 150 drachmas to the radiant head of the embassy". Grenet and de la Vaissière (2002, p. 187, n. 33) translate in this way: "From the Panjikent tax office and from the community, to Tarkhān and Vaghifarn. When you come across this notice, you should pay (lit. 'give') 150 drachmas, counting beforehand each year, on the [takings of] the Chak bridge".

Fig. 4

Sogdian *c'k /čak/* 'document', first attested in this text, confirms an assumption made by D.N. MacKenzie (1990, p. 90), according to which the Middle Persian, New Persian *čak* 'document', Khorezmian *čikk* (*ck*) 'divorce document', Arabic *ṣakk* 'document' are the adaptations of the Chinese *ts'ə* (Middle Chinese *tṣhak*) 'a tablet for writing, document, list' (cf. Russian *ček* from English *check*, *cheque*), in this connection the unattested Sogdian word was intermediary on the way of adoption (MacKenzie did not notice the Sogdian *c'kw* in the Mugh document).

Let us now return to the title *čāčānnāfč*. The place name *Čāč*, in the medieval Arabian and Persian sources also *Čāš*, *Šāš*, *Tāš* (Chinese *ṭṣo-ṭṣ'ai*, *ṭṣo-ṭsi*, *ṭṣo-ṣi*, see Henning 1940, p. 9; Minorsky 1937, pp. 55, 72), according to the most probable hypothesis of I. Gershevitch (1974, pp. 55, 72), comes from the Old Iranian **čāiča-* 'area of water, lake' – cf. the Av. *Čaēčista-* (Yt. 9.18, 22), the name of the lake by which the epic hero Khaosrava killed the villain Franhrasyan, a king of the Turanians (in *Shāhnāmeh*: Afrāsyāb). The hydronym *Čāč*, which first served as a name for the Aral see, in the course of time became the name for the Tashkent oasis. The name *Tāškent*, by popular etymology 'Stone city', is the Turkic adaptation of the Sogdian **Čāčkand* or **Čāčkanδ*.

A component *čāčān* in the term *čāčānnāfč* is an adjective 'Chachian, of Chach', cf. *č'čynk* in the Mugh document A-14, *č'čn'y* in Man. Sogd. 'List of peoples' *(Nāfnāmē)*, originating from Turfan, *č'čn'kw* in a painted wall inscription of the middle of the 7th century, found on the site of ancient Samarkand. In the inscription of Shahpur I on the *Ka'ba of Zoroaster* in Naqsh-i Rustam, Chach in the Parthian version is represented as *Čāčestān (ššystn)*, in the Greek one as *Tsatsēnēs* (cf. Tremblay 2004, p. 127).

In Samarkandian Sogd evidently there also was a title "the head of the people, community", composed from *nāf*. In the Sogdian cursive inscription on a silver spoon-like bowl with amfal, found in 1961 on the site of Chilek (district of Samarkand) and published by B.I. Maršak, we read (fig. 4): *ZNHZY y'mk ZKn n'pcβzty-cyk δyš-cy xypδ 'yw knpy 'YKZY 20s n'krtk* 'This vessel is property of Dīshchi, (the leader) of the community of Vazd. (Weight) is 19 [lit. 'one less than 20'] s(taters) of silver' (cf. Livšic/Lukonin 1964, p. 173; Livshits 2003, p. 49). The place name βzt /Vazd/ can be identified with the name of the village *Wzd (Wazd)*, which was situated in Shawdar, 4 farsakhs from Samarkand. This village is mentioned by as-Sam'ānī 1912. The village Wazd, as it was noted by V.V. Bartol'd 1963, p. 145, may be identified with Wazkerd, which is written about by Istakhrī and, in more detail, Ibn Haukal, who saw many Mesopotamian Christians there. V.L. Vjatkin (1900, p. 159ff.; 1902, p. 37) proposed to identify Wazkerd with the modern settlement Kingir in the district of Urgut. To the south-west of Urgut, in a settlement Sufiyan, the Christian rock inscriptions and a picture of the cross were found.

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The Pahlavi Model Marriage Contract in the Light of Sasanian Family Law

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The model marriage contract in Pahlavi, one of the most interesting legal texts preserved in the codex MK and introduced to the scholarly community in the well-known edition of *Pahlavi Texts* by Jamasp-Asana[1], has been translated by several authors in the past. The first attempts by West,[2] Anklesaria[3] and Pagliaro[4] are by now completely antiquated. But even Perichanjan[5] and MacKenzie[6] in their later translations of the document have failed to understand the legal implications of the technical terminology to its full extent. The recent Persian translation by 'Oryan[7] is completely unreliable, since the author quite obviously has no knowledge of legal terminology whatsoever. In the meantime the long lost manuscript MK has re-appeared in the collection of manuscripts belonging to K. M. JamaspAsa and will be published shortly in the *Iranica* series. I am using this opportunity to present the folios of the marriage contract[8] and a new edition of this important document, based on our knowledge of Sasanian family law and its complex terminology.

Strangely, although the document is a *model* contract, in which – in full accordance with its nature – no specific names are mentioned, the date given at the beginning is exact, reconstructed by MacKenzie as 15.XII.647 of the era of Yazdegird, corresponding to the 16th November AD 1278.[9] It seems probable that a specific marriage contract bearing this late date had been chosen as a model to be followed in Zoroastrian communities, and that only the individual names of the actors and places were replaced by the general expression *wahmān* "so-and-so, such-and-such". By the 13th century the jurisdiction of

1 Jamasp-Asana 1897–1913.
2 West 1896–1904, pp. 119–120 (only sections 1–2).
3 In his introduction to Jamasp-Asana 1897–1913, II, pp. 47–49.
4 Pagliaro 1935, p. 308 (only sections 7–9).
5 Perichanjan 1960.
6 MacKenzie 1969.
7 'Oryan 1992, pp. 173–175.
8 I am very grateful to Kaikhusroo M. JamaspAsa and Almut Hintze for giving me permission to publish these folios from MK.
9 MacKenzie 1969, p. 104, no. 1.

these communities had been reduced to family law, which, however, remained in its main traits Sasanian, even though the complicated regulations of Sasanian law, known from the Lawbook of "One Thousand Judgements" *Hazār dādestān*,[10] were simplified and vulgarized to a large degree, as we may deduce from post-Sasanian Pahlavi legal writings of the 9th–11th centuries and the later New Persian Rivāyats from the 15th–18th centuries.[11] In any case, we have good reason to assume that the *pādixšāy*-marriage contract of the Sasanian period was very similar, if not even identical, to this document, since *technical terminology is used with full knowledge of all its legal implications*. It is this exact use of legal terminology which makes the contract so interesting, but also difficult to understand, since each of these expressions is employed within an exactly defined juridical range, which can only be interpreted correctly in the larger context of Sasanian jurisprudence.

In the following translation I have adapted the method used by WEST[12] and MACKENZIE[13], replacing the word *wahmān* "so-and-so, such-and-such" by letters of the alphabet in order to facilitate the identification of the different persons and places named in the document. Although the text in MK has been preserved very well, unfortunately the left side is almost completely torn, so that JAMASP-ASANA's edition remains indispensable for the missing parts. In the transcription the lines in JAMASP-ASANA's edition[14] are given in round brackets ( ), the lines in the manuscript MK (fol. 143,6–145,11; cf. fig. 1–4 below) in square brackets [ ]. Words and passages included in JAMASP-ASANA's edition, but missing in MK (also torn passages), are placed in angle brackets < >. Additions to the text are in braces { }. For other variants and divergences see the edition of JAMASP-ASANA and the footnotes.

Transcription

1. (JAMASP-ASANA p. 141, 1) [MK fol. 143, 6] *pad nām ī yazdān* (2) [7] *andar māh Wahman ī sāl 62<7> ī* (3) [8] *pas az sāl ī 20 ī ōy <bay Yazdegird>* [9] *šāhān šāh* (4) *Šahr<iyārān nāf (+nab?+) ī ōy>* [10] *bay*[15] *Abarwēz Husraw <šāhān šāh ī>* [11] *Ohrmazdān* (5) *frāz n<azdist rūz ī Day-pad->*[12]*Mihr ka wāzag ī weh <pad* (6) *hanǰaman>* [13] *madār būd hēnd <pad pādixšāy>*[14]*īhā zanīh* (7) *grift <ī mard ī wahmān>* [15] *nām wahmān ī wahmānān pus <wahmān* (8) *rō>*[16]*stāg wahmān deh wahmān <mānēd>* [17] *kanīzag ēd wahmān nām* (9) *wahmān ī <wahmānān>* [18] *pādixšāyīhā duxt ham wahmān <deh>* (10) [19] *mānēd.*

10 MACUCH 1981 and 1993.
11 For a list of the relevant legal texts see MACUCH 1993, p. 3ff.
12 WEST 1896–1904, pp. 119–120.
13 MACKENZIE 1969, p. 103.
14 JAMASP-ASANA 1897–1913, pp. 141–143.
15 MK has clearly *bg bay*, whereas the two letters are wrongly divided in the printed text, see also MACKENZIE 1969, p. 104, n. 2.

Fig. 1: MK fol 143

2. *u-š ēdōn mad ēstēd <pad sālārīh ī>* [20] *wahmān* (11) *pid čiyōn ka-š zanīh* [21] *duxtagānīh pad rāh {ī} stūrīh* (12) *<ayōg>*[22]*ānīh ī kas padiš nē mad ēstēd.*

3. [MK fol. 144, 1] *ēdōn* (13) *wahmān ī pad xwāstan ud dād ī az* [2] *wahmān pid hunsandīh* (14) *ud ham-dādestānīh ī im* [3] *wahmān im wahmān pad ahlawdād pād*[4](15)*ixšāyīhā zanīh kard.*

4. *ud im wahmān ī* [5] *wahmān pid im* (16) *wahmān rāy pad ahlawdād* [6] *pādixšāyīhā zanīh pad* (17) *3 gōw<išnīh>* [7] *be ō wahmān dād.*

5. *ud im wah<mān awiš>* (JAMASP-ASANA p. 142, 1) [8] *be padīrift ēdōn kū <wahmān ēn-iz>* [9] *padīrift kū* (2) *zīndag dra<(h)nāy az zanīh ud>* [10] *ayōgānīh ud framānbur<dārīh* (3) *ud tarsāgāh>* [11] *warzīdārīh andar im <wahmān az ērīh>* [12] *ud weh-*(4)*dēnīh be nē war<dom.*

6. *ud wahmān ēn-*>[13]*iz guft kū* (5) *zīndag dra(h)nāy <pad zanīh>* [14] *grāmīg pad kadag-bānūg<īh* (6) *awestwār>*[16] [15] *ud pad xwarišn wastarg <nihuft ud paymōxt ud>* [16] *šōywarīh* (7) *sālārīh tuwān-<sāmānagīhā>* [17] *ud āwām-passazagīhā*[17] *xūb pad* (8) *<āzarm>* [18] *dārom ud frazand {ī}*[18] *az-iš zāyēd <pad>* [19] *pādixšāyīhā* (9) *frazandīh ī xwēš* [20] *dārom.*

7. *ud ka ēd xīr hamgōnag būd* (10) *im* [21] *wahmān im wahmān rāy pad windišn* [MK fol. 145a, 1] *pādixšāyīhā* (11) *kard ud pas az kard*[19] *ī* [2] *az paymān im wahmān ī* (12) [3] *wahmān im wahmān ī <wa>hmān ī rāy weh sahist dōšīd* (13) [4] *<3>000 drahm ī asēmen ī šahr-āwarišn* [5] *<u-š> pad guharīg ī* (14) *3000 drahm ī āsemēn* [6] *<ī šahr>-āwarišn ī weh sahist* (15) *mar* [7] *<az hāmō>yēn xwāstag ō dārišn* [8] *<ud xwēšīh mad>* (16) *ēstēd ī pad be* [9] *<dādan pādixšāyīh> būd ud ān-iz ī* (16) [10] *<az nūn frāz ō d>ārišn <ud xwēšīh rasēd pad be* (17) *dādan>*[20] *pādixšāyīh(ā)* [11] *<hom pad do bahr> ē(w) bahr* (JAMASP-ASANA p. 143, l. 1) *a-baxt ō* [12] *<wahmān ī wahmān> dād hom ud im wahmān* [13] *<ī wahmānān* (2) *rāy abar> im mādag pādixšāy* [14] *<kard hom> ēdōn kū har* (3) *ka wahmān* [15] *<ayāb kas az> wahmān ǰādag rāy xwāst*[16]*<ārīh>* (4) *kunēd abē-āhōgīhā awiš* [17] *<abespārom> ud padiš spōz-iz* (5) *ud wastārīh* [18] *<nē kunom>.*

8. *ud im wahmān ī wahmān ēn mādag* [19] *<mādag> pad* (6) *guharīg ī ēn 3000 drahm bē* [20] *<p>āyandānīh padīrift ud padiš* (6) *ham-dādestān* [21] *<bū>d.*

9. *ud im wahmān ī wahmān pid ǰādag-gōw* [22] *awiš mad* (7) [MK fol. 145b, 1] *ēstēd im wahmān ī wahmān pāyandānīh* [2] *padīrift pad* (9) *freh nē pahikard.*

16 The letters hwpt (of nhwpt) are still recognizable in this torn section of MK which – according to JAMASP-ASANA's edition – belongs to the next line.

17 MK has ptsp with three dots below (meaning that it should be deleted?) before psckyh' *passāzagīhā.*

18 With *ī* according to DP, see JAMASP-ASANA 1897–1913, p. 142, no. 18.

19 r of krt *kard* super lin. in MK.

20 This whole passage in < > has been left out in MK.

Fig. 2: MK fol. 144

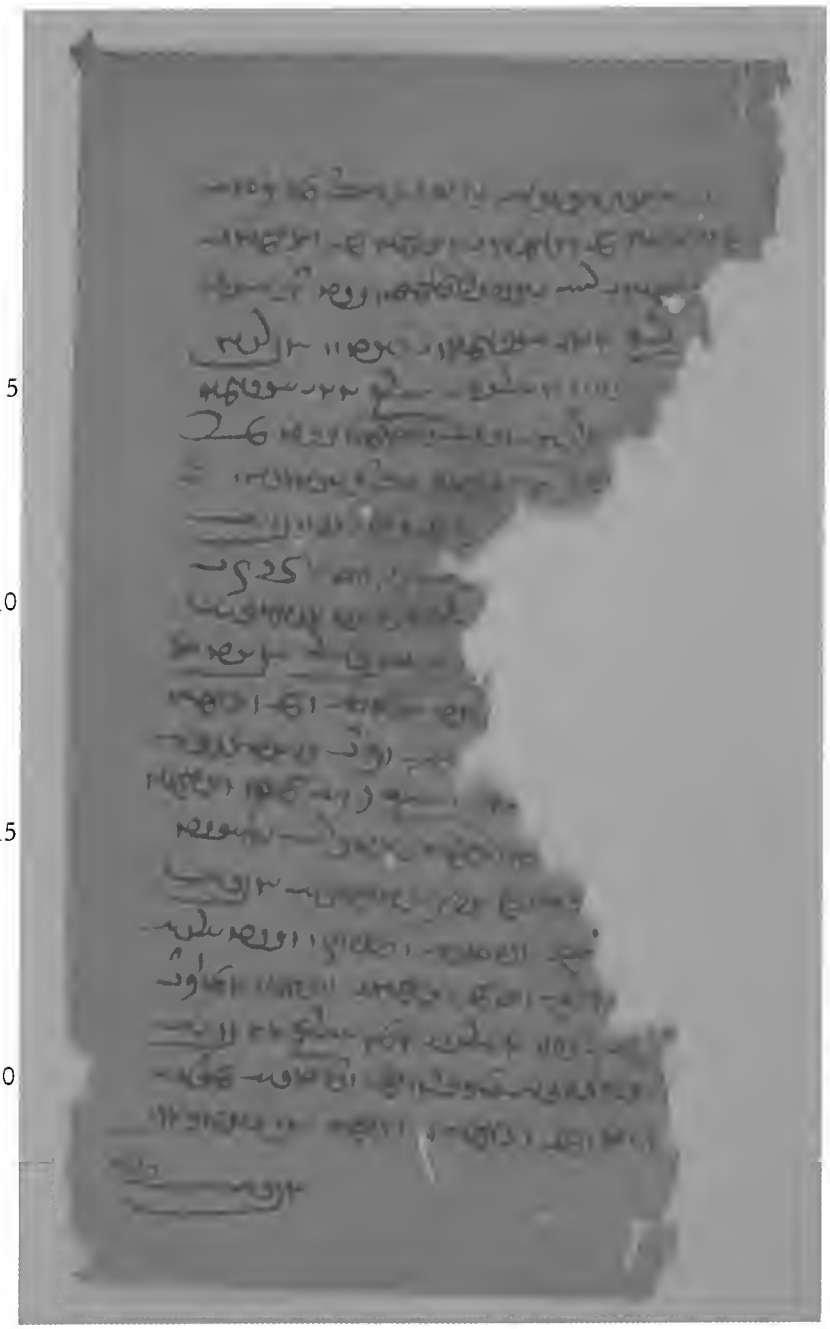

Fig. 3: MK fol. 145a

Fig. 4: MK fol. 145b

10. *ud im* [3] *wahmān ī wahmān pad čē* (10) *ham-dar abārīg čiyōn* [4] *paymān ī zanīh būd kē* (11) *xwēškārīh <būd>* [5] *pursīd xwāst <ud> wizōst ud abarmad (kard?) <hom>.*

11. [6] *ud kē ham-dādestānīh wahmān ī wahmān <guft wahmān ī wahmān* (12) *ud wahmān ī wahmān*[21] *ōwōn ēn>* [7] *dib az guft ud gōwišn ī* (14) *ham-dādestānīh <ī im wahmān>* [8] *ī wahmān ud wahmān <ī wahmān>*[22] *ī im wahmān <rāy im* (15) *wahmān>* [9] *ī wahmān pid wahmān <ī wahmān wāwarīgānīh>* [10] *rāy pad* (16) *gugāyīh ī im <wahmān ī wahmān ud wahmān>* [11] *ī wahmān ud wahmān <ī wahmān. frazaft>.*

Translation

1. In the name of the Gods. (It was) in the month of Wahman of the year 627 after the 20th (regnal) year of His Majesty Yazdegird, King of Kings, son of Šahriyār, descendant (grandson?) of His Majesty Abarwēz Husraw, King of Kings, son of Ohrmazd, in the first (hours) *(frāz nazdist?)* of the day "Day-pad-Mihr", when they were gathered together (reciting) good utterances *(wāzag ī weh)* for the taking into *pādixšāy*-marriage by a man called A., son of B. C., living in the district D., village E., of this girl, called F., *pādixšāy*-daughter of G. H., living in the same village E.

2. And thus she (= the bride) has entered into the guardianship *(sālārīh)* of the father of A. (= the bridegroom) in this (manner) that marriage *(zanīh)* (and) daughterhood *(duxtagānīh)* did not come to her by way of (practising) somebody (else's) substitute succession *(stūrīh)* (or) intermediary succession *(ayōgānīh)*.

3. Thus A. (= the bridegroom), by request and transfer *(pad xwāst ud dād)* by the father of F. (= the bride) with the approval *(hunsandīh)* and consent *(hamdādestānīh)* of F. (= the bride) took the said F. into *pādixšāy*-marriage in accomplishment of a pious act *(pad ahlawdād)*.

4. And the said G., father of F. (= the bride), gave F. (= the bride) in accomplishment of a pious act *(pad ahlawdād)* in *pādixšāy*-marriage to A. (= the bridegroom), by (speaking) the triple formula *(pad sē gōwišnīh)*.

5. And the said A. (= the bridegroom) accepted her from him (= the father of the bride) in this (manner) that F. (= the bride) also (should) accept the following: "As long as I live I shall not deviate from the marriage (with the bridegroom) and (his) intermediary succession *(ayōgānīh)* and (from) submissiveness *(framānburdārīh)* and practising obedience *(tarsāgāh warzīdārīh)* towards A.

21 The passage *guft wahmān ī wahmān ud wahmān ī wahmān* is left out in MK according to JAMASP-ASANA 1897–1913, p. 143, no. 37–38.

22 Left out in MK.

(= the bridegroom) as well as (from) being an Iranian *(ērīh)* and (practising) the Good Religion *(weh-dēnīh)*."

6. And A. (= the bridegroom) also said this: "As long as I live I shall hold (her) dearly in marriage, established as mistress of the house *(kadag-bānūg)*, and provided with food (and) clad with clothing, and by (my) husbandly guardianship *(šōywarīh sālārīh)* I shall keep (her) according to (my) financial capacity *(tuwān-sāmānagīhā)* and fitting (the requirements of) the times *(āwām-passazagīhā)* well respected *(xūb pad āzarm)* and I shall regard the children born by her as my own *pādixšāy*-children."

7. And if the property *(xīr)* was of the same kind *(hamgōnag)*, (then) the said A. (= the bridegroom) gave to the said F. (= the bride) full right of disposal of the income *(windišn)*. And then they agreed *(kard)* by contract *(az paymān)* (on the following): the said A.B. (= the bridegroom) (agrees to) the (amount) which has been approved of by F.G. (= the bride) (and) sanctioned (by her) *(ī rāy weh sahist dōšīd)*, (namely) 3000 silver drachms in domestic currency (as follows): "As a substitute *(guharīg)* for 3000 silver drachms in domestic currency, the equivalent amount *(mar)* of that which has found her approval *(weh sahist)* from all the property that has come *(mad ēstēd)* into (my) possession *(dārišn)* and ownership *(xwēšīh)*, which I am entitled to give, and also of (the property) which from now on *(az nūn frāz)* shall come *(rasēd)* into my possession *(dārišn)* and ownership *(xwēšīh)*, that I am entitled to give, I convey an ideal *(a-baxt)* half *(pad do bahr ē bahr)* to F.G. (= the bride). And I give F.G. (= the bride) full right of disposal of the substance *(mādag)* in a manner, that should F. (herself) make a request or (another) person forward a claim against F. *(xwāstārīh kunēd)* for a portion, I shall deliver it to her unspoilt and neither delay it nor be obstinate over it."

8. And the said F.G. (= the bride) accepted this substance *(mādag)* (and) the substance as substitute for the 3000 drachms without surety *(bē pāyandānīh)* and agreed to this.

9. And the father of F.G. (= the bride), (who) had come as her intercessor *(ǰādag-gōw)* accepted the surety *(pāyandānīh)* of A.B. (= the bridegroom)(?) and did not dispute further.

10. And I, (the present) K., son of L., whose duty *(xwēškārīh)* it was to carry out an investigation *(pursīd xwāst)* on other matters relevant to the marriage contract, have examined (these) and (drawn) a disposition *(abarmad)* (?).

11. And (the persons) who have agreed (on these terms, that is) A.B. (= the bridegroom), F.G. (= the bride) and G.H. (= father of the bride), (have drawn up) this document in this manner upon dictation and declaration of unanimity of the said A.B. (= the bridegroom) and F.G. (= the bride) and the said G.H., father of F.G. (= the bride). The validity *(wāwarīgānīh)* (of this document is) testified by (the following) witnesses: M.N.; O.P.; Q.R.

Commentary

1. The expression *wāzag ī weh* "good utterances" (line 4, MK 12), has been read and interpreted differently in the editions of the marriage contract. MACKENZIE (1969, p. 104, no. 4) mentions WEST *(vāčak-ī šapīr* "good statements"), ANKLESARIA *(náfak-i šapír* "the good chosen ones"; lit. "the good musk"), PERICHANJAN (*vāčak i vēh* "the good word"). In his recent Persian edition ʿORYAN (1992, p. 362) also has *wāzag ī weh,* translated by *"wāžehā-ye nīk"* (p. 173). MACKENZIE, on the other hand, reads the first word n'f *nāf* "family, community", proposing to delete the final letter, and translates the whole expression by "the good community". It seems quite improbable that a well-known word, such as *nāf* "family" should be misspelt or misread by a copyist in a context dealing exactly with a topic from the field of family law, especially since it occurs in line 3 (MK is torn) of the same text (interpreted by MACKENZIE here as a misreading of np *nab* "grandson"). I do not think that it is necessary to emend the expression, since *wāzag* "(sacred) word, formula, statement, utterance, passage, pronouncement" in fact fits perfectly into the context of this passage. The term is used extensively in a liturgical context, dealing with the recitation of holy texts: *wāzag xwāndan ud yašt kardan* "the recitation of sacred words and performance of worship" *(Pahl.RivDd.* 17b1; WILLIAMS 1990, I, p. 89; II, p. 32). The correct *(weh)* recitation of liturgical passages was certainly an important part of the marriage ceremony and it is by no means far-fetched to assume that appropriate recitations also accompanied the drafting of the marriage contract. In the New Persian Rivāyats, texts have in fact been transmitted which were recited during the Zoroastrian marriage ceremony in Iran and India (UNVALA 1922, I, pp. 418–425). The opposite of the expression used in this context, *wāzag ī weh* "good, correct utterance", could be the "doubtful utterance", denoting mistakes in a recitation, as in the following examples: *N.* 10.51: *be nigērišn ayāb pad wāzag gumānīg bawēd* "he should observe whether there is any doubt concerning the recitation" (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 1995, p. 76f.); *N.* 28.37: **agar pad wāzag-ē gumānīg bawēd* "if (the recitation) is doubtful as regards an utterance" (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 92f.); *Pahl.RivDd.* 58.34: *ayāb pad wāzag-ē gumān* "or if (there is) doubt in any recitation" (WILLIAMS 1990, I, p. 209; II, p. 98). The "doubtful utterance" or "recitation" could be one in which a passage was left out by mistake: *N.* 28.50: *ayāb wāzag-ē hišt estēd ā-š gumānīg wizārd bawēd* "or one has omitted a passage, then one has performed it doubtfully" (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 110f.); *N.* 25.2: *wāzag-ē pad pēšīh ud pasīh be hilēd* "he omits any formula either at the beginning or the end" (KOTWAL/KREYENBROEK 2003, p. 56f.).

As is well-known by now, the *pādixšāy*-marriage was the regular type of arranged matrimony in the Sasanian period. I prefer to leave the technical term untranslated, since rendering the word as "marriage with full matrimonial rights" hardly conveys an impression of its legal implications, which were de-

fined exactly in jurisprudence as follows: (1) the wife came under the guardianship *(sālārīh, "manus")* of the husband, changing from her native lineage to that of the husband in the case of an exogamic marriage, with the obligation to obey the husband *(tarsāgāhīh);* (2) she received the title "mistress of the house" *(kadag-bānūg);* (3) her children were all accepted as legitimate children of the husband; (4) she and her children were entitled to maintenance by the husband; (5) they were also entitled to inheriting the "total estate" *(abarmānd)* of the husband on his demise; (6) the wife and the daughter were obliged to function as an "intermediary successor" *(ayōgēn)* and "substitute successor" *(stūr)* if the husband (or father) should die without children (see MACUCH 1981, p. 73ff, no. 4, 1995, 2003 and 2005). MACKENZIE (1969, p. 104, no. 4), quoting PERICHANJAN, designates this form of marriage as "one of the five kinds of marriage known to the old Iranian family law". This description is wrong, since it is based on the late report on different marriage types in the New Persian Rivāyats (UNVALA 1922, I, pp. 180–182), written long after the Arab conquest at a time when the complex structure of the Sasanian law of inheritance was no longer known or remembered correctly. In fact, two of the expressions defined as different marriage forms in the Rivāyats, *ayōgēn* and *stūr,* are both technical terms denoting "substitute succession" and "intermediary succession" (as will be seen below) and belong to the legal field of succession and inheritance, not marriage (see MACUCH 1981, p. 8f.). There were only three types of marriage according to the Lawbook in the Sasanian age (besides the *pādixšāy,* the *čagar* and *xwasrāyēn* forms of matrimony), which could be contracted either without a time limit or on a temporary basis (on temporary marriage see MACUCH 1985 and 2006).

I also prefer to leave the technical term "*pādixšāy*-daughter" untranslated. MACKENZIE has "legal daughter", a rendering which is not exact and even misleading, since the expression for "legal daughter" is *dādestān-duxt,* which does not only designate the daughter born in *pādixšāy*-wedlock, but every legitimate daughter born to a man, including those children produced in the institutions of substitute and intermediary succession, that is, the expression includes offspring born from an *ayōgēn* or any other person engaged as *stūr* for the *paterfamilias* or adopted by the latter according to the law (for the different categories of children see MACUCH 2003, p. 243).

2. This important clause can only be understood correctly if the implications of the legal terminology involved are all taken into consideration. MACKENZIE's first translation of the phrase *pad rāh ī stūrīh ud ayōgānīh/ayōgēnīh* "by way of guardianship and submission" (1969, p. 105) is completely wrong. His emended translation in the Addendum, following PERICHANJAN, "... by way of being either a 'trustee' *(stūr, legatarius)* or an 'obligee' *(ēnōkēn, epiklēros)*" (1969, p. 112) is obsolete, since PERICHANJAN herself has in the meantime corrected her reading and explanation of the second expression as *"ēnōkēn"* (PERICHANJAN 1983, pp. 99–103).

The two terms *ayōgēn(īh)* and *stūr(īh),* already mentioned above, indieate both important institutions of indireet sueeession whieh played an important part in the Sasanian law of inheritanee. Sasanian jurists drew a sharp distinction between *direct succession* by a legitimate son *(dādestān-pus)* and *intermediary succession* by a legitimate daughter *(dādestān-duxt)* or any other relative or fellow-citizen reeruited for this purpose (MACUCH 1985, p. 189f., and 1993, pp. 170–191). The "intermediary sueeessor" was regarded as a link between a man and his legal sueeessor and had the obligation to produce a son for the deceased. Sinee only a male eould replace the head of a household *(kadag-xwadāy)* completely as his direct universal successor, assuming all the responsibilities of the *paterfamilias* as guardian of the family *(dūdag-sālār)* and "name-bearer" of the lineage *(nām-burdār),* it beeame ineumbant on every man to procreate sons during his lifetime, so that he might not remain "nameless" *(abē-nām)* on his demise. According to the rule that no man should die without leaving at least one male legal sueeessor, Sasanian jurisprudenee developed two important methods of seeuring the eontinuity of a man's lineage if the deceased had no sons. The first method was to engage the wife, unmarried daughter or sister of the deeased as an "intermediary sueeessor". The teehnieal term used in this eontext, *ayōgēn,* is employed in all Pahlavi sourees (including those of the post-Sasanian period) exelusively of women belonging to the family of the dead man (MACUCH 1985, p. 189f., and 2003, p. 238f.; for the etymology see KLINGENSCHMITT 2000, p. 225f.). As intermediary successors they were obliged to put their reproductive capaeities into the service of the deceased (the *pādixšāy*-husband or brother or father) by entering a *čagar*-marriage with another man (either a relative or another fellow-citizen). This completely different type of matrimony was eoneluded as an "auxiliary marriage" in order to procure ehildren for a man who had no offspring (see MACUCH 1981, pp. 100–113, no. 2). The wife of the deeeased remained legally the spouse of her dead husband in *padixšāy*-wedloek when she contraeted the *čagar*-marriage and the ehildren from this second marriage were not eounted as the legitimate offspring of their genitor, but of their pater or legal father, i.e. the deeeased man who had left no son. The second method of seeuring a man's male offspring became one of the unique charaeteristie institutions of Sasanian jurisprudence, denoted by the teehnical term *stūrīh,* which can be rendered by "substitute suecession", "subsidiary suceession" or "succession by proxy". A large part of the estate of the deeeased could be espeeially set apart for establishing this institution, devoted to proeuring a male suecessor for a man with no son. Both men and women from inside and also outside the family could be engaged as "proxy" or "substitute successor" *(stūr)* with the duty to produce a son in an "auxiliary marriage" *(čagar)* who eould be installed as heir of the property reserved for this purpose *(pad stūrīh)* and as universal suceessor of the deeeased. The *ayōgēn*-women, engaged as "intermediary successors", i.e. either the *pādixšāy*-wife of the deceased or his unmarried daughter or sister, were at the same time categorized as "natural proxies" *(stūr ī būdag),* sinee they

were obliged by their status as women of the family to put their reproductive capacities into the service of their lineage (Macuch 1981, pp. 115–116, no. 10; 1995, 2003, and 2005).

This mass of information is conveyed by the technical terms used in our clause. First of all, it states that the *pādixšāy*-bride is obliged to leave her natal lineage and enter the lineage of the bridegroom's father and his guardianship *(sālārīh)*. This is done in a manner that excludes all the claims other male members of her original natal lineage may have on the woman's reproductive capacity as a *stūr* or an *ayōgēn*. That is, she is released from the obligation of entering a marriage (*zanīh,* of the *čagar* type, as we may add) in her capacity as proxy *(stūr)* for a member of her original lineage, or of acting as an intermediary successor, as an *ayōgēn* in the "daughterhood" *(duxtagānīh)* of her father. At the same time, by excluding any other claims, the clause obliges the wife to fulfil her duty as *ayōgēn* and *stūr* towards the lineage of her husband, that is, to bear him children (in a *čagar*-marriage) if he should die without offspring (see also section 5).

3. Several legal formulae are used in this clause. The first one, *pad xwāst(an) ud dād* "by request and transfer" refers to the indispensable formal act by which the prospective groom asks the father or guardian of the prospective bride for her hand in marriage and is accepted by the father who transfers his daughter into the lineage of the husband. The arranged marriage therefore is concluded by "requesting" the bride and "transferring" her to her new lineage, an important act which also distinguishes *pādixšāy*-matrimony from the other types of marriage mentioned above. (The New Persian Rivāyats convey a vivid picture of the manner in which the request of the groom was brought forward: see Unvala 1922, I, p. 179, l. 4ff.; translated by Dhabhar 1932, p. 193f.). The formula is comparable to *xwāst ud stad* "request and acceptance", used in the context of procedural law in the Lawbook (see *MHD* 76, 5, 12–13, Macuch 1993, p. 512, also cited by Perichanjan *apud* MacKenzie 1969, p. 105, no. 3). The verb *xwāstan* is employed in a legal sense not only in these formulae, but also in a large number of cases from different fields of law, meaning "to make an application, to put forward a legal request, to bring forward a claim" (for references see Macuch 1993, p. 714).

This section also documents the "approval" *(hunsandīh)* and "consent" *(hamdādestānīh)* of the bride, which were necessary in order to conclude the *pādixšāy*-marriage, as we may deduce from several passages of the Lawbook (especially *MHD* 36.9–15, Macuch 1993, p. 269, and *MHD* 89.17–90.1, *ibid.* p. 573). The term *ahlawdād* "pious, righteous gift" in the Lawbook is by no means restricted to its later meaning of "gift to a priest" *(ašōdād),* but is the general designation for acts deemed to benefit the soul of a person (*ahlawdād-iz andar ruwan, MHD* 34.14). For example, a large part of the estate of a man could be set apart for righteous purposes *(pad ahlawdād)* or for the benefit of his soul

(ruwān rāy), thereby financing pious foundations and other righteous deeds (see especially MACUCH 1991b; 1994 and 2002). Concluding a marriage was also regarded as a "righteous deed" by the Zoroastrians, which is expressed in the contract by the term *pad ahlawdād* "in accomplishment of a pious act" (which also occurs in the next section), compare *Pahl.RivDd.* 11.11: *+ka+ zan-ē(w) be ō mard-ē(w) dahēd ud mērag kē-š awiš dahēd ā-š ān ahlawdād be padīrift* ... "+If+ (someone) gives a woman to a man and the man to whom he gives her has accepted her as a pious gift ..." (compare WILLIAMS 1990, I, p. 75; II, p. 24).

4. The "triple formula" *(sē gōwišnīh* or *gōwišn)* is mentioned in the Lawbook and the *Dēnkard,* compare *MHD* 2.11: *ka pad sē gōwišn ō pāyandān gōwēd* ... "if he says by the triple formula to the surety..." (MACUCH 1993, pp. 43 and 49, no. 8); *MHD* 60.7f.: *ka mard ī šahr pad sē gōwišnīh gōwēd* ... "if a fellow-citizen declares by the triple formula ..." (MACUCH 1993, p. 414); *DkM* 704.15: ... *ka pad sē gōwišnīh ī gōwēd abāz nē abespārēnd* "... if they do not hand him over because of the triple formula he has spoken" (for the whole passage see MACUCH 1993, p. 50). The expression (which is not explained) seems to designate the famous Zoroastrian formula *humat, hūxt, huwaršt,* following the explanation given by BARTHOLOMAE (1918–1923, II, p. 17).

5. This part of the contract clearly states that the wife was obliged to accept the intermediary succession *(ayōgānīh/ayōgēnīh)* of her husband (MACKENZIE 1969, p. 106, has again failed to recognize the technical term). Compare also *Dd* 55.8 in which the *kadag-bānūg* is designated as "the *pādixšāy*-wife who is the family's mistress of the house and intermediary successor (and) proxy: *zan (ī) pādixšāyīhā kē dūdag kadag-bānūg ud ayōgēn-stūr* (MACUCH 2003, p. 241). The bride also explicitly accepts the duty to obey the husband, using the term *tarsāgāh warzīdārīh* "practising obedience, dutiful behaviour", which is also employed in the Lawbook in the form *tarsāgāhīh* and designates the proper attitude of all members of a family towards their guardian *(sālār)* (see MACUCH 1981, p. 88, no. 26). The opposite is *atarsagāhīh* "undutiful behaviour" which could be sanctioned by the head of a household under certain circumstances by excluding the wife from her right to inheritance. I prefer to translate *ērīh* by "being an Iranian" (MACKENZIE 1969, p. 106, has "honourable conduct"), since it is used here in connection with *weh-dēnīh* and being an adherent of the "Good Religion" was synonymous to being an Iranian. A person who converted from Zoroastrianism to another religion became not only an *ag-dēn,* an "infidel", but also an *an-ēr,* a "non-Iranian".

6. In full accordance with the regulations dealing with the establishment of a *pādixšāy*-marriage (see commentary to sentence 1 above) the bridegroom declares that he will establish his bride as "mistress of the house" *(kadag-bānūg)* and will provide maintenance (food and clothing) for her (see also the chapter on maintenance in the Lawbook, MACUCH 1993, p. 243ff.). In contrast to the

other types of marriage (*čagar* and *xwasrāyēn*) the bridegroom receives in his function as husband full guardianship *(šōywarīh sālārīh)* of his wife in this type of matrimony, which obliges him to keep her "according (or: in proportion) to (my) financial capacity" (*tuwān-sāmānagīhā;* MacKenzie 1969, p. 106, has "to the best of [my] ability", which does not take the specific legal dimension of the expression into consideration). I have chosen this translation, since *tuwān* and its derivatives *tuwānīg* and *tuwānīgīh* are used in the context of the law of obligations not only in the general sense of having legal capacity, but in the special sense of having financial ability, being solvent or able to pay. Especially *tuwānīg,* "solvent", and *tuwānīgīh,* "solvency", are employed as synonyms of the legal terms *ādān,* "solvent, able to pay", and *ādānīh,* "solvency, ability to pay", see the following examples: *nūn mādagwar an-ādān bawēd ud az pāyandān tōzišn xwāhēd ud pas mādagwar ō* ***tuwānīgīh*** *rasēd* "now the principal contractor is insolvent and he (= the creditor) claims the debt from the guarantor and afterwards the principal contractor acquires **solvency**" (*MHD* 57.9–10; Macuch 1993, pp. 388, 393); *ud Farrox an-ādān bawēd ... ud pas Farrox ō* ***tuwānīgīh*** *rasēd* "and (if) Farrox is insolvent ... and later acquires **solvency**" (*MHD* 59.7–8; Macuch 1993, pp. 390, 395). Compare also the use of *tuwān* as an impersonal verb in a similar context dealing with a woman's financial assets: *ān zan xwāstag ōwōn nēst kū-š xwēš tan ud frazand dāštan* ***tuwān*** "the woman does not have enough property in order to be able to keep herself and her child" (*MHD* 36.8; Macuch 1993, pp. 267, 269).

7. This clause is extremely interesting from the point of view of Sasanian legal terminology and its professional jargon, used – as in all other legal systems – in order to avoid lengthy explanations on the one hand, and to minimize misunderstandings and ambiguities on the other hand. Here again a large number of technical terms and phrases are employed which can only be understood correctly by taking the exact legal meaning of every term and phrase into consideration.

The passage deals expressly with the rights and duties of husband and wife regarding property, which is why I translate *ud ka ēd xīr hamgōnag būd* "And if the property was of the same kind" (MacKenzie 1969, p. 107, has the completely different "And since this matter was [agreed and declared]" which has no connection whatsoever with the following content of the clause). That *xīr* designates property in a general sense is well attested in legal texts. Interestingly, it is used here with *hamgōnag* "of the same kind, in the same manner", an expression which has a different meaning in a legal context than *hamēwēn.* In legal jargon *hamēwēn,* "to the same extent", denotes in connection with property, that two (or several) persons have the right of disposal over exactly the *same portion* or have the *same share* of this property (all attestations of the term should be taken into consideration, see Macuch 1993, p. 710). *hamgōnag,* "of the same kind", on the other hand, is used in connection with the different forms of

property, giving the holders either the right of possession *(dārišn)* or of ownership *(xwēšīh)*. In the Sasanian law of property every "legal object" *(xwāstag)* (including the property of a family, *xīr)* was divided into two main categories: the "substance, capital, principal, base" *(bun)* on the one hand and its "fruit, increase" *(bar)* or "income, interest" *(windišn, waxš, waxt)* on the other hand. Sasanian jurists, moreover, distinguished exactly between "ownership" *(xwēšīh, "dominium")*, i.e. a person's full right to dispose of a certain object according to his will, and "possession, holding, tenure" *(dārišn, "possessio")*, i.e. the *de facto* possession of a thing which does not necessarily include ownership (family property was again divided into four basic types, based on the fundamental distinction between "possession" and "ownership", see MACUCH 2005). The division of "things" into *bun* and *bar* was extremely important for the development of a number of complex institutions which were founded on the basic difference between ownership *(xwēšīh)* and possession *(dārišn)* of "substance" and "income".

The wording of our clause *ka ēd xīr hamgōnag būd* "if the property was of the same kind" indicates that both husband and wife have property belonging to the two main categories of "possession" *(dārišn)* and "ownership" *(xwēšīh)* in the same manner, giving them different rights over the "substance" and the "income". In our marriage contract the husband gives his wife full right of disposal over the income *(windišn)* from her property. According to the Sasanian Lawbook it was possible to conclude a *pādixšāy*-marriage with the clause *ǰud az windišn* "without (the right to the) income" of the bride, which implied that the husband conceded his wife the right of income from her property and did not claim it for himself (as would otherwise be his right; see *MHDA* 1.1–12. This did not necessarily mean that the wife could keep the income for herself, since another passage indicates that in these cases the father of the bride retained his right to the earnings of his daughter even after her marriage, see *MHDA* 1.1–3, MACUCH 1981, p. 69).

After having given the bride full disposal over the income from her property, a contract *(paymān)* is drawn up *(kard)* in which the husband furthermore obliges himself to give an ideal *(a-baxt)* half *(pad do bahr ē bahr)* of his property corresponding to the sum of 3000 silver drachms in domestic currency to the bride (MACKENZIE 1969, p. 108 [also no. 1], has completely misunderstood this whole passage: *a-baxt* is not "without deduction", but designates in legal language the "unpartitioned" [lit. "undivided"] portion or share in joint property in the sense of an "ideal" portion, see all attestations of the term MACUCH 1993, p. 685, and 2005). The exact use of legal terminology in this passage is remarkable and reflects the language of the Sasanian Lawbook to the point. First of all the contract confirms that the sum of 3000 silver drachms has been "approved of by F. G. (= the bride) (and) sanctioned (by her)" *(im wahmān ī wahmān ī rāy weh sahist dōšīd)*. In the *dar ī sahišn ud kāmag došīd*, "Chapter on the approval and the sanctioning of the expression of a will" of the Lawbook (*MHD* 66.2–68.17,

Macuch 1993, p. 446ff.) we are informed on the formal procedure in the case of all kinds of transactions of property. The donor asks the donee (or recipient) to approve of a certain object he wants to convey to the latter with the words *ān ī tō sahēd* "that which you approve of" (or as variants *ān ī tō kāmēd; ān ī tō pasandē* or *ān ī tō abāyēd,* see Macuch 1993, p. 454, no. 2). The recipient accepts the transaction with the words *dōšīd* "it is sanctioned" or *kāmag dōšīd* "the will (of the donor) is sanctioned" (Macuch 1993, p. 454, no. 1). It is this formal procedure that is documented in the short phrase of our marriage contract quoted above, by which the bride gives her consent to the proposed sum of 3000 silver drachms.

After documenting the approval of the bride, the bridegroom proceeds to enlist the different types of property which he will convey as a "substitute" for the sum of 3000 silver drachms to his wife. (On *guharīg,* "substitute, equivalent", see attestations in Macuch 1993, p. 708). Here again the terminology is exact. Sasanian law of property distinguished between two main types of possessions: (1) property inherited from the forefathers *(abarmānd ī pidarān)* and (2) property acquired by different means, such as gifts and donations *(dād),* earnings and revenue *(handōzišn ud windišn),* interest *(waxt, waxš)* etc., called collectively *mad ud rasēd,* lit. "(property that) has come and shall be attained", a technical term comparable to the *bona adventitia* of classical Roman law, which designated every kind of surplus income *(bar)* not belonging initially to the former category of property inherited from the forefathers (Macuch 1993, pp. 156–169, and 2005).

In our clause the bridegroom obliges himself to give an ideal *(a-baxt)* half *(pad do bahr ē bahr)* of the property belonging to the type of *bona adventitia* (or, using the Mp. expression, *mad ud rasēd)* corresponding to the arranged sum of 3000 silver drachms in domestic currency to his wife. This property consists of possessions he had already acquired *(mad ēstēd)* before entering marriage and also of those he will attain *(rasēd)* in the future in both categories of "possession" *(dārišn)* and "ownership" *(xwēšīh).* That is, the *pādixšāy*-wife receives an ideal half of all the surplus income of her husband as a substitute for the amount agreed upon in the marriage contract.

The terms of the contract indicate that *pādixšāy*-matrimony included fixing a certain amount of dower (or marriage-portion, settlement) payable by the husband on marriage to the wife herself, which could, however, be substituted by giving the wife joint property rights with regard to the *bona adventitia.* The "dower" should not be confused with the "dowry" (as is unfortunately often the case). The former is a marriage-portion or settlement which the husband obliges himself to pay to the wife and is usually only fully claimed in case of a separation or divorce. The "dowry", on the other hand, designates the money or property brought by a wife to her husband when she marries him (called *pēšīgān-wāspuhragān* in the Lawbook, see Macuch 1981, p. 85, no. 17). The Pahlavi term for "dower" is *kābēn* (Np. *kābīn*), which does not occur in our

marriage contract or in the Lawbook, but is attested in the *Jamāsp-nāmag* 16 (see BAILEY 1930–1932, p. 56; also mentioned by MACKENZIE 1969, p. 107, no. 4, with reference to PERICHANJAN) and in its Np. form in the New Persian Rivāyats (UNVALA 1922, I, p. 183, l. 11). In the latter text the terms *kābīn* and *mahr* (see below) are used as synonyms and the amount of dower to be paid by the husband is fixed in all attestations to the amount of *do hazār dirām sīm-i sapīd-i wīžah wa do dinār zar-i surḫ-i sarah-i Nīšāpūrī* "2000 *dirams* of pure white silver and two *dināars* of pure red gold of the Nīšāpūr currency" (UNVALA 1922, I, p. 183, ll. 6–7; p. 423, ll. 8f. and 17f.).

The description of the dower in our marriage contract is reminiscent of the Roman *donatio propter nuptias* and especially the Islamic *mahr*. The *mahr* was originally the purchase price for the wife, paid by the husband in pre-Islamic Arabia to the vendor, that is the father of the bride or another male relative. The Qur'ān transferred the wife from the position of a sale-object to that of a contracting party by ruling that the wife alone should receive the dower (see COULSON 1964, p. 14). Interestingly our text not only explicitly states that the bride should give her consent to the proposed amount of money, but also names her as the sole recipient of the dower (see however commentary to 8 and 9 below). We may conclude from the meticulously exact use of legal terminology that the original model of our marriage contract dates from the Sasanian period and that the practice of bestowing the dower on the wife was already known in pre-Islamic Iran. The proprietary rights of the *pādixšāy*-wife included the right to inherit from her husband (see commentary to 1 above), the right to the earnings of her own property as well as to an ideal half of the surplus income of her husband's property (corresponding to the amount of the dower). Although it is not explicitly mentioned in our text, we may assume that the device of the deferred dower was also known, as later in the Islamic age. The parties could agree in Islamic law to postpone payment of a portion of the *mahr* until the termination of the marriage, thus providing maintenance for the wife after separation (see COULSON 1964, p. 207f.). The wording of our clause, providing a "substitute" for the arranged amount, seems to indicate that full payment of the dower in Zoroastrian law also remained more or less a theoretical option as long as the marriage prevailed. The husband obliges himself, however, to deliver a "portion" *(ǰādag)* of the dower to his wife without delay should she claim it herself or someone else put in a monetary claim against her. On *xwāstārīh kardan* "to put in a claim" compare *MHD* 53.10: *ka-š guft kū be wizār ā-š xwāstārīh kard bawēd* "If he (= the creditor) said: 'pay!', then (this means) he has presented a claim (for payment)" (MACUCH 1993, p. 369f.).

8. and 9. The term *pāyandān*, "surety, warrantor, guarantor", Np. *pāyandān*, is attested with different spellings in the Lawbook (p'yn'n, p"n'n, p'n"n'n, p'ynd'n, p'dyn'n, which could represent another pronunciation of the term, see MACUCH 1981, p. 225, no. 4). The attestations of the abstract *pāyandānīh* in the Sasanian

Lawbook leave no doubt that the term denotes "surety" or "warranty", in the legal sense of a promise by one party to a contract to secure the other party in the enjoyment of something agreed between them. These two clauses reflect the difficulties resulting from the double legal standard with respect to men and women. Although the wife had to give her consent to the marriage and to the amount presented to her as dower and is therefore even accepted as a contracting party in the text, women were on principle not regarded as legal subjects who could conclude contracts on their own. Their status was that of minors who needed a guardian *(sālār)* or an intercessor *(ǰādag-gōw)* as their representative in legal affairs. Not having legal capacity seems to be the reason why the bride in clause 8 accepts the terms of the contract without additional surety *(bē pāyandānīh)* on the part of the bridegroom, whereas her father, who is her intercessor and legal representative in this case with full legal capacity, accepts the warranty *(pāyandānīh)* given by the bridegroom in clause 9.

10. If the translation of *abarmad* as a noun is correct the text should read *abarmad (kard) hom* "I have drawn a disposition", instead of *abar mad hom*. Although *abar madan* could also be translated as a verb with the general meaning of "to superintend, supervise", the interpretation of the term as a noun *abarmad*, "disposition, written settlement", seems far more appropriate to the context described in our clause. In the Lawbook the legal term is written both 'prmt' and QDMmt' and used with the verb *kardan* in the following examples: ... *ka dādwarān abarmad kard az ān ī ka dādwarān abarmad kard frāz stūr ī Mihrēn ud xwāstag awīš ōh abespārišn* "... when the judges have drawn the disposition, (then) from that moment on, in which the judges have drawn the disposition she is the *stūr* of Mihrēn and the property has to be given to her" (*MHD* 49.16f., Macuch 1993, p. 325); *pad abarmad ī radān pad xīr ī Ādur ī Farrbāy kard nibišt ēstēd* ... "In the disposition that the priests drew with regard to the property of the Farrbay fire it is written ..." (*MHD* 103.9, Macuch 1993, p. 625). We may conclude from these attestations that *abarmad* denotes a record, settlement, disposition or deed regarding property, written by officials of the State, judges *(dādwarān)* and priests *(radān)*. I assume that in our clause the *abarmad* designates a supplementary settlement, in which other matters relating to the marriage were recorded, such as, for example, details regarding the transfer of dowry, which is, strangely, not mentioned at all in the marriage contract. A separate record dealing with dowry transfer would explain the absence of any allusion to the question in the contract proper. I. Yakubovich (2006, p. 339) in his new edition of the Sogdian marriage contract argues that the absence of dowry clauses in both the Sogdian and Bactrian marriage contracts as well as in the Pahlavi contract cannot be purely coincidental. Assuming that these must have been recorded separately, he refers to lists of the items of *nudunnû* "dowry" from late Babylonian times, which gives us an idea of what this document may have looked like (with reference to McEwan 1995, pp. 21–22).

11. The legal term *wāwarīgānīh*, "validity", is usually used in Sasanian law with respect to documents bearing seals of officials of the State, but could also include those of witnesses known as God-fearing men. The validity of a document was, of course, self-evident in the case of seals used by officials of the "personal" and "administrative" type, called *muhr i wāwarigān*, *muhr i ēwar* or *muhr i wizurd* "valid seal" (on the different categories of seals see MACUCH 1997, p. 79ff.). As we are informed in Jesubocht's Syriac Corpus Iuris, documents were divided according to the reliability of their seals into "valid" and "doubtful" ones *(šṭārā šarrīra wa-d-be-pušākā)*. A valid document *(šṭārā men šarrīrā)* is that which is sealed by officials of the State: "persons who are chosen and employed by the church or by the sovereigns *(malkē)* and the magistrates *(šalliṭānē)*". A doubtful document *(d-be-pušākā)*, however, is only sealed by witnesses of a transaction. Documents with private seals could also be accepted by the courts as substantial evidence. The procedure of evaluation is described exactly by Jesubocht: "If the valid document is produced in court, it is used as evidential. However, in the case of a document sealed by witnesses we carry out an investigation. If the witnesses who have sealed the document are religious and known as God-fearing men by all in the region and the community concerned and have a good reputation, then we use such a document as a valid one. But if this is not the case, we use it as a doubtful one." (for all attestations see MACUCH 1997, p. 84).

Interestingly, the term *wāwarīgān* also occurs in the Babylonian Talmud with reference to documents: the expression *muhraqē wāwarīgānē* is used with regard to documents bearing the seals of officials as opposed to documents bearing only the seals of witnesses to a transaction (see MACUCH 1999).

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Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra Quotations in the Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti*

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In his *Guide to the literature of Khotan*, Ronald Emmerick styled the so-called *Book of Vimalakīrti* "a difficult Late Khotanese text" and wrote that "This Khotanese work will clearly repay detailed study".[1] Taking up this hint, I began such a study, which has resulted so far in three articles containing a metrically arranged re-edition with translation and commentary of portions of the text and identifications of several quotations from canonical Buddhist texts that occur therein.[2] I was able to submit at least a preliminary draft of two of these articles to Ronald Emmerick, who commented encouragingly on them.[3] Unfortunately, I was unable to share with him the joy at further progress in the interpretation of the text such as improved readings and identifications of its sources. The inclusion of this article that further pursues the study of *Vim* in a volume dedicated to the memory of my late teacher and friend is a way of keeping up an ideal dialogue with him.[4]

The *Book of Vimalakīrti* is in all likelihood not a translation, though it relies heavily on Indian sources, and has to be reckoned among the Buddhist works that were composed in Khotan, since it has not been traced in other languages. The text is a sort of catechism in verses that expounds the doctrines of Mahāyāna Buddhism in the form of question and answer. The title of *Book of Vimalakīrti* (= *Vim*) is conventional. The beginning and the end of the text, that might have contained the title, were not copied and the text was assigned its current title by Harold W. Bailey on account of the fact that the name of Vimalakīrti occurs five times in it. The extant portion of the text is contained in two miscellaneous

1 *Guide* 37 (2nd ed. 36).

2 Maggi 2003a (vv. 21–22, 34–35 and 55–64), 2003b (vv. 9–33) and 2004a (vv. 1–8). I take this opportunity to correct a few slips that crept into those articles. In Maggi 2003a, p. 91, v. 57, read "naiṣau'da" instead of "naiṣai'da"; p. 95, ll. 2–5, delete the sentence "As for the spelling *vā* for *ā*, one can compare, in *Vim* C itself, 352–353 *KBT* 111 *sūbvāva* 'nature' (Skt. *svabhāva*-) beside 233 *KBT* 105 *sūbāvu*, 245 *KBT* 105 *svabhāva* and 343 *KBT* 110 *svabāva*". In Maggi 2003b, p. 249, v. 18, read "tt<ā>" instead of <ttā>; v. 19, read "-svabāva" instead of "-svabhāva". See also nn. 6 and 48.

3 Maggi 2003a and 2004.

4 A partial version of this article was presented at the conference "Giornate orientalistiche cagliesi, II: First Austro-Italian Symposium of Iranology", Cagli, 17–19 September 2005.

manuscripts from Dunhuang: lines 224–386 of manuscript Ch. 00266 of the British Library (= *Vim* C) and lines 1–60 of manuscript P 2026 of the Bibliothèque nationale de France (= *Vim* P). *Vim* C was first edited by BAILEY in 1951 in his *Khotanese Buddhist texts* (*KBT* 104–113), whereas *Vim* P was edited but not identified by him in 1956 in the third volume of his *Khotanese texts* (*KT* 3.48–49). That lines 1–22 of *Vim* P overlap with the last lines of *Vim* C (lines 368–386) was recognised by EMMERICK (*Studies* 2.118 s.v. *-mya-*). A number of passages are quoted and translated in BAILEY's *Dictionary of Khotan Saka (Dict.)*. A re-edition and a first tentative translation was provided by PRODS O. SKJÆRVØ in 2002 in his catalogue of the Khotanese manuscripts in the British Library (*SDTV* 6.489–499).[5]

Here I would like to address the problem of the relationship between the Khotanese *Book of Vimalakīrti* and the canonical Buddhist text entitled *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* (Sūtra of the teaching of Vimalakīrti; = *VkN*).

According to EMMERICK:

> It is not clear what relationship the 'Book of Vimalakīrti' bears to Vim[alakīrti nirdeśasūtra]. If it is a translation it is a translation of a version that has not yet come to light ... On the other hand the general tenor of the passages where the name Vimalakīrti occurs in the text do bear considerable resemblance to the text as given by LAMOTTE.[6]

And in their profile of Khotanese Buddhist literature in the *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, EMMERICK and SKJÆRVØ write that "no part of the text has yet been proved to be from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa-sūtra*" and repeat the comment on the resemblance of the sūtra and the passages naming Vimalakīrti.[7]

When EMMERICK and SKJÆRVØ wrote, one had to rely on the Tibetan and Chinese translations of *VkN*, that were conveniently available in Étienne LAMOTTE's synoptical translation.[8] The Sanskrit text of *VkN* was known only from quotations in later Sanskrit works and the original text was thought to be lost. By good fortune, in 1999 a research group of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism of the Taisho University of Tokyo discovered in Tibet, in the Potala Palace at Lhasa, a complete Sanskrit manuscript of the text. Now, after the publication in 2004 of a diplomatic edition of the manuscript

5 Except for a few special cases, in the following pages attention has not been drawn to differences in BAILEY's edition or in SKJÆRVØ's re-edition and translation, since these can easily be compared. Differing translations that are found under various headings in BAILEY's *Dict.* are recorded in the commentary.

6 *Guide* 37 (2nd ed. 36). In MAGGI 2003a, p. 86, and 2003b, p. 247, I mistakenly attributed to EMMERICK the opinion that the passages of *Vim* do not resemble *VkN*.

7 EMMERICK/SKJÆRVØ 1990, p. 503.

8 LAMOTTE 1962. Of the three Chinese versions, LAMOTTE translates the one by Xuanzang (*Taishō* 476) when it differs from the Tibetan (*Tohōku* 176) and gives in footnotes the translation of the variant passages from Zhiqian's or Kumārajīva's versions (*Taishō* 474 and 475).

along with the Tibetan and Chinese versions,[9] we are on safer ground and the time has come to look more elosely into the matter of the possible connections of *Vim* to *VkN*.

It must be noted that in *Vim* the starting point of the questions on single points of doetrine is often provided by quotations of passages from canonieal works. Thus, some of the questions quote passages from the *Candrapradīpasūtra* (= *Samādhirājasūtra*, vv. 21–22), the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* (= *Kāśyapaparivarta*, vv. 28–29) the *Vajramaṇḍanāmadhāraṇīsūtra* (v. 34),[10] and the *Karmāvāraṇaviśuddhisūtra* (v. 35), whereas only the quotation from the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīsūtra* (vv. 55–64) is found in an answer.[11] Though one may expeet the quoted passages to be rendered freely due to the exigeneies of metre, the quotations are on the whole rather close translations except for the one from the *Karmāvāraṇaviśuddhisūtra*, which eondenses two sentenees into one verse by omitting an intervening passage. As for the titles of the works quoted, they are sometimes given, but at least in the case of the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* the title of the source is passed over in silence. Thus, it is not unlikely that some of the passages where the name Vimalakīrti oceurs (*Vim* C 316–317, 328, 337–338, 342, 344 *SDTV* 6.494–496) are quotations from *VkN*, the souree of the quotations being only implied, as we might say, by the occurrenee of the name of the main eharacter of the sūtra.

In fact, three quotations, rather free ones to tell the truth, can be traced to *VkN*, particularly to its fifth chapter entitled *Acintyavimokṣasaṃdarśanaparivarta* (Chapter on the manifestation of the Inconeeivable Release). The Khotanese name of the Ineonceivable Release (Skt. *acintyavimokṣa-*) oeeurs in v. 80 as *acaidya gustya*. The three quotations refer to miraculous deeds that bodhisattvas can perform and for whieh an explanation is requested: (1) vv. 72–73ab eondense the first half of *VkN* V.10;[12] (2) vv. 81cd-82ae are in reality a juxtaposition of the end of *VkN* V.14 and a sentence from *VkN* V.11; and (3) v. 88 reealls the illness that Vimalakīrti feigned so that he could preach the Buddhist doctrine (cf. *VkN* II.7 and IV.3), while vv. 89–90ac freely paraphrase and condense *VkN* V.7–8. Each quotation is included in a question, whieh is followed by an answer giving the doetrinal interpretation. Three oecurrences of the name Vimalakīrti are found in the questions (vv. 72, 81, 88) and one is found in an answer (v. 91). The fifth occurrenee of the name is found in v. 93 in a further

9 *VkN*-Skt. I reproduce the text of the diplomatic edition without corrections or normalisation but omit the line numbers and the copyist's deletions. A few emendations are suggested in the notes. I had no access to the very rare facsimile edition nor to the critical edition published in 2006.

10 The quotation has not yet been located in the Tibetan and Chinese versions, the only ones to survive.

11 See Maggi 2003a, pp. 87–94, and 2003b, pp. 251 and 253–354.

12 I use Lamotte's paragraph numbers, that were also adopted in *VkN*-Skt.

question which is answered in vv. 94cd–96 and has quite a loose connection to *VkN* V.12–13 and 16.

The fact that the quotations paraphrase and condense the original text indicates that the anonymous Khotanese author was apparently more interested in the meaning than in a literal rendering of the quoted passages. This can be seen in the quotations non only from *VkN* but also, though to a lesser extent, from the other canonical texts listed above. Thus, it is probably not necessary to suppose that the quotations are taken from a recension of *VkN* that differs substantially from the known ones. At any rate, the precise identification of the sources of the quotations has proved helpful, in the case of *VkN* too, for the interpretation of otherwise obscure words and passages of *Vim*.

Text and translation[13]

1.

72 ttī **vamala**[317]**kīrttai** uvāra ba'ysūñavuysai maista tta **hvai**
vaña ***gara**[14] **sūmīra** pūṣa **ttruāyū** śa[318]śvā **my<ā>añā**

Q. *Then the noble* ***Vimalakīrti****, the great bodhisattva,* ***spoke*** *thus: "Now* ***I shall*** *completely* ***introduce Mount Sumeru into the middle of a (seed of) mustard.***

[V.10] **vimalakīrttir āha** / asti bhadanta śāriputra tathāgatānāṃ bodhisatvānāṃ ca / acintyo nāma vimokṣaḥ yatrācintyavimokṣe pratiṣṭhito bodhisatvaḥ **sumeruṃ parvatarājaṃ** tāvad uccaṃ tāvata pragṛhītaṃ tāvad udviddhaṃ tāvad vistīrṇṇaṃ **sarśapaphalakośe praveśayen**

Vimalakīrti said: *'Venerable Śāriputra, there is a release of the Tathāgatas and bodhisattvas, which is called Unconceivable. The bodhisattva who is established in this Inconceivable Release* ***can introduce Sumeru, the king of mountains,*** *so high, so lofty, so elevated, so vast,* ***into*** *the pod of a mustard fruit,*

13 In the edition, the following conventions are used: *italics* = letters not clearly visible; < > = editorial supplement where the manuscript has no lacuna; [[ ]] = deletion by the copyist; { } = editorial deletion; an asterisk * precedes emendations that are not otherwise indicated (the manuscript readings are given in footnotes); a long dash —— marks the caesura in the case of words extending from pāda a or c to pāda b or d respectively. Manuscript lines are numbered by bracketed numbers in the body of the verses. As the text is acephalous, the first preserved verse is not really v. 1. In the translation, the Sanskrit equivalents of the Buddhist technical terms are given in parentheses. Corresponding words in the Sanskrit text and in the Khotanese quotations are printed in bold. Questions and answers are introduced by the abbreviations **Q.** and **A.** respectively. In the commentary, numbers preceded by the abbreviation *Vim* C refer to the manuscript lines. Abbreviations of Khotanese texts are in line with those suggested in *Guide*, 2nd ed.

14 Em. BAILEY for ms. *śara*.

73 **nai ārīśta gara sūmī<ra>[15] nai bīhīysda śaśvā ttīma**
apūrvai tvarai ṣa' a{tha}[319]rtha uys<d>īśa[16] v<ā>[17] vaiña ttada hvīdai ttā

Neither Mount Sumeru will decrease, nor will the seed of mustard increase". *This meaning (is) exceedingly extraordinary. Explain to me so great (a meaning) now.* A. *It is said to you.*

na ca sarśapaphalakośaṃ vivarddhayen na ca sumeruṃ hāpayet ... (*VkN*-Skt 234)

and yet he would not cause the pod of the mustard fruit to increase nor cause Sumeru to decrease ...

74 śaśvā ṣai' kāma bvāña sūmīra gara dā [320] ṣṭai akhauṣṭa
dāna ṣai' kā'ma ysautta nai vara pāraga nai byau

As for the (seed of) mustard, it (is) to be known as a thought. Mount Sumeru (is) the Doctrine: it stands unmoved. Through the Doctrine that thought ceases: (there is) no decrease nor increase there.

75 bv{ā}eme jsa khvai tta tta [321] spāśa nai aśta ṣai{'} kṣaṇa-masai dharma
khu kāma rraysda ttīnī hamye kṣaṇa dā *vai[322]ṣṭa[18] sa

When (one) looks at it thus with knowledge, there exists no phenomenon (dharma) *even the size of a moment. When the thought is controlled, immediately, at the same moment, only the Doctrine remains.*

76 pasva dai h<ī>ya[19] āca nai hā pārautta hamāre
ttya baida kagu namve v<ā> [323] ṣai' sa dai hīya prrara

(Likewise,) the flames of a broken out fire do not become established (if) a skin or felt (is put) on it. Just that is the nature of fire.

77 samāhā khu vaiṣṭa akhauṣṭa sa khu vīna pyaurā āśa'
[324] pārahā rrūy<ī>da baiśa saña ālabana ṣk<au>jai[20]

When concentration (samādhi) *stands unmoved just like the sky without clouds, notions* (saṃjña), *objects* (ālambana) *(and) conditioned states* (saṃskāra) *loose all (their) supports.*

78 māñada khu agnaśauca vāsta [325] khvai dāña nīśīda
harbaiśī ṣai'[21] rrīma sūśta vāsta vara harśta sūrai

Like the agniśauca *garment, when they throw it into the fire, all its dirt burns (away and) the garment remains there clean,*

15 Suppl. Bailey.
16 Suppl. Bailey.
17 The emendation *v<ā>* is implicit in Skjærvø's translation 'to us'.
18 Em. for ms. *vaiṣṭā*.
19 Em. Bailey, *Dict.* 225 s.v. *pasūjs-*.
20 Em. Bailey, *Dict.* 275 s.v. *bāñ-*, 366 s.v. *rrūy-*.
21 *rr-* corrected to *ṣ-*.

79 tta tta ttu māña[326]du pātca nairvakalapīnai daina
āvaraṇa sūjsīda baiśa vaṣṭa baudhacaitta vasve

thus then all hindrances (āvaraṇa) *likewise burn away thanks to the fire of non-discrimination* (nirvikalpa) *(and) the thought of enlightenment* (bodhicitta) *remains pure.*

80 [327] baudhasatva cī tvā daitta acaidya gustya naiṣai'ma
samī satsāra u ṣk<au>je va[328]sva nairv<ā>ṇa vaṣṭe

When the bodhisattva sees that Inconceivable Release (acintyavimokṣa), *cycle of existence* (saṃsāra) *and conditioned states* (saṃskāra) *are just cessation for him: pure extinction* (nirvāṇa) *remains.*

2.

81 pātca vā lachava rre vaimalakīrtta ṣai' baudhasatva
tta hve **ttrai**[329]**sahasrre**[22] **vīra** **pada baiśa ai'ha bīysaje**

Q. *And then the Licchavi king, the bodhisattva Vimalakīrti, spoke so: "**I shall hold in (my) mouth all the winds in the trichiliocosm.***

[V.14] iti hy acintyavimokṣapratiṣṭhito bodhisatvaḥ ... **yāvataś ca daśasu dikṣu vātamaṇḍalyaḥ pravānti tā api sarvā mukhadvāre praveśayen** na cāsya kāyo vikīryeta na ca tatra buddhakṣetre tṛṇavanasyatayo[23] nameyur (*VkN*-Skt 238)

[V.14] *So, the bodhisattva who is established in the Inconceivable Release ... **can even introduce into his mouth opening all the whirlwinds however many they blow in the ten directions**, and yet his body would not burst nor would the grasses and forest trees in that Buddha-field bend.*

82 **tta <t>cahaura mahāsamvadra** **cu ucai** [330] **jsa habaḍa ṣṭā[[*n*e]]re**
ttai *baiśa[24] **ttrāyū ma jsahera** bījsīdu vā aharī[331]na

***The four great oceans, that are full of water, all of them I shall introduce into my belly**, yet they will fit in without remainder."*

[V.11] punar aparaṃ bhadanta śāriputrācintyavimokṣapratiṣṭhito bodhisatvo **yaś caturṣu mahāsamudreṣu apskandhas tam ekasmin romakupe prakṣipen** ... (*VkN*-Skt 234)

[V.11] *Moreover, venerable Śāriputra, the bodhisattva who is established in the Inconceivable Release **can pour into a single pore of his skin the mass of water in the four great oceans** ...*

22 A sign in the left margin between lines 328 and 329.
23 Read °*vanaspatayo*, cf. Tib. *nags tshal rnams* 'forests'.
24 Em. BAILEY for ms. *baiga*.

83 cai ṣä' hauva ṣai' daida maista ttye baudhasatva daida[25] uvāra
ttu a[332]rtha vā vaña ṇvāya hāvai vara ma mīsta hvīdai ttā pū :

As for this power, it (is) so great of that so noble bodhisattva! Explain this meaning to me now. (There is) a great benefit for me there. **A.** *It is said to you, listen!*

84 pada sa aysm<v>a[26] bvā[[*va*]][333]ña parvacha drāvai rays<g>a[27]
{t}ca baiśa ttraisahasrrai vīra pajsa ge[28] vīra paḍā juā

The winds (are) to be known just as the mind (citta) *– ripe, flighty, swift – (of the bodhisattva) who first lives in the whole trichiliocosm in the five destinies* (pañcagati).

85 khvai [334] spāśa bvaime pana harbaiśī tsūma jīya
ṣe' vā sa aysmva hama samāhā vai[335]ṣṭe akhauṣṭa

When he looks at it having risen to knowledge (jñāna), *his entire career* (caryā) *disappears and it (is) just mind itself. (Then) concentration* (samādhi) *stands unmoved.*

86 tcahau tte mahāsamvadrra ba'ysūña bvāma bvāña
tvā bvāma baiśa a[336]harīna baudhasatva aysmya ttrāye

Those four great oceans (are) to be known as the Buddha-knowledge (buddhajñāna). *The bodhisattva introduces all that knowledge without remainder into (his) mind.*

87 na vara haimai drā-masa haiysga nai vā khau[337]ysāma *gvāna[29]
sa anāb<au>ga carya jsa ba'ysūña k{ṣ}īra[30] cairārai

There arises no swelling the measure of a hair there, nor movement at all. Just by a spontaneous career they perform Buddha-acts.

3.

88 ttī vamalakī[[+]][338]rtta hūdaha ttaiña be[[ḍa]]ḍa khu śāna rrautte
daśau dīśau' jsa hāṣṭa baysūñavu[339]ysā ttsvāda

Q. *Then, at the time when Vimalakīrti, the great man* (mahāpuruṣa), *was lying ill, bodhisattvas went to him from the ten directions.*

25 *dīda* corrected to *daida*.
26 Em. Bailey, *Dict* 306 s.v. *bauśa-*, rather than *aysm<u>* em. Bailey, *Dict.* 168 s.v. *drāve*.
27 Em. Bailey, *Dict.* 168 s.v. *drāve*.
28 *śe* corrected to *ge*.
29 Tacitly em. Bailey, *KBT*, 2nd ed., for ms. *gvuna*.
30 Em. Degener 1989, p. 165 s.v. *balysūña-*.

89 *avamā[31] ttye **baiśa hāṣṭa** **hadr<au>ysya**[32] **āysana maista**
hakhīysna [340] **haṣ<ṭ>ā ys<ā>ra** **bījsyāda hā** baiśa *ahirīne[33]

Immeasurable large seats, eighty thousand in number, fitted into his house through the air, all without remainder.

[V.7] ... tato merurdhvajālokadhātor[34] **dvātriṅśatsiṃhāsanaśatasahasrāṇi** tena bhagavatā merupradīparājena tathāgatena preṣitāni / **tāvad udviddhāni tāvad viṭtīrṇṇāni**[35] ... **tāny uparyantarīkṣeṇāgatya vimalakīrtter licchave niveśane pratyatiṣṭhaṃs**

[V.7] ... *from the universe Merudhvajā the blessed Tathāgata Merupradīparāja sent thirty-two hundred thousand thrones so high, so broad... They came through the upper sky and stood in the home of the Licchavi Vimalakīrti,*

90 **ṇasta ttyā āysanau vīra da**[341]**śa——bvāmā ttai baudhasatva**
na bīhīṣṭa ṣa' bīsa gvāna ṣai<'> parṣa' khu bījsyā hā [342] hvīdai tt<ā>

The tenth-stage (daśabhūmaka) ***bodhisattvas sat down on those seats, (and yet) the house did not increase at all.*** *How did that assembly fit in there?* **A.** *It is said to you.*

tac ca gṛhaṃ tāvad vistīrṇṇaṃ saṃdṛśyate / yatra tāni dvātriṅśatsiṃhāsanaśatasahasrāṇi vicitāny anutpīḍanatayā ... (*VkN*-Skt 228)
[V.8] ... atha **ye abhijñāpratilabhā bodhisatvās te** dvācatvāriṅśadyojanaśatasahasram ātmabhāvam adhiṣṭhāya **teṣu siṃhāsaneṣu niṣīdanti sma** ... (*VkN*-Skt 230)

and the house appeared so vast that the thirty-two hundred thousand thrones *were set out in it without crowding ...*
[V.8] ... *then* ***the bodhisattvas who had obtained supernatural knowledge*** *attained a body of forty-two hundred thousand leagues* ***and sat down on those thrones*** ...

91 vaimalakīrtta ttyai baisa ṣā<'> dharmadāttīja vasva
cu āysana u [343] baudhasatva baiśa dharma-kāya-svabāva

As for the house of that Vimalakīrti, it (is) pure like the sphere of the Doctrine (dharmadhātu). *As for the seats and the bodhisattvas, they all (have) the nature* (svabhāva) *of the body of the Doctrine* (dharmakāya).

92 bījsīda ṣai{'} śe drau nauhya dra-bāḍ<ū> [344] harbaiśa baysa
baiśa b<u>dha-kṣet<r>yau hattsa dharma-kāya prrarai ṣa'

Even all the Buddhas of the three times fit on to the tip of one hair, all (of them) together with (their) Buddha-fields. This is the nature (prakṛti) *of the body of the Doctrine* (dharmakāya).

31 Em. for ms. *avahā*.
32 Em. BAILEY, *Dict.* 451 s.v. *hadrrauysya*.
33 Em. for ms. *ahārīne*
34 Read *merudhvajā°*.
35 Read *vistīrṇṇāni*.

4.

93 ka vaimalakīrtta [345] ṣai' jsā hamaya [[*b*-]] ba'ysūña *bausta[36]
vaimvaha mvaśtai' kaiṇa satva sa uvā[346]ysai rūvna daitte

Q. *If that Vimalakīrti himself realised the (Inconceivable) Release* (acintyavimokṣa) *of the Buddhas for the sake of compassion, would he merely appear as a being in the form of a layman?*

94 ttī kṣaṇvā kalpa khu [[ttra]][37] ttrada khu vā paraiṇāmvā kṣettra
kṣa[347]ma ṣṭā pyūṣṭai ṣai' artha maista ba'ysūña rahāsa hvīdai ttā

Then, how did aeons enter moments, and how (did Buddha-)fields (enter) atoms? **A.** *Please listen! This meaning (is) the great Buddha-mystery. It is said to you.*

95 kalpa sa kāme bvā[348][[ña]]ñe kāma kṣaṇa vī ttraida
kāña kṣaṇa kāma rraysde hamye kṣaṇa dā vaiṣṭa sa

Aeons (are) to be known just as thoughts. (If) a thought entered a moment, in whichever moment the thought is controlled, at the same moment only the Doctrine remains.

96 [349] rraṣ<ṭ>a dā dy<ā>me[38] pana paña kṣaṇa ttradhva ba'ysa
baiśa budha-kṣetryau hatsa paña pa[350]ramāṇa daitte

Having risen to the vision of the true Doctrine, (one) appears in every single moment, in every single atom, as the Buddhas of the three times, all (of them) together with (their) Buddha-fields.

Commentary

72–73ab: The Khotanese quotation from *VkN* V.10 is put in the first instead of the third person singular that is found in the Sanskrit original. The correct interpretation of this passage was already substantially given by Emmerick, who provided bilingual evidence for *ārīśta* 'decreases' and *bīhīysda* 'increases' from the Chinese and Tibetan versions of the relevant passage of *VkN*.[39] The causative *praveśayet* 'he could introduce' of the Sanskrit original confirms now Skjærvø's more precise translation of the verb *ttruāy-* which, in v. 72 and below

36 Em. for ms. *maista*.
37 *u* corrected to *ttra*, then deleted.
38 Em. Bailey for ms. *dyame*.
39 Emmerick 1967, esp. p. 24 (cf. *KT* 6.246). On *bihīys-* see also Emmerick 1981, pp. 451–452, and *Studies* 1.90–91 s.v. *bihīya-* (recte *bihīys-*).

in v. 82, has the meaning 'to introduce' instead of the more general 'to deliver' that EMMERICK used.[40] On *ttruāyū* 1 sg. pres. cf. SKJÆRVØ, *Studies* 1.52.

73d: For the emendation *uys<d>īśa v<ā>* cf. *Vim* 15 *uysdīśa vā* and *Vim* C 368 *SDTV* 6.497 *uys<d>īśa vā*. That the questions are formulated in the first person singular, not plural, is revealed by 83d *hāvai vara ma mīsta* '(There is) a great benefit for me there'.

74–75: BAILEY's translations of *ṣai' kā'ma ysautta nai vara pāraga nai byau bv{ā}eme jsa* 'even thought flows away; neither is there decrease of it, nor increase of it through bodhi-knowledge' (*Dict.* 231 s.v. *pāraṃgga-*, cf. *KT* 6.181–182) and 'this his thought flows off, there is no decrease, no increase of it with bodhi-knowledge' (*Dict.* 312 s.v. *byau*) are superseded.

74c: For *ysautta* as 3 sg. pres. of *ysauy-* 'to disappear, cease' see *KT* 6.298 and *SGS* 114.

75a: A form *bvāme jsa* is as legitimate as *bveme jsa* in Late Khotanese. A common spelling is *bvą̄me jsa* with unetymological anusvāra. Accordingly, either *bvāeme jsa* is the result of an improvement by the copyist, who first wrote *bvāme* and then corrected it to *bveme* (cf. 85 *bvaime*) without deleting the *ā*-diacritic, or was it miscopied by the copyist for a possible *bvą̄me* of his source (with the *e*-diacritic mistakenly replacing the anusvāra).

75cd: BAILEY's translation of *khu kāma rraysda ttīnī hamye kṣaṇa dā *vaiṣṭa* 'when thought directs, then indeed in the same instant the *dharma*-doctrine is established' (*Dict.* 358 s.v. *rrays-*) is superseded (cf. *Dict.* 457 s.v. *hama-* 'same'). The interpretation of *rraysda* as a middle verb with passive meaning ('is controlled') is due to EMMERICK, who translates thus *Mañj* 46 [v. 34] *KBT* 115 *raysda*. On *ttīnī* 'immediately' ("corrected" to *ttītī* by BAILEY in *KBT*, 2nd ed., and to *ttī nī* 'then ...' by SKJÆRVØ) cf. SKJÆRVØ, *Studies* 3.66–67 s.v. *ttinī*. For the emendation of ms. *vaiṣṭā* to **vaiṣṭa* 'remains' one can compare 80 *vaṣṭe* 'id.' and especially 95 *vaiṣṭa*, which occurs in an identical clause. As for the division of verses, it should be noted that the words *vaiṣṭa sa* also occur together in 95d, where it is hardly to be doubted that *sa* belongs to the end of the verse rather than to the beginning of the following one.

76a: BAILEY's tentative translation of *pasva dai h<ī>ya āca* as 'flame of blazing fire' (*Dict.* 225 s.v. *pasūjs-*) is basically correct. On *āca*, OKh. *ārca*, cf. EMMERICK, *Studies* 1.20–21 s.v. *āca*.

76b: BAILEY's translation of *nai hā pārautta hamāre* 'are not based upon it' (*Dict.* 232 s.v. *pārautta-*) is superseded.

40 SKJÆRVØ, *SDTV* 6.495. Skt. *prāveśaya-* 'to introduce' also occurs in the connected passage quoted by LAMOTTE 1962, pp. 251–252 n. 12.

76c: Bailey correctly suggested that *kagu namve va* "may be 'skin and felt cloth'" (*Dict.* 50 s.v. *kaṅgā-* 'skin'; cf. *Dict.* 174 s.v. *namve*: "*kagu namve* 'skin (leather) and felt'"), but the *va* of the manuscript is wrong for *v*<*ā*> 'or' (cf. the omission of *-ā* also in 73d *v*<*ā*>). The simile in which false assumptions are likened to fire and their extinction obtained by means of wisdom may be compared with *Karmāṃ deśana* 37–38: 'It is just as when one should not perceive the nature (of the self), the self is burning night (and) day with the fire of self, surrounded by the fuel of *karma*. But when he understands this confession, although he does not remain nor yet goes away, all his *karma*s will be removed. They will not accumulate, they will not come'.[41]

77: Skjærvø, *Studies* 2.106 provided the correct interpretation of this verse, which superseded Bailey's translations in *Dict.* 275 s.v. *bāñ-* and 366b s.v *rrūy-*. The impossible *rrūyada* 'are lost' in Skjærvø, *SDTV* 6.494–495 is a retrogression in interpretation.

78–79: A substantially correct translation of these verses was offered by Skjærvø, *Studies* 2.11–12, who recognised *agnaśauca* as a loan from Skt. *agniśauca-* (lit. 'whose purification is (obtained) through fire'), the name of a fabulous garment that is cleaned in fire. However, 78c *sūśta* and 79c *sūjsīda* are 3 sg. and pl. act. of the intransitive verb *sūjs-* 'to burn' (cf. *SGS* 133) and do not mean 'is/are burnt'.[42]

80: Bailey's translation of *acaidya gustya naiṣai'ma* as 'release, inconceivable quiescence'" (*Dict.* 89 s.v. *gūsca*) does not recognise that *acaidya gustya* is the object of the preceding *daitta*, while *naiṣai'ma* is the predicate of the following clause.

81–82: Again the quotation is put in the first instead of the third person singular.

81a: It is somewhat surprising but not altogether unexpected that Vimalakīrti is defined as *lachava rre* 'Licchavi king'. The Licchavis were a royal clan and, in addition, we may have here a possible reminiscence of *VkN* II.4, where it is said of the prodigious lay bodhisattva Vimalakīrti that he conformed to all beings "and engaged in royal duties in order to protect beings" (*rājakāryānupraviṣṭaś ca satvārakṣāyai*, *VkN*-Skt 60).

81d: It is a well-known fact that the Late Khotanese language often has truncated words that prove to be ambiguous. One of these clipped words is *pada* (v. 81), which one might be tempted, like Skjærvø in his translation (*SDTV* 6.495 with a query), to interpret as a form connected to Kh. *pandāa-* 'way, path, road'. The second occurrence of the word in the doctrinal explanation (v. 84) is not translated by him. In actual fact, the Sanskrit equivalent *vātamaṇḍalyaḥ* 'whirlwinds' clearly shows that *pada* is nothing but a clipped form corresponding to

41 Translation by Emmerick 1977b, p. 99; see his synoptic edition on p. 92.
42 Cf. Degener 1989, p. 145 s.v. *nirvikalpīnaa-*.

OKh. *padama* nom.-acc. pl. 'winds' (e.g. *Suv* 12.68). Although BAILEY once translated *pada* as 'way' (*Dict.* 168 s.v. *drāve*; cf. below on v. 84ab), he also gave the correct interpretation 'wind', but misread *baiśa* as *bauśa* (so also SKJÆRVØ) and misinterpreted the passage accordingly: "*pada bauśa ai'ha bīysaje* 'the wind seizes the evil-smelling mouth', explained 332 *pada sa aysma bvāña* 'the wind is to be known as the mind (= *aysmva*)'" (*Dict* 306 s.v. *bauśa-*; cf. 29–30 s.v. *āha-*: "*bauśa ai'ha*' [sic] *bīysaje* 'bad smell seizes the mouth'").

82: The reading *jsahera* 'belly' (v. 82) was rightly opted for by SKJÆRVØ instead of BAILEY's reading *jsa hera* as two words (cf. *Dict.* 143 s.v. *trāy-*: "*trrāyūma jsa*" without translation; and 280 s.v. *bījs-*: "*hera bījsīdu vā aharīna* 'they gather up all things (*dharma*-elements) without remainder'"), but the preceding *trrāyū ma* 'I shall introduce (into) my' are two words, not one as BAILEY and SKJÆRVØ would have it. In the Khotanese translation the oceans are therefore said to be introduced into the belly instead of into a pore of the bodhisattva's skin. In this case, too, the explanation is offered by another passage of *VkN*: the mention of the belly instead of the pore looks in fact like an interpolation from *VkN* V.15. Whereas the Sanskrit text says here that the bodhisattva "also pours into his mouth all that mass of fire" *(tad api sarvam agniskandhaṃ svamukhe prakṣiped)*, the Tibetan translation and Kumārajīva's and Xuanzang's Chinese versions[43] have *lto* 'belly, stomach' and *fù* 'id.' (M. 1994) respectively in connection with Skt. *mukha-* 'mouth' (cf. *VkN*-Skt 238–239).

83: The third pāda, which is identical with 18c, was translated 'now grasp this meaning' by BAILEY (*Dict.* 120 s.v. *ṇvāya*).

84ab: BAILEY's unlikely hypothesis that in *drāvai* "a word *drav-* to flow may be concerned" (*KT* 6.125) was abandoned by him in *Dict.*, where he proposed rendering "*ttā pū: pada sa aysm(u) bvāvaña parvacha drāvai rays(g)a* 'listen to the way, that the mind ripens quick and swiftly in *bhāvanā*-contemplation'" (*Dict.* 168 s.v. *drāve*). The supplement *rays<g>a* is certainly to be preferred to his alternative reading and translation *raysa* 'taste' (*Dict.* 220 s.v. *parvac-*: "*parvacha drāvai raysa* 'ripening, unsteady taste'") and to SKJÆRVØ's translation "*empty', which presupposes a form of the adjective *rraysaa-*. The connection of *rraysga-* 'swift' with *aysmua-* 'mind' and *drāvaa-* 'flighty' as in the passage under discussion is frequent, as is shown by the following examples: *Z* 16.2 *uysnorāṇu aysmū drātai rraysgä* (fragmentary) 'the mind of beings is tremulous, fleeting'; *Z* 20.60 *aysmuī rraysgä* 'for the swift mind'; *Z* 22.240 *strīye rraysge aysmūna* 'women are unstable in mind'; *Z* 24.162 *uysnaura biśśä āphiḍāndä hivī aysmū rraysgu* 'all the beings had confused their unstable mind'; *Z* 24.401 *śśūrä hämäte bihītu ysurgyi käḍe caṇḍä nuṣṭhurä drātai rraysgä* 'He becomes extremely brave, angry, very fierce, terrible, quick-moving, impetuous'; *Mañj* 274 *KBT* 126 *rraysga*

43 This passage is missing in Zhiqian's version.

drrāve 'lightning, very quick, tremulous, passes away';[44] *Suv* 3.26 (P 64r2) *drrāvai aysmu rāśa'* 'in domination of a flighty mind', trans. Skt. *cala-citta-vaśena*; *Suv* 3.58 (P 68r3) *drrātai aysmū kiṇa* 'because of a flighty mind', trans. Skt. *cāpalya-citta-saṃkaṭe*; *Si* 1.44 (7v3) *KT* 1.10, 12 *drrāvā-aysmū* 'unstable-minded' (Emmerick), Skt. *cala-citta-*. Unfortunately, apart from *rays<g>a*, also Bailey's first proposal must be rejected, as it too contains several shortcomings. Not only is the translation *pada* 'way' mistaken, as we have seen (v. 81d), but the reading *bvā[[*va*]]ña* 'to be known' of both editions of *KBT* must also be retained, since the second akṣara was clearly deleted by the copyist, so that it is no question of *bvāvaña* 'in *bhāvanā*-contemplation'. Furthermore, *parvacha* can hardly be regarded as a verb ('the mind ripens') because the word is undoubtedly an adjective in its two other occurrences according to Bailey himself (*KT* 6.169): cf. *Z* 2.75 *parvacha ni bvāmata rräsca* 'mature is their understanding, sharp', and *Rāma* 224 *KT* 3.75 *ṣi' mį ttī parvachä *tsvā* 'it then became mature' (with **tsvā* for ms. *tsve*, Emmerick).

84d: Ms. *ſtſc-* for *c-* is also found in 29a *ſtſc<ā>ṣṭa* 'wherever (goal of motion)'.[45] Bailey's reading *pajsaśe vīra paḍājuā* in the first edition of *KBT*, which was also adopted by Skjærvø, is problematic. Of course, one is tempted to emend *pajsaśe* to *pajs<ā>śe* 'fifty' or *pajs<ū>śe* 'fifteen', but this would give a direct case with an unexpected palatalisation (that is characteristic of the oblique cases) and would not fit into the context anyway. Skjærvø's translation 'in the 500' (*SDTV* 6.495) is also impossible because the numeral *sata-*, LKh. *(s)se* etc. is never palatalised (cf. *Dict.* 418). On the other hand, *paḍājuā* could well be a misspelling for *paḍāj<s>uā* obl. pl. from an unattested but quite possible **paḍāṃjsua-* 'previous' beside the attested *paḍāṃjsia-*,[46] which, however, cannot be syntactically reconciled with the rest of the hemistich. The way out of this labyrinth was indicated by Bailey, who read *pajsa ge vīra paḍājuā* in the second edition of *KBT* (p. 110) and translated provisionally 'in the five gati-stages first (?)' (*Dict.* 203 s.v. *paḍā*). In fact, *śe* was corrected to *ge* by the copyist by blackening the upper part of the consonant base as in *Vim* C 276 [v. 42] *SDTV* 6.492 *bīsaga* 'the Order'. A minor modification of his reading, which has the advantage of not requiring any emendation of the manuscript, is enough to provide a quite acceptable meaning for the hemistich 84cd, which refers to the trichiliocosm as the spatial dimension of the bodhisattva's career and to the five states of existence *(pajsa ge)* as its temporal dimension where the bodhisattva's births take place: hell, animals, ghosts, gods and men.[47] As for the obscure *paḍājuā*, all difficulties are overcome if it is read as two words: *paḍā juā*. The common adjective *paḍāa-* 'first; previous', whose acc. sg. masc. *paḍā* is often used as an adverb as here, does

44 Emmerick 1977a, pp. 87–89 (v. 12).
45 See Maggi 2003b, pp. 251 and 253.
46 Cf. Degener 1989, pp. 74–76.
47 See Edgerton 1953, pp. 208–209 s.v. *gati*.

not require comment (see *SGS* 310 and *Dict.* 203 s.v. *paḍā*). The following *juā* is a variant spelling of LKh. *jū* < OKh. *jūtä* 3 sg. pres. act. to *juv-* 'to live' (see *SGS* 36 and *Dict.* 111 s.v. *jū-*). The spelling *-uā* for *-ū* can be compared with the similar spelling *vā* for *ū* in *Vim* C 352–353 *SDTV* 6.496 *sūbvāva* 'Subhūti'. The intrinsically unsteady mind (*citta*, v. 84) of the bodhisattva is guided by wisdom *(prajñā)* until he reaches the last stage of his career, when he attains awakening and higher knowledge (*jñāna*, vv. 85–86; cf. e.g. *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 3.66).[48] This may be compared with *Vim* 8 *cu dasama ṣai' dharmamega dāv<ī>ja py<au>ra*[49] *vasva vara by<e>ha sarvajñāne ba'ysāñä dasau pa'ña* 'As for the tenth (stage *[bhūmi]*), it is Dharmameghā, the pure "cloud of the Law". He obtains omniscience *(sarvajñajñāna)* there (and) the ten powers *(bala)* of the Buddhas'.

85: BAILEY's translations of *harbaiśī tsūma jīya* 'all motion ceases for him' (*Dict.* 147 s.v. *tsv-*) and *ṣe' vā sa aysmva hama samāhā vaiṣṭe* 'and this very mind stays on the same trance (BS *samādhāna-*)' (*Dict.* 457 s.v. *hama-* 'same') are superseded. The ambiguous *hama* is a Late Khotanese form of the reflexive pronoun *hamata-* rather than of *hämäte* 3 sg. pres. mid. of *häm-* 'to be, become', but it refers to the preceding *aysmva* 'mind', not to *samāhā*, as is suggested by the metrical structure.

86a: BAILEY's and SKJÆRVØ's suggested emendation **tcahaure* for ms. *tcahau tte* is unnecessary: *tte* is nom.-acc.pl. of the demonstrative pronoun *ṣa-/tta-* and *tcahau* is a common Late Khotanese variant spelling of OKh. *tcahora* nom.-acc. 'four' with loss of the final syllable (see *Dict.* 137 s.v. *tcahora*).

86c–87a: BAILEY's translation of *tvā bvāma baiśa aharīna baudhasatva aysmya ttrāye na vara haimai drā-masa haiysga* 'that bodhi-knowledge all, without remainder (= BS *aśeṣa-*), is conveyed into the bodhisattva's mind, there arises no block as much as a hair' (*Dict.* 496 s.v. *haiysgä*) is on the whole acceptable but needs to be refined and adapted to the context. In particular, *haiysga* means 'swelling', not 'block'. BAILEY is right in regarding *haiysga* as a substantive and *Si* 3.22.6 (18v2–3) *KT* 1.28 *heysgīyā* as a derivative adjective. According to him the adjective means 'blocking'. His translations are clearly based on the Sanskrit adjective *viṣṭambhin-*, which means 'checking, stopping, obstructing' in Suśruta (MW 999a) and occurs in the *Siddhasāra* in connection with Kh. *heysgīyā*. However, the Tibetan version of the *Siddhasāra*, from which the Khotanese translation was made, translates Skt. *viṣṭambhin-* by *sbo bar byed do* 'it causes swelling'[50] in agreement with the possible meaning 'to stuff (intr.), swell, remain indigested (in the stomach)' of the verb *viṣṭambh-* in Sanskrit medical literature (MW 998c). Accordingly, *Si* 3.22.6 *heysgīyā padīme* is likely to mean 'it makes *inflated' (EMMERICK), an interpretation that is confirmed by the *Vim*

48 Ed. NANJIO 1923, pp. 157–158; trans. SUZUKI 1932, pp. 135–137.
49 The supplements in *dāv<ī>ja* and *py<au>ra* are by BAILEY, *Dict.* 156 s.v. *dāta-*.
50 See EMMERICK 1982, pp. 56–57.

passage under consideration, where it is said that there is no swelling *(haiysga)* notwithstanding all the winds (= mind) and oceans (= knowledge) the bodhisattva introduces into his mouth and belly.

87: In the second edition of *KBT* Bailey recognised the identity of this pāda with *Vim* C 350 [v. 97b] *nai vā khauysauma gvāna* and the tacit emendation **gvāna* was introduced by him for the manuscript spelling, which can strictly be read only *gvūna* (Bailey, *KBT*, 1st ed., and Skjærvø *bhvāna*). Recognition of the identity of 87b and 97b also rules out Skjærvø's interpretation of †*bhvāna* 'destruction' as if from OKh. *buvāna-*.

88: The problem words *śāna rrautte* have been variously divided. In the first edition of *KBT* Bailey read *śā narrautte*, while Skjærvø prints *śā na rrautte* as three words and translates 'not (even) one …' (*SDTV* 6.495–496), where the ellipsis corresponds to the hapax legomenon *rrautte*. The reading *śāna rrautte* was adopted by Bailey in the second edition of *KBT* and interpreted virtually correctly in *Dict.*, as we shall see. This passage refers to the general setting of the sūtra, where Vimalakīrti pretends to be ill in order to preach to all who come to visit him: *VkN* II.7 *sa upāyakauśalyena glānam ātmānam upadarśayati sma* (*VkN*-Skt 64) 'By a skilful expedient he feigned himself ill'. Vimalakīrti's illness is mentioned again in *VkN* IV.3 where it is also said that he emptied his house in order to receive a large audience:

> atha vimalakīrtter etad abhavad ayaṃ maṃjuśrīḥ kumārabhūta āgacchati mahatā parivāreṇa yan nv ahaṃ śūnyaṃ gṛham adhitiṣṭheyaṃ tena taṅ gṛhaṃ śūnyam adhiṣṭhitaṃ / apagatadvārapālaṃ na tatra maṃcā vā pīṭhā vā āsanāni vā saṃdṛśyante nyatraikasmān maṃcāt\ yatrānmanāglānaḥ[51] samārūḍhaḥ śayitaḥ / (*VkN*-Skt 186)
>
> *Then it occurred to Vimalakīrti thus: "Here comes the crown prince Mañjuśrī with a large retinue! Let me magically empty my house!" He made the house magically empty and without a door keeper. No beds, chairs or seats appeared there except for the one bed on which he had lain and was lying ill in body.*

Bailey's reading *śāna rrautte*, which he interprets as 'lying down he is ill' apparently on etymological grounds (*Dict.* 369 s.v. *rautte*), seems to be a fairly precise match for Skt. *glānaḥ samārūḍhaḥ śayitaḥ* 'he had lain and was lying ill'. Bailey takes *śāna* as the common pres. part. mid. of the verb *śś-* 'to lie' and the hapax legomenon *rrautte* as a 3 sg. ind. pres. < OIr. **rāfatai* to a base **raf-*. His analysis of *rrautte* is convincing from a semantic viewpoint, as the quoted Sanskrit passages suggest, but is phonologically and morphologically inaccurate. An Iranian root **raf-* also occurs in the Kh. substantive *rrāha-* 'pain, ache, disease', Sogdian *rāf* (Buddhist *r'β*, Manichaean *r'f*) 'illness', Ossetic Iron *ryn*, Digoron *run* 'illness' (< **rafna-*) etc., while a connection with OInd. *rápas-* 'bodily harm' and *raphitá-* '?' is dubious (see *Dict.* 262 s.v. *rrāha-* and cf. *EWAia* 2.433 with further

51 Read °*ātmanā glānaḥ*, cf. Tib. *na ba* 'ill'.

references). However, from OIr. **rāf-a-*, or rather **rāf-i̯a-* (EMMERICK's class Vd, see *SGS* 178 and 184), we expect a Kh. pres. stem **rrāh-* with OIr. **-f(i̯)-* > Kh. *-h-* as in *drāh-* 'to fly (up)' < **drāf-i̯a-* (3 sg. pres. LKh. *drāhe*), *bärāh-* 'to soar up' < **vi-rāf-i̯a-* (3 sg. pres. OKh. *bärāhätä*) and *ysänāh-* 'to bathe' < **snāf-i̯a-* (3 sg. pres. LKh. *ysināhe*). But everything sorts itself out if we regard *rrautte* not as a present, but as a perfect intransitive of **rrāh-* based on the ppp. *rrautta-* (< **rāf-ta-*). The ppp. *rrautta-* is quite regular and a perfect parallel to the ppp. *drautta-* to *drāh-* (< **drāf-ta-*) and *ysänautta-* to *ysänāh-* (< **snāf-ta-*). It must be added that the ppp. *rrautta-* could theoretically also derive from an Indo-Iranian root **raup-* to be compared with OInd. *rúpyati* 'to suffer violent or racking pain (in the abdomen)' (MW 884c) and possibly Old Avestan *urūpaiieiṇtī* 'they (cause to) suffer racking pain (?)' (see *EWAia* 2.469 s.v. *ROP* with further references), as is shown by the ppp. *ārautta-* (< **ā-rauf-ta-*) of the verb *ārūh-* 'to move, shake' < * OIr. **ā-rauf-i̯a-* to a homophonous IIr. root **raup-* (see *SGS* 11 and 117). The root **raup-* 'to suffer racking pain' would be isolated within Khotanese however, so that derivation from OIr. **raf-* seems preferable.

89: The Sanskrit parallel solves the ambiguity that is caused by the homographs *baiśa* in the first pāda, the loc. of *bisā-* 'house' (so formerly BAILEY, *Dict.* 10 s.v. *avahā*), and *baiśa* in the fourth pāda, the nom.-acc. pl. of the adjective *biśśa-* 'all'. On the other hand, the first word of the verse does not seem to have a parallel in the sūtra. BAILEY keeps the reading *avahā* of the manuscript, which in *Dict.* he joins to 88cd and translates 'by air' with the following comment: "Rather Prakrit from B[uddhist] S[anskrit] *apatha-* with *-ka-* 'without a path', hence 'through the pathless air'. But possibly *paθ-* as Av. *paθō*" (*Dict.* 10 s.v. *avahā*). The suggested shift of meaning has little to recommend it however, all the more so as *hadr<au>ysya*, which occurs in the same clause, already means 'through the air' (Skt. °*antarīkṣeṇa*). SKJÆRVØ keeps the manuscript reading too, but has *ava hā* as two words with *hā* 'thither' and *ava* that he does not translate. I venture to suggest emending *avahā* to **avamā* nom.-acc. pl. to OKh. *avamāta-* 'immeasurable, unlimited, countless', presumably a redundant attribute in the sense of 'immeasurable' with reference to the large seats that enter Vimalakīrti's house. The copyist's slip could derive from a misreading of the source manuscript due to the similarity of the akṣaras *mā* and *ha* not only in the formal script but also, though exceptionally, in the cursive script.[52]

90: That Kh. *daśabvāmā* 'tenth-stage (bodhisattvas)' corresponds precisely in meaning with Skt. *abhijñāpratilabhā* '(bodhisattvas) having obtained supernatural knowledge' was shown by EMMERICK (*Studies* 2.56–57 with reference to earlier literature[53]). In the third pāda the Khotanese text, according to which the size of the house does not increase, is at variance with the Sanskrit original,

52 The akṣara *ma* with an open top as in the formal script occurs e.g. in ms. P 2745 (see KUMAMOTO 1995, p. 243).

53 Add BAILEY's superseded interpretation that is offered in *KT* 6.441.

where the house is said to grow larger in proportion to the large seats. Bailey's translation of the fourth pāda 'even the assembly how it assembled, it is said' (*Dict.* 281 s.v. *bījs-*) is superseded.

91a: Bailey's supplement *baisa<vrā>ṣā* (*KBT*, 1st ed.) is unnecessary.

91d–92b: Bailey's translation 'all those having *dharma-kāya* nature assemble even on one hair's tip, all the Buddhas of the three times' (*Dict.* 280–281 s.v. *bījs-*) is superseded.

92: Cf. vv. 21–22.[54]

93: The verb *bud-* is used with *vimūha-* e.g. in Z 23 10.30 *biśśä butte vimūha* 'He perceives all the *vimokṣa*s'. The ms. *maista* 'great' for **bausta* 'he realised' is a trivial mistake due to the similarity of the cursive akṣaras *ba* and *ma* and of the vowel diacritics *-au* and *-ai*, and may have been induced by the frequent occurrence of the phrase *mästa vimūha* 'the (eight) great releases': cf. Z 21.108 (SI M 14.1r2 *SDTV* 3.212) *mästa [väm]ūha* and 23.369 *mästa vimūha*, *Bcd* 39 (51v2) *mista vimuha*, SI P 4.9v1 *SDTV* 3.26 *m[is]ta v[i]mūha* and SI P 4.9v4 *SDTV* 3.26 *[mis]ta vimūha*.

94: According to *VkN*, the bodhisattva who has attained the Inconceivable Release hurls the trichiliocosm beyond as many universes as there are sands in the Ganges and puts it back again without the beings noticing anything (§ V.12), and he makes it seem to the beings who become followers of Buddhism in a long or a short time that seven days last an aeon or that an aeon lasts seven days (§ V.13).[55] This seems to be referred to briefly in the first hemistich by means of a cliché: cf. Z 1.48 *śśonā paramāṇava pharu kṣetra kṣaṇuvo kalpa praveśa balysä [* 'The Buddha might introduce (*praveśa* 3 sg. opt. act. to *praveś-* from Skt. *praveśaya-*) many *kṣetra*s in one single atom, *kalpa*s in moments …', 1.187 *kṣaṇvo biśśä kalpa ttuvāyīndä u parimāṇvo kṣettra* 'They convey whole *kalpa*s into moments and *kṣetra*s into atoms', 9.23 *kṣaṇuvo biśśä kalpa ttuvāstāndä gyasta balysa ttr̥-adhva panye kṣaṇä kṣettra tr̥-adhva paniña paramāṇavo tranda* 'The Lord Buddhas of the three times have conveyed entire *kalpas* into moments, in every moment the fields of the three times entered every atom' and 16.63 *kṣaṇvo biśśä tvāyätä kalpa paramāṇuvo' harbiśśä [kṣettra]* 'He conveys whole *kalpa*s into moments and whole *kṣetra*s into atoms' (my supplement and translations).

95: Cf. 75cd. Bailey's tentative translations of 95b–d 'thought in a moment has entered, it is to be thought in a moment, thought directs, in the same moment the *dharma*-doctrine is established' (*Dict.* 358 s.v. *rrays-*, with wrong "*vaiṣṭā*") and 95d 'at the same moment it stays on the *dharma*-doctrine' (*Dict.* 457 s.v. *hama-* 'same') are superseded.

54 See Maggi 2003b, pp. 21–22

55 See *VkN*-Skt 236 and Lamotte 1962, pp. 253–254.

96: At the beginning of the verse, BAILEY (*KBT*, 1st ed.) and SKJÆRVØ read *u ṣadā*, but do not offer a translation (*u* 'and' and a derivative of *ṣaddā-* 'faith'?). In the second edition of *KBT* Bailey opted for a reading *u ṣa dā*, perhaps having in mind a possible translation 'and this Doctrine'. However, this reading does not make much sense either. In reality, the first akṣara is undoubtedly *rra*, not *u*. The corrected reading immediately suggests the supplement *rraṣ<ṭ>a dā* 'true Doctrine', a common phrase that fits the context perfectly. This verse answers the question why Vimalakīrti appears in the form of a layman (v. 93) and has a loose connection with *VkN* V.16: *evam acintyavimokṣapratiṣṭhito bodhisatvaḥ sarvasatvāni cakravarttyādirupāṇy*[56] *adhitiṣṭhed* (*VkN*-Skt 240) 'Thus, the bodhisattva who is established in the Inconceivable Release can magically appear in the form of all beings beginning with (the form of) a universal souverain'.

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56 Read °*rūpāṇy*.

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Tumschukische[1] Miszellen I

Beobachtungen zur Metrik

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§ 1 Vorbemerkungen

Wie man das aus anderen schriftlichen Überlieferungen kennt, scheidet auch im Tumschukischen [TS] der Duktus die Handschriften in zwei Gruppen: Dokumente in einer flüchtigeren Gebrauchsschrift und literarische Erzeugnisse in einer stärker durchgebildeten Schriftform.[2] Die zweite Gruppe ist durch Neufunde[3] nun an Zahl etwa den Dokumenten gleich, nach Umfang und Erhaltung diesen aber immer noch weit unterlegen.[4] Es überwiegen Texte, in denen Personen handeln und sprechen, letzteres teilweise in Versen.[5] Der Umstand,

1 Unter den versehiedenen Bezeichnungen, die der in Rede stehenden iranischen Sprache beigelegt worden sind, scheint mir die von R. E. Emmerick benutzte „Tumshuqese" (vgl. Emmerick 1985, S. 8), die einfachste und neutralste. Eingedeutscht und orthographiseh geglättet, werde ich sie verwenden, obwohl ieh selbst kürzlich (Maue 2004, S. 209) „Gūẓdikiseh" ins Spiel gebraeht habe. Aber auch das wäre ja nur eine artifizielle, wenngleich an den alten Namen von Maralbaschi (nahe Tumschuk) anknüpfende Benennung.

2 Hitch 1989, S. 432f., sprieht sich für die Unterseheidung „business script" vs. „literary script" aus und empfiehlt, die Klassifizierung „formal" und „cursive" zu meiden, da diese den sehiefen Eindruek entstehen lasse, die Kursivschrift sei niehts weiter als eine – salopp gesagt – schlampige Variante der formalen Sehrift. Gegen eine Sprachregelung Dokumentenschrift vs. Buehsehrift o. ä. wäre in der Tat niehts einzuwenden.

3 Vgl. Maue 1996, S. 211ff. und Maue 2006.

4 In Maue 2006 sind es die Nummern 7–9, 16–28.

5 Zu Entwicklung und Typen der indischen prosimetrischen Erzählliteratur vgl. die Übersieht bei Hahn 1992, S. 4. In Zentralasien hat sich offenbar dureh Hybridisierung mit dem Tanz- und Schauspiel eine neue Textgattung, die Erzählung mit szenischen Einlagen, herausgebildet, wofür die Tocharer die indische Bezeiehnung *nāṭaka* verwendeten. Bei unvollständig überlieferten Texten stellt sich nicht selten die Frage, ob sie zu dieser Gattung zu zählen sind. Für das Toeharische hat W. Winter (1984a, S. 47ff.), E. Siegs Beobachtungen weiterführend, einen Kriterienkatalog entwickelt, wonach jene Frage entsehieden werden kann. Kein Zweifel kann demnach aufkommen, wenn sehon im Titel eines Werks der Verwendungszweek klargestellt ist, wie etwa im Falle des toehA Maitreyasamitināṭäk. Daher ist die vorsichtige Einleitung zu Röhrborn 1994, S. 99, was das toeharisehe Werk angeht, ebenso verfehlt, wie die Titelfrage, ob dessen alttürkisehe Bearbeitung ein „Textbueh für theatralische Darstellungen" sei, unbeantwortet bleibt. (Im Kernstück geht es um die Semantik von uig. *körünč* und Ableitungen,

daß die Namen der Akteure gelegentlich erhalten sind, erlaubt uns in günstigen Fällen, die meist arg fragmentierten tumschukischen [ts] Stücke an besser Überliefertes anzuschließen, ohne daß bisher dadurch ein entscheidender Fortschritt im Verständnis der ts Stücke sich eingestellt hat: ein, genauer zwei HOERNLE-Fragmente aus dem IOL gehören in den Umkreis des Araṇemi-Jātaka,[6] die Haṃsasvara-Fragmente (HL 18) zu einem im Uig. besser erhaltenen *Haṃsasvara-Avadāna[7] und schließlich drei wohl aus demselben Blatt stammenden Pariser Fragmente (HL 27), wenn nicht alles täuscht, zu einer Fassung des Viśvantara-Jātaka.[8] Ebenfalls diesem literarischen Genos zuzuordnen ist KONOWS Text Nr. 8, auch wenn König Vajradaṇḍa, den wir am Anfang der Seite a an einem gewissen Meru die Königsweihe vollziehen und an deren Ende sein irdisches Leben verlassen sehen,[9] sich bisher anderswo nicht nachweisen ließ.[10] In der Vorbemerkung zu diesem Text schreibt KONOW:

> die auf „Schaustück" reduziert werden soll, nur in speziellen Kontexten um die Konnotation „+übernatürlich" angereichert. Diese Auffassung wird man bei *riḍivid körünč* [*o.c* 100; daß, wie *ibid.* bemerkt, problematisches *vid* in *ulug vid körünč* „eine Rückbildung aus *riḍivid* sein" könnte, ist nicht neu und in *Caitya* 299, Anm. 94, nachzulesen] noch teilen können, nicht jedoch im Fall von *devavataran körünč*. Auch die exakte und durchaus nicht triviale semantische Herleitung der Derivate von *körünč*, besonders die von *körünčlä-* „betrachten", bleibt RÖHRBORN schuldig. Völlig überflüssig dagegen ist der Verweis auf eine angebliche semantische Parallelentwicklung von lat. *spectaculum* und obendrein unzutreffend, da dessen Bedeutungsentfaltung nicht von einer Grundbedeutung „Anblick" ausgeht, sondern, wenn man LEUMANN/HOFMANN/SZANTYR: *Lateinische Laut- und Formenlehre*, München 1977, §285.2, Glauben schenken darf, von „Schaustätte".) Immerhin findet man in dem Beitrag, dem es eher an Salz als an Galle mangelt, z.T. abgelegene Sekundärliteratur zur Titelfrage.

6 Das eine Fragment ist durch BAILEY in Bild (1960, Tafel XXI) und Umschrift (1968, S. 44) längst bekannt, bei HITCH 1985 unter Tq9 bearbeitet, vgl. zuletzt dazu SCHMIDT 2000, S. 301. (Die Festschrift für Hamilton [BAZIN/ZIEME 2000], wo der zitierte Beitrag von K.T. SCHMIDT erschienen ist, ist auch sonst eine wahre Fundgrube für den Araṇemi-Stoff: W. SUNDERMANN hat die sogdischen Überreste beigesteuert [S. 339–348] und J. EBERT zugehörige Bildfragmente gedeutet [S. 25–41], ferner P. ZIEME neues uigurisches Belegmaterial vorgelegt [S. 416–421].) Das zweite Fragment ist jetzt bei SKJÆRVØ 2002, S. 446, unter IOL Khot 203/9 transliteriert; der darin genannte Prinz Uttara ist der Sohn des Königs Araṇemi. Meine eigene Umschrift aus 1990 weicht in mehreren Punkten ab, so daß die Lesungen noch einmal am Original abgeglichen werden sollten. Die beiden Stücke finden sich bei MAUE 2006 unter der Nr. 17 vereint.

7 Vgl. MAUE 1996, S. 212.

8 Einen raschen Überblick über Inhalt, Quellen, Editionen und Sekundärliteratur bietet PANGLUNG 1981, S. 40f. und 109f.; auch das Tocharische hat zwei Fragmente, A 70 und – bei PANGLUNG *l.c.* nicht angeführt – B 370, letzteres insofern richtungweisend, als dort Frau Mādrī in der nasalierten Form Māndri erscheint wie in den Pariser Bruchstücken. Die gleichnamige Königin in TochA 123b1 ist dagegen die Gattin des Pāṇḍu.

9 Dazu vgl. MAUE 2004, S. 209.

10 KONOW hat sich über Inhalt und Absicht des Gesamttexts kein Bild machen können. Er glaubte (1935, S. 813) eine Kritik des Verfassers an der dichterisch-literarischen Verwendung des TS heraushören zu können, eine nicht nachvollziehbare Vermutung, die er später (1947, S. 172) nicht wiederholt, aber auch nicht durch eine andere ersetzt hat.

> Auf der Rückseite, Z. 3, kommt weiter der aus [Tocharisch, D.M.] B wohlbekannte Metrumname *niṣkramātne* vor. Das Metrum besteht aus 4 × 17 Silben, und danach kann das fehlende linke Stück auf etwa fünf akṣaras geschätzt werden.[11]

Wir wollen nun prüfen, ob über 70 Jahre nach Konow 1935 und mit neuem Material mehr zur materia metrica gesagt werden kann (§ 2), und was sich daraus für die von Konow ins Spiel gebrachte Kalkulation der Blattformate ergibt (§ 3).

§ 2 Strophen: Namen, Struktur, Interpunktion

Kommen wir zunächst wieder auf Konows Bemerkung zu *niṣkramātne* zurück. Unter Verwendung des *epitheton ornans* „wohlbekannt“[12] verweist er auf TochB. Das ist auffällig. Denn die Berliner TochB-Texte, wo das „Metrum“ viermal mit namentlicher Nennung[13] vorkommt, sind damals noch nicht veröffentlicht. Die beiden ergiebigen Vorkommen bei Lévi[14] werden nicht erwähnt, auch nicht die seit 1921 gedruckt vorliegenden Belege aus TochA.[15] Das deutet darauf hin, daß Konow seine Information von jemand anderem hat, offenbar von W. Siegling.[16] Daß dieser TochB als Quelle nennt, ist aus der Endung *-ne* erklärlich, dem Lokativ-Kennzeichen in TochB, wodurch Entlehnung aus TochA (Lokativ auf *-aṃ*) ausgeschlossen ist. Das nach Abzug von *-ne* verbleibende *niṣkramāt* stimmt mit den tocharischen Formen jedoch nicht völlig überein. Anders als TochA, das stets *niṣkramānt* bezeugt, zeigt TochB einen uneinheitlichen Befund[17]: 1. *n*[i]ṣkramānt TochB 347(T III M 146.7) a3, Herkunft: Turfangebiet; 2. niṣkramāṃ TochB 81(T III Š 102.6)a2[18], Herkunft: Šorčuk; 3. niskramaṃ Toch B 515 (MQR 96) b4[19]; niṣkraman Lévi 1933 K 10a5 (nach Sieg 1938, S. 45,

11 Konow 1935, S. 813, in Konow 1947, S. 172, wird sinngemäß nur der erste Satz wiederholt.

12 Konow 1947, S. 172, abgeschwächt: „which we know from Kuchean“.

13 Nur diese verleiht Sicherheit, da Strophen gleichen Baus auch unter verschiedenen Bezeichnungen firmieren, vgl. die Übersichten bei Poucha 1955, S. 445f. (TochA), und Adams 1999, S. 828 (TochB).

14 Lévi 1932, S. 255 r5; S. 256 r5; erneut in Lévi 1933 Text K 10a5; 11a5, mit der fehlerhaften Angabe „nom d'un mètre de 4 x 18 [sic!] syllabes“ (*o.c.* S. 132).

15 TochA 13b1 ff. (2 fast vollständige Strophen), 11a3–6 (1 nahezu komplette Strophe), 307b1–2 (Pāda c komplett, Pāda a bis auf 1 Silbe vollständig, die Pādas b und d unvollständig) sehr fragmentarisch in 265a3–5 (Teile einer Strophe), 260b8 (Anfang eines Pādas), 273b4 (dto.), 320a6 (Teile verschiedener Pādas).

16 Er war es auch, der Konow „eine sehr sorgfältige Abschrift [sc. der in Konow 1935 veröffentlichten Texte, D.M.] zur Verfügung gestellt“ hat (Konow 1935, S. 773).

17 Die Transliterationen sind nicht die der Herausgeber, sondern folgen den unten in § 4 erklärten Regelungen.

18 Unbeanstandete Form, auch in der neubearbeiteten Ausgabe, ferner so in *TEB II* Text XVI,14 und folgerichtig als Lemma im Glossar (*TEB II*,204). Schmidt 2000, S. 309, ändert dagegen kommentarlos in *niṣkramānt*. – Der überlange Pāda b kommt in Ordnung durch *yāmṣateñ* statt *yāmṣate ñiśś*, das aus Pāda d hierher verschleppt ist.

19 Dazu TochB, S. 319, Anm. 7: „Sic! Für *niṣkramaṃt*.“

jedoch *niṣkramān*, wie TochB 81); ebenso, aber stark ergänzt in K 11a5 (nach SIEG 1938, S. 50, allerdings *niṣkramat*, isolierte Form); Herkunft: Kučā-Region. Genaue Form und Herkunft von niṣkramā[ ] TochB 610a5[20] sind unbekannt. Mit wahrscheinlich einer Ausnahme haben alle tocharischen Varianten /n/ in der dritten Silbe, das TS dagegen nicht. Dieses Defizit ist nicht aus internen Zwängen des ts Sprachsystems zu erklären und ist daher wohl als Fehler anzusehen. Es gibt zwei Möglichkeiten, die Korruptel zu heilen. Die erste besteht in der Annahme, handschriftliches *tne* sei für *nne* verschrieben;[21] die zweite in der Vermutung, daß über *mā* ein Anusvāra fehlt. Im ersten Fall kommen wir zu einer Form, die der von Toch 81 äquivalent ist, im zweiten zu der Entsprechung der Form aus Toch347. Daß HL 8 und TochB denselben Fundort, vielleicht dieselbe Fundstelle haben, möglicherweise also in derselben Tradition stehen, favorisiert die Konjektur [n]iṣkramā<ṃ>t.

Aus dem tocharischen Material konnte nicht nur der Umfang der Strophe, 4 Pādas zu je 17 Silben,[22] ermittelt werden, sondern auch die Gliederung der Pādas in 3 Kola mit 5+7+5 Silben oder 6+6+5 Silben.[23] Für alle metrischen Einlagen in Prosatexten gilt: Die Pādagrenzen werden durch Doppelpunkt, seltener durch einfachen Punkt markiert, das Strophenende zusätzlich durch ein Zahlzeichen, das angibt, die wievielte Strophe die vorangehende ist. Die Zählung beginnt bei jeder metrischen Einlage neu. Am Ende einer metrischen Partie steht ein Doppeldaṇḍa, am Anfang zwischen zwei Doppeldaṇḍas ein *terminus technicus* im Lokativ, der gemeinhin, aber ungenau als „Metrumsname" apostrophiert wird. „Strophenname" ist in jedem Fall der Wahrheit näher. Vielleicht ist mit WINTER[24] die Vortragsweise bezeichnet.[25]

20 Dazu TochB, S. 390, Anm. 5: „Erg. zu *niṣkramā(ntne)*."

21 WINTER 1984b, S, 109, Anm. 7, zitiert unseren Beleg so, als stünde tatsächlich *nne* in der Handschrift, was aber nicht der Fall ist, wie HITCH 1985 comment 8.ii zu Tq8 zurecht betont. Einen von WINTER unklar formulierten Zusammenhang mit dem tochB Ostdialekt der Turfanoase kann ich nicht erkennen.

22 Da das quantitierende Prinzip nach allem Anschein dem Tocharischen fehlt, muß aus allgemeinen Erwägungen noch ein die Silbenzählung ergänzendes Gestaltungsmerkmal hinzutreten, das dafür verantwortlich ist, daß die Wortstellung in den Strophen signifikant von der in der Prosa abweicht. WINTER 1959, S. 520, bringt den Iktus als mitkonstituierendes Merkmal der tocharischen Versbildung in die Diskussion, die aber ins Stocken geraten ist und, wenn ich nichts übersehen habe, nicht über den Stand hinausgekommen ist, den STUMPF 1971, S. 67f., so beschreibt: „bisher originellste Theorie über die tocharische Metrik. W. Winters aus der Betrachtung der Stellung der Partikeln gewonnene These, es handele sich um ein Iktenprinzip, wobei die letzte Silbe eines Kolons jeweils schwach sei, hat gute Gründe für sich. Das Bild ... ist aber nicht so eindeutig".

23 TochA,XI gibt für die Siebzehnsilber ohne Nennung spezieller Metren nur 6+6+5.

24 WINTER 1984a, S. 60f., nimmt Anstoß an der herkömmlichen Auffassung, weil keine ein-eindeutigen Beziehungen zwischen Bezeichnungen und Strophenformen bestehen. Es gibt Strophen gleicher Struktur, die unterschiedliche Bezeichnungen tragen und umgekehrt Bezeichnungen, die unterschiedlichen Strophenformen zugeordnet sind.

25 Das zieht auch PINAULT 1989, S. 200, in Erwägung.

Mit diesem Vorwissen ausgestattet und unter der Annahme, daß wir im TS vergleichbare Verhältnisse vorfinden, können wir uns nun wieder Text 8,b 3ff.[26] zuwenden.

b3 [... ||] *ni*ṣkramā<n>tne[27] || χšandā $g_2$ed$_1$i $g_2$udnā bśañye jambudviwe mara ṣde[28] + + :[29]

b4 [...] ʒ[a?]nandi $v_1$anande ārrandi pg_2ändi : ji g_1a $g_2$udnā pd_1i t/ne gū + +

b5 [...] g_1[e]d_1i . emiñcañye az/gñye[30] g_2i t/na we me χš*ere* g_2a<u>r</u>a<u>g</u>$_1$ārū*ñca*[31] biś*ä*[32]

Pāda a ist mit 17 Silben komplett, wie auch der abschließende Doppelpunkt bestätigt. In der Mitte schält sich ein sechssilbiges Syntagma *bśañye jambudviwe* „in ganz Indien (Jambŭdvīpa)" heraus, 6 Silben gehen voran, 5 folgen. Dadurch ist, selbst wenn die Zeile als ganzes unverständlich bleibt, die Kolonaufteilung 6+6+5 gesichert, in Übereinstimmung mit dem aus dem Tocharischen Erwarteten. In b4 ist *ārrandi pg$_2$ändi* als das fünfsilbige Schlußkolon auszumachen.[33] Davor sind sechs Silben erhalten, die das Mittelkolon bilden könnten.[34] Es könnte aber auch ein Siebener-Kolon vorausgehen. Die Verszeile wäre dann in

26 Wie bisher üblich wird das TS in einer Mischform von Transliteration und interpretierender Transkription dargeboten, was in einer künftigen Edition strikt zu vermeiden ist. Zu Besonderheiten der Darstellung s.u. § 4 – Entscheidungen über Worttrennungen werden hier nur ausnahmsweise besprochen. Sie gehen zumeist auf Konow zurück und sind so disponibel wie seine Interpretationen.

27 Zur Konjektur s. o.

28 So richtig Hitch 1985 gegen Konows *marande*.

29 Der Doppelpunkt ist zweifelsfrei, die beiden letzten Akṣaras sind verwischt. Das zweite Akṣara ist am ehesten *pt/ni*.

30 Bereits zur Zeit der *editio princeps* war der von Konow als unsicher gelesenes g akzeptierte Bestandteil kaum erkennbar und aus Zeile b6 *agnye* extrapoliert. Der heutige Zustand des zwischenzeitlich in mehrere Stücke zerbrochenen Blattfragments ist an der ersten Stelle (DTA TS 6a Seite b Z. 3) weniger aufschlußreich als das Photo in Konow 1935, Tafel 8, an der zweiten Stelle aber (DTA TS 21c Seite b Z. 2 v.u.) so gut erhalten, daß durch digitale Bildbearbeitung einerseits das von Hitch 1985, comment 8.v, alternativ zu g vorgeschlagene *ś* wegen des fehlenden inneren Schrägstrichs ausgeschlossen werden kann, andererseits z sich anbietet. Wäre letzteres wirklich intendiert, könnte Konows immer unwahrscheinlicher werdende Spekulation (1935, S. 44; auch 1947 noch vertreten, wie die Übersetzung zeigt), daß hier von Agni = Qarašahr die Rede sei, verabschiedet werden. Frei wäre dann der Anschluß an *azni-* „Tag" (Skjærvø 1987, S. 83) bzw. *aznia-* (Skjærvø TS, Glossar).

31 Gesichert durch b7.

32 Von dem zweiten Punkt des *ä*-Diakritikums fehlt jede Spur.

33 Wegen des obligatorischen fünfsilbigen Schlußkolons ist zweisilbige Lesung von *pg$_2$ändi* anzunehmen, worauf auch schon die Schreibung in zwei Akṣaras hinweist. Keinesfalls auszuschließen ist Konows Umsetzung in (zweisilbig zu messendes) *p^{ä}yandi* (1935, S. 814) bzw. p^{ä}g^y*andi* (so statt intendiertem p^{ä}g^y*andi* 1947, S. 172). Zur Problematik der, wie ich sie nenne, konnexen Schreibungen vgl. Maue 2002, S. 87.

34 Von der Vollständigkeit der ersten Verbform geht man seit Konow 1935, S. 813, aus, vgl. Skjærvø 1987, S. 79, und Maue 1996, S. 218.

5+7+5 Silben aufgeteilt. Nach den o.g. Interpunktionsregeln ist die Strophe noch nicht zu Ende. Ob der folgende Pāda mit einem Fünfer- oder Sechserkolon eröffnet, muß so offen bleiben, wie Worttrennung und Deutung unklar sind.

Eine zweite Metrumsbezeichnung in demselben Text hat erst WINTER (1984b, S. 108 mit Anm. 7) vermutet, während KONOW 1935, S. 44, mit Bezug auf das Textstück a4 Ende bis Anfang der Zeile 5 bemerkt, daß „jedenfalls ein Wort der B-Sprache gehört: *orocce ‚groß'*". Die Übersetzung (KONOW 1935, S. 45, und 1947, S. 172, wo keine kommentierende Vorbemerkung beigegeben ist) läßt die Einschränkung auf ein Wort nicht erkennen. Der Textauszug lautet:

a4 [...] tsāri renda . itna yi g_1a ṣe cchatri nāma renda ˛ || orocce n/tau[35] mntai[36] ṣṇe

a5 [...] śi ṣā ne . rid_1c bri yi[37] rv_1anenu bri χšerānanu *b*ri . jezdanu bri bi

WINTER *(l.c.)* vermutet „*orocce naumntai*[*y*?] *ne* (so to be read, or *naumntaiy ne*)", was, ohne, geschweige denn einen zwingenden Grund vorgetragen, kaum Nachfolge erwarten kann. Eng am handschriftlichen Befund bleibt HITCH 1985, Tq8a4, mit *orocce- naumntaiṣne* (so statt überliefertem °*ṇe*[38]); die im comment 8.vi vorgetragene Idee ist sehr beachtenswert: in *naumntaiṣne* liege mit WINTER die ostdialektale TochB-Form für *nauntai* (Obl., Nom. unbelegt) „Straße" vor, wovon ein Adj. auf *-ṣṣe-*, gefolgt von dem Lokativ-Suffix *-ne* gebildet sei. Es würde demnach eine zentraldialektale Form **nauntaiṣṣane* entsprechen, und der Gesamtausdruck wäre zu verstehen als „in der (Vortragsweise/Strophenform) Große Straße". Ob so oder anders: wenn eine Strophenbezeichnung vorliegt, sollten in Zeile 5 die Spuren einer wie immer gearteten Strophe nachzuweisen sein. Doppelpunkte als Pādatrenner finden sich zwar nicht, aber sie sind, wie oben bemerkt, nicht obligatorisch. Zwei einfache Punkte aber schneiden ein Textstück mit 13 Silben aus, das dank der Parallelismen wie von selbst in drei Kola mit 4+4+5 Silben zerfällt; danach wieder ein viersilbiges Kolon und ein weiteres, wenn man *bi* zu *biśanu bri* ergänzen darf; hierauf müßte noch ein fünfsilbiges Kolon folgen, um einen weiteren Dreizehnsilber zu bilden. Die erwünschte Unterstützung seitens des Tocharischen ist bezüglich der Zäsuren nicht zu erhalten. In TochB gibt es zwar Dreizehnsilbler sowohl in gleichmäßigen als auch in ungleichmäßigen Strophen,[39] aber keine mit der hier festgestellten Kolonaufteilung.

35 KONOW 1935, S. 44 und 1947, S. 172: tau.

36 KONOW 1935, S. 44, liest noch *m*^{e}*nte*, nimmt also doppeltes *e*-Diakritikon über *mnt-*, was er aber 1947, S. 172, zugunsten von *mntai* aufgibt.

37 Oder *briyi*?

38 Der zerebrale Nasal kann durch die Ligatur mit dem zerebralem Sibilanten verursacht sein.

39 Vgl. TochB (1983), 269f. und 273ff.; ADAMS 1999, S. 828. In TochA ist nur eine gemischte Strophe (4×13+21) nachgewiesen.

In dem größeren Londoner Araṇemi-Jātaka – Fragment kommt *karyortañe* vor, das unschwer mit TochB 350b3 *karyorttaññene*[40] (erwartungsgemäß mit Lokativ-Suffix, das im TS fehlt) zu verbinden ist.[41] Die so bezeichnete Strophe besteht, wie die Herausgeber von TochB aus dem Erhaltenen extrapolieren, aus vier Zwölfsilbern mit Zäsur nach der fünften Silbe. Da in der ts Handschrift direkt nach der zwischen Doppeldaṇḍa stehenden Strophenbezeichnung der Text weggebrochen ist, ist scheinbar diese Erkenntnis für das TS nicht zu verwerten.

Es gibt noch einen sicheren und zwei höchst unsichere Kandidaten für eine Strophenbezeichnung, ohne daß aus dem Tocharischen Hilfe kommt:

HL 18i a2] : ji h[v]vanid$_1$i : || śmaśān[...] ‚Dann spricht er [in (der Strophe namens)] Leichenplatz-[...]'

Ziemlich dunkel ist HL 18h b2 (= DTA TS 10 Seite b2) [ ]au x[]ṃ ñe nāṭakya || mvo [ ]. Wenn *mvo* Akk.Sg. des Pers.-Pron. der 1. Pers.[42] ist, so beginnt mit diesem Wort wörtliche Rede. Dieser sollte, wenn sie in Prosa steht, ein *verbum dicendi* ohne Interpunktion vorausgehen, was nicht zutrifft; oder wenn sie metrisch ist, die tochB Strophenbezeichnung zwischen Doppeldaṇḍas, was der Fall gewesen sein sollte. Vermißt wird das tochB Lokativ-Suffix, dessen Fehlen aber, wie oben gesehen, nicht ohne Parallele ist. Wie die Bezeichnung, in der offenbar skt. *nāṭaka-* ‚Tanz, Schauspiel' enthalten ist, zu komplettieren ist, steht dahin.

Auf einem der Pariser Fragmente (HL 27a Seite b4) lesen wir: [ ] n/t[] a x[]ṃ ya mne || g$_1$[ ], wo man das tochB Lokativ-Suffix *-ne* zu erkennen vermeint.

Schon bei erster flüchtiger Betrachtung zeigt HL 25[43] äußere Anzeichen, die auf metrische Gestaltung hinweisen könnten: Doppelpunkte und besonders in b2 die Zahl 19. Ein Strophenname ist ebensowenig vorhanden wie die o.g. Grenzmarkierungen, die Prosa und metrische Partien trennen. Daraus ist man zu schließen versucht, daß der gesamte Text metrisch gestaltet ist.

a1 birvayo[44] : ne va dāru v$_1$aṣṭandi : pex$_5$a mare stro ṣka lba kya pasvanu a [...]
a2 de xvo dr̥yo pad$_1$eso biśe suha birvayo : kad$_1$e pa tha n/ta rai va : [...]
a3 []ā []ā x[]i[45] d$_1$e [+] []au []*o* [...]

40 Wenn die ts Einfachschreibung der Konsonanten bereits auf die tochB Quelle zurückgeht, dann gehört sie nach Winter (1984b, S. 95, Kriterium Nr. 23) zu den Šorčuq-typischen Merkmalen.

41 Meines Wissens erstmals – in Anlehnung an Winter – als „tune" bezeichnet von Hitch 1985, Tq9 comm. 9.v, dann auch Schmidt 1988, S. 308 („Metrumsbezeichnung") und wieder in 2000, S. 301.

42 So belegt auch im Karmavācanā-Text, vgl. Skjærvø 1987, S. 87, und Schmidt 1988, S. 312.

43 = DTA TS 19a und 19b. Das kleine Randstück 19b paßt genau an die linke Seite von 19a und komplettiert den Blattrand.

44 So hier und in a2 statt ebenso gut möglichem *bircayo*. Anzuschließen an khot. *bärravīya* „glücklich". Bestätigend hierfür ist die Verbindung mit dem ind. Lehnwort *suha*, (< pkt.; skt. *sukha*) in Z. a2, die auch im Khotanischen belegt ist, vgl. Bailey 1979, S. 288.

45 Blanco im Schnürlochbereich.

b-2 pasdvaid$_1$i tsa ṣain/tai : in/tā pasvanu pu +[46] ṣa tsāri ts[] *r*[] [...]
b-1 g$_2$aṇvañe g$_2$i harista 19 marña aśvaña suha kvozāka : phvä x[] [...]

In a1 und a2 präsentieren sich je ein Siebensilber. In a2 gehen diesem 14 Silben voraus, die sehr wahrscheinlich einen Pāda bilden. Mittelzäsur und weitere Aufteilung der Kola in Gruppen von 4+3 Silben, die wahrscheinlich auch für die selbständigen Siebensilber gilt,[47] sprechen deutlich dafür. Einen Vierzehnsilber wird man sich wohl auch am Ende von a1 vorstellen dürfen. Dasselbe *birvayo,* das den Vierzehnsilber in a2 schließt, bildet auch am Anfang von a1 die Kadenz eines höchstwahrscheinlich sieben- oder vierzehnsilbigen Pādas. Es ergibt sich also mit gewissen Unsicherheiten folgende Struktur: [?+]7/14+7+14[+?]+14+7[+?]. Mehr ist nicht zu ermitteln; denn Strophen mit Siebensilbern sind aus dem Tocharischen nicht bekannt. Es ist nicht zu entscheiden, ob im Tocharischen eine Überlieferungslücke vorliegt oder eine eigenständige Kreation im TS. Die erste Verszeile der mutmaßlichen Strophe 20 (b-1) ist ein Zehnsilber mit Mittelzäsur. Die beiden Hälften sind noch einmal in 2+3 Silben unterteilt. Mit Zehnsilbern eröffnende Strophen kennt das TochA nicht, das TochB einige, zumeist gemischte.[48]

Noch an einer größeren Zahl von Stellen treffen wir Interpunktionen (einfache, doppelt gesetzte Punkte, Doppeldaṇḍas), allerdings mit sehr geringem Kontext. Zur Vermeidung voreiliger Schlußfolgerungen schien es geraten zu sein, bei tocharischen Handschriften Auskunft über die Verwendung der Interpunktionen einzuholen.[49] Während sich in der Behandlung der strophischen Einlagen die beiden tocharischen Überlieferungen gleich verhalten, so wie oben beschrieben, weist die Interpunktierung der Prosa Unterschiede auf. TochA ist spärlich interpunktiert; dabei ist der einfache Punkt äußerst selten, Doppelpunkt und Doppeldaṇḍa kommen häufiger vor,[50] frei wechselnd und nicht

46 Ungeklärtes Zeichen, so ähnlich auch in HL 22 a2 (= DTA TS 2 a2).

47 Für den in a1 ist das leicht nachvollziehbar. In a2 wird so eine Wortgrenze zwischen *tha* und *n/ta* gelegt.

48 Siehe TochB (1983), 273, und ADAMS 1999, S. 828. Was den Inhalt der Strophen angeht, ist die Häufung von *suha* und *birvayo* nicht zu übersehen und gemahnt an eine Strophensammlung zum Thema „Glück". Der erste Gedanke führt zu dem Sukhavarga, dem 30. Kapitel des auch an der nördlichen Seidenstraße außerordentlich beliebten Udānavarga. Eine Überprüfung verlief negativ. Ob ein Zusammenhang mit dem im Tocharischen, insbesondere TochB, überlieferten *Udānālaṃkāra besteht, entzieht sich unserer Kenntnis, weil aus dem fraglichen Varga bisher nichts gefunden wurde, vgl. die Übersicht in TochB, S. 81ff. [= TochB (1983), S. 267ff.].

49 Kursorisch betrachtet wurden zwei homogene prosimetrischen Texte: aus TochA die Nummern 1–25 (SIEG 1944, S. 3: „Prachtstück der Sammlung ..., 25 aufeinanderfolgende(n) Blätter(n) eines Textes in verhältnismäßig lückenloser Erhaltung"), aus TochB die Relikte des Araṇemi-Jātaka (SCHMIDT 2000, S. 299: „das am besten erhaltene Werk der westtocharischen Jātaka- und Avadāna-Literatur").

50 Die markierten Grenzen gehören unterschiedlichen Ebenen an: Kapitel, Abschnitte, Sprecher- und Handlungswechsel, Perspektivewechsel, Übergang von Protasis zu Apodosis. Am ausgeprägtesten ist die Tendenz, Aufzählungsglieder gegeneinander abzuheben.

konkurrierend. In TochB ist der Text stärker gegliedert und es zeichnet sich eine Hierarchie der Interpunktionen ab: einfacher Punkt ist Universaltrenner, doppelpunktspezifisch ist die Trennung von Sätzen und Gedankeneinheiten, Doppeldaṇḍa – auch mit vorausgehendem einfachem oder doppeltem Punkt – führt neue Handlungen und Personen ein. Die Verwendung der Interpunktionen ist aber nicht exklusiv, sondern so, daß die schwächeren Interpunktionen die Funktionen der stärkeren übernehmen können, aber nicht umgekehrt. Der Interpunktion folgt häufig *tumeṃ* ‚dann' oder *tane* ‚da', aber nicht bei bloßem Sprecherwechsel in Dialogpartien in Verbindung mit *verbum dicendi* im Präsens.[51] Auch Nichtsetzung einer Interpunktion ist von Interesse: im Gegensatz zur strophischen Rede bleibt der Übergang zur prosaischen Rede unmarkiert, dies in beiden tocharischen Überlieferungen. Ich lasse nun die ts Belege folgen und die Bewertungen, die teils ohne die tocharische Folie Gültigkeit haben, weil sie aus dem Text unmittelbar ablesbar sind (nicht-markierte Prosarede), zum größten Teil aber auf Vermutungen beruhen, die aus den tocharischen, insbesondere tochB Verhältnissen übertragen sind:

HL 9 r4 || śalanda rivana[52] hvani*d*$_1$[i …] ‚… die Königin spricht': Gegenrede im Dialog;
v2 si hvanid$_1$i || x[…] **:** Rede in strophischer Form;
v4 t/ni bārzyenu : ˷ || je araṇe*mi*[…] : Ende eines strophischen Teils (Rede?); Weiterführung (*je* ‘dann (?)’) der Erzählung oder Einleitung eines neuen Redebeitrags;

HL 18c a4 […] c/ve hvani *tha*[r]o […] ‚… sagte: So (soll es sein.)': ungekennzeichnete Prosarede;
b3 […] d*i* : || *ji* r[e]spuru *nu* m*a* […] ‚… Dann(?) den Prinzen …': Wegen der fehlenden Ziffer (˷) wahrscheinlich stärkerer Einschnitt in der Erzählung; Belege von demselben Typ HL 18e a1.4, b4; HL 18f a3, b4 ; HL 20a1 (ohne Doppelpunkt);

HL 21 a3 […] χšandā : ˷ || [j]e […] ‚… o Majestät. Dann(?) …' **:** wie HL 9 v4, jedoch durch Vokativ strophische Rede gesichert;

HL 20 b6 […] g$_2$[] : ˷ || re hvani*d*$_1$*i* ka ṣe ju azu []i […] ‚… Der König sagt: Wenn (oder: was?) immer ich …': Auf strophische Rede folgt prosaische Gegenrede ohne Grenzmarkierung nach dem *verbum dicendi*, letzteres auch in HL 18f b4.

51 Schöne Beispiele TochB 77, 1ff., 78a 1ff.
52 Begründung der Worttrennung und Interpretation bei späterer Gelegenheit.

§ 3 Strophen und Blattformat

Wir rufen uns KONOWS oben zitierte Bemerkung zum Verlust in Text 8 wieder in Erinnerung. Nach seiner Angabe ist der Text folgendermaßen aufzuteilen:

b3 (a) χšandā g_2ed_1i $g_2$udnā bśañye jambudviwe mara ṣde + + :
b4 (b) [+ + + + + +] ẓ[a?]nandi $v_1$anandi ārrandi pg_2ändi :
(c) ji g_1a $g_2$udnā pd_1i t/ne gū + + (**b5**) [+ + + + + + +] g_2ed_1i .

Es wäre hinnehmbar, daß Pāda c mit einfacher Interpunktion abgeschlossen wird. Aber der darauf folgende Textteil kann nicht der unverzichtbare Pāda d sein, da er mehr als 17 Silben und keine Interpunktion enthält. Daher ist eine andere Textverteilung und entsprechend ein anderes Blattformat zu fordern:

b3 (a) χšandā g_2ed_1i $g_2$udnā bśañye jambudviwe mara ṣde + + :
b4 (b) [+ + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + + +]
(c) [+ + + + + +] ẓ[a?]nandi $v_1$anandi ārrandi pg_2ändi :
(d) ji g_1a $g_2$udnā pd_1i t/ne gū + + (**b5**) [+ + + + + + +]

Daraus würde sich ergeben, daß 23 Silben – und so etwas mehr als die Hälfte des Blattes – fehlen. Dieselbe Textmenge muß dann auf der Seite a als verloren gelten. Das paßt perfekt, wenn man die Strophe **Nauntaiṣṣane* aus 4 Dreizehnsilbern bestehen läßt, wovon Pāda a und 10 Silben des Pāda b in der Lücke gestanden haben:

a5 (a) [+ + + + + + + + + + + + +]
(b) [+ + + + + + + + + +]śi ṣā ne .
(c) rid_1e bri yi[53] rv_1anenu bri χšerānanu *b*ri .
(d) jezdanu bri bi **a6**[+ + + + + + + +]

Die Situation im größeren der beiden Araṇemi-Fragmente ist kompliziert: Wenn die erhaltene Blattziffer 75[54] wie üblich auf der Rückseite[55] steht und die Strophe *Käryort(t)añ(ñ)e* wie im Tocharischen aus 4 Zwölfsilbern besteht, dann sollte entweder die gesamte Strophe auf dem verlorenen Teil der Z. 4 der Vorderseite gestanden haben, was aber ein ungewöhnlich breites Blatt verlangen würde, oder ein Teil auf der Z. 1 der Rückseite. Ist letzteres der Fall, dann müssen wegen fehlender Interpunktion die dort erhaltenen 12 Silben[56] einen kompletten Pāda bilden. Allerdings weicht dann die Zäsur (6+6) vom Tocharischen ab (5+7).

Noch schwieriger ist HL 25 zu beurteilen, da der Strophenbau nicht zu klären war. Es war nur wahrscheinlich zu machen, daß mit dem rechten Rand in a1

53 Oder *briyi*?
54 So auch HITCH 1985, Tq9 comm. 9.i, oder 65, jedenfalls nicht mit BAILEY (1968, S. 44) 45.
55 BAILEY 1968, S. 44, vertauscht die Seiten.
56 In Zeile 1 sind es 11, das nach *ẓmi* einzufügende *ye* steht auf der nächsten Zeile. Die Stelle der Einfügung ist durch einen hochgestellten kleinen Kreis als Auslassungszeichen markiert. *ẓmiye* ist offenbar die Langform zu HL 6,1 *ṛamye* „ich bin".

mindestens 2 Akṣaras verlorengegangen sind. Es gibt eine vage Vermutung, daß damit die Zeile zu Ende ist. Sie stützt sich auf den ziemlich sicher bestimmbaren Sitz des Schnürlochs und ein sehr beliebtes Teilungsverhältnis Abstand des Schnürlochs: Gesamtbreite des Blatts etwa wie 1 : 4. Darauf wird man allerdings nicht sicher bauen können.

Sicher dagegen ist: zwei Zeilen oberhalb bzw. unterhalb und mindestens eine, eher zwei Zeilen in Höhe des Schnürlochbereichs ergeben ein fünf- bis sechszeiliges Blatt. Die Diskussion über Vorder- und Rückseite ist nur mit Plausibilitätsargumenten zu führen: Angenommen Seite b sei die Vorderseite und am rechten Rand sei nur wenig verloren, mindestens aber 3 Silben, damit zusammen mit dem Anfang von Seite a ein Siebensilber entsteht, dann würde das zu einer unwahrscheinlichen Mixtur 10+7+7+14+14+7 führen. Legt man die Alternative zugrunde, daß a1 zu einem Vierzehnsilber aufzufüllen ist; so kommt man, weil ja auch a1 entsprechend 7 Silben mehr enthalten muß, zu der Sequenz 10+14+7+14+7+14+7, worin der isolierte Zehnsilber stört. Würde man diesen zu einer aus TochB gängigen Strophenform, z.B. 10+11+10+11, ergänzen wollen, dann käme ein völlig unförmiges Blatt heraus. Also spricht einiges dafür, daß Seite a die Vorderseite ist und mithin zwischen den beiden erhaltenen Textstücken 6 oder 8 Zeilen verloren sind, Platz für einige Strophen, die vermutlich wie das Erhaltene das Glück zum Thema haben.

Es mag sein, daß die Ergebnisse des Zählens und Kalkulierens den Aufwand nicht gerechtfertigt erscheinen lassen. Wichtig aber wäre mir, durch die Beobachtungen und Überlegungen zu den Resten ts Metrik wahrscheinlich gemacht zu haben, daß die hier besprochenen literarischen Produktionen der Tumschuker nicht ohne den Einfluß des TochB entstanden sind. Möglicherweise sind auch sie, wie Schmidt (1988, S. 313) für die ts Version der Karmavācanā wegen einer „Reihe von Wortgruppen, die im Verdacht stehen, Lehnübersetzungen aus dem Tocharischen zu sein", vorsichtig mutmaßt, unmittelbar aus TochB übersetzt. Eine so gründliche Durchdringung, Aneignung und vielleicht auch eigene Weiterbildung einer fremden literarischen Tradition ist sicher nicht das Ergebnis einer nur ephemeren Begegnung. Das nährt die Hoffnung auf weitere Handschriftenfunde.

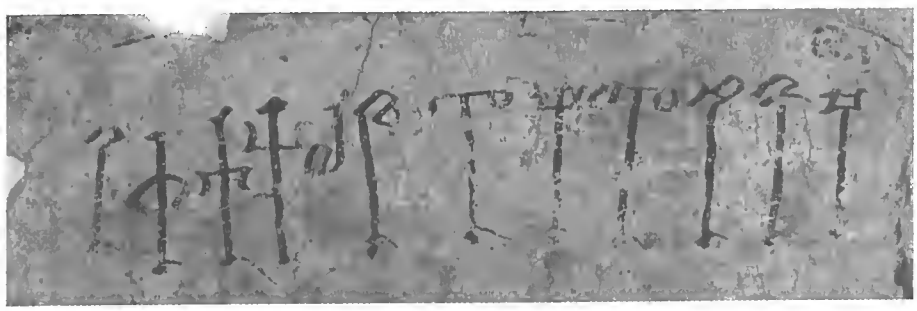
§ 4 Erläuterungen zur Umschrift des Tumschukischen

In der Umschrift des Tumschukischen sind folgende Gebrauchsweisen zu erklären:

+	1 Akṣara
x	unleserlicher Teil eines Akṣaras; (zu x mit tiefgestellter Ziffer s.u.)
...	nicht bestimmte Textmenge
a	unsichere Lesung eines „a"
[ ]	Verlust

< > Ergänzung durch Emendation
t/n alternative Lesung „t“ oder „n“

Die „Fremdzeichen“[57] werden folgendermaßen umschrieben:



Nr.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	z	g_1	g_2	ẓ	x_5	x_6	d_1	x_8	x_9	ź	v_1	χš

Mit den hier vorgestellten Symbolen soll ein Vorschlag für die Vereinheitlichung der Transliteration des TS unterbreitet werden. Sie sind ein-eindeutig: jedes Symbol ist genau einem Zeichen zugeordnet und umgekehrt. Sie sind transparent und zeigen den Erkenntnisstand: indiziertes x gibt einen ungeklärten Wert an, die Indexziffer entspricht der Platznummer in der Zeichenliste; nicht-indiziertes Symbol steht für geklärten Wert, die Buchstaben sind so gewählt, daß sie in systematischer Relation zu anderen Transliterationssymbolen stehen, Nr. 12 ausgenommen; indizierter Buchstabe außer x zeigt an, daß er dem Lautbereich des nicht-indizierten Buchstaben angehört (g) oder diesem äquivalent ist (v).

§ 5 Literatur und Abkürzungen[58]

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57 Die Abb. ist ein Ausschnitt aus DTA TS 05 Seite b.

58 Ich möchte zwei Mitstreitern auf dem steinigen Feld des Tumschukischen für die Bereitstellung von unpublizierten Materialien danken, DOUGLAS HITCH (s. unter HITCH 1985, mir bekannt seit März 2003) und PRODS OKTOR SKJÆRVØ (s. u. SKJÆRVØ TS, mir bekannt seit Juli 2002). So hilfreich diese Arbeiten sind, so problematisch ist der Umgang mit ihnen. Ich habe mich entschlossen, sie wie Publikationen zu behandeln und den Zeitpunkt, zu dem sie mir bekannt geworden sind, als fiktives Erscheinungsdatum zu setzen. Bis dato nicht anderswo publizierte neue Erkenntnisse und Vorschläge werden den Autoren zugeschrieben. Ich erwähne und dokumentiere aber nur das, was nicht, z. B. durch korrigierte Lesung, bereits überholt ist. Unstrittige Lesungen gelten als Gemeingut.

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— 2006: s. unter HL

59 Enthalten sind die Texte Tq 1–Tq 14 (= HL 1–14) und der Karmavācanā-Text mit textkritischem Apparat und Kommentar.
60 Kann beim Verfasser angefordert werden. E-Mail-Adresse: dmaue@t-online.de.

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A Working Catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian Fragments in Manichaean Script[1]

Enrico Morano, Torino

The *Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection* by Mary Boyce was a pioneering work at the time when it appeared in 1960: not only did it make available to scholars a large amount of information on these texts, which constitute one of the main primary sources for the study of Manichaeism and greatly advance the understanding of the languages in which they were written, but it had also the great merit of providing a comprehensive system of individual manuscript signature and linking it to the previously used methods of quoting the texts.[2] Long after this admirable tool, which inaugurated a new era for the study of the Berlin Turfan texts, two other useful lists of published Middle Iranian Turfan texts have been published by S. N. C. Lieu[3] and D. Weber[4]. Regarding the Sogdian Texts in Manichaean script, however, none of the aforementioned catalogues are fully satisfactory, as Boyce concentrates more on the Middle Persian and Parthian fragments, often listing the Sogdian ones only in a perfunctory manner, and the other two list only the published texts, giving no information on the unpublished ones.

The preparation of a full, updated catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian Turfan texts in Manichaean script is therefore badly needed, and its publication would extensively contribute to the work of editing the still unpublished texts. Moreover, since no existing catalogue separates the Sogdian texts from the others, it is difficult to have a comprehensive picture of the state of study of these fragments.

1 I am greatly indebted to Nicholas Sims-Williams for much help and support and for allowing me to use his material when I was working on the Sogdian database for the *SOAS Manichaean Dictionary Project*. Moreover, I wish to thank the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften for allowing me to consult the manuscripts and in particular the Akademienvorhaben "Turfanforschung" and its staff for their help and the kind hospitality they always offer me. Christiane Reck and Elio Provasi helped me on many occasions, particularly in identifying the manuscripts quoted in GMS under old signatures.

2 See Provasi 2005, p. 102.

3 Lieu 1998, pp. 196–245.

4 Photo Ed. 2, pp. 11–52.

To remedy this situation in part, I decided to prepare the present working catalogue of the Berlin Sogdian texts in Manichaean script, which, I hope, will give at least an updated and comprehensive picture of the state of publication of these texts. It is no more than a list of all the manuscripts of the Berlin collection which contain Sogdian texts in Manichaean script, with full reference to the publication for those fragments which are entirely edited, and some updated information on the contents, when possible, and references to secondary literature for those which are still unpublished or only partly published.[5]

I am glad to dedicate this contribution to the memory of a great scholar, Prof. RONALD EMMERICK, who ever since my student days in Cambridge encouraged me to research *in Turfanicis*.

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
MIK III 4970b	MSogd.	Publ. GULÁCSI, 236–237 {photo p. 119, LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen, Taf. 5c}
MIK III 4971a–c	MSogd., /V/ blank	Publ. GULÁCSI, 225 {photo p. 72; /R/ LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen, Taf. 5b1}
MIK III 4979	WMIr., Turk., MSogd.	Publ. GULÁCSI, 236–237 {photo p. 119}; /R/ one Sogd. word, /V/ one Sogd. name: rest WMIr. and Turk., with miniature of Four Kings of Heaven; /V/ miniature of Bēma scene with names LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen 53 (/R/), 54–55 (/V/) {ph. b/w Photo Ed. 1 154–155, colour LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen 8a,a and 8b,b}
MIK III 4981a, c, d, f	MSogd.	Publ. LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen 39 {ph. Photo Ed. 1 156a, LE COQ, Man. Miniaturen 4b}; republ. GULÁCSI, 242–243 {photo pp. 72–73}
MIK III 4981b	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., SLN <al>, 130–131 {ph. XL; photo GULÁCSI, p. 163}

5 Legend: In the first column: † = lost fragment; ** before signature = text in Sogdian script. In the second column: MSogd. = the fragment contains Sogdian text in Manichaean script which is entirely published; SSogd. = the fragment contains Sogdian text in Sogdian script which is entirely published; UnpMSogd. = the fragment contains unpublished Sogdian text in Manichaean script; UnpSSogd. = the fragment contains unpublished Sogdian text in Sogdian script; UnpMSogd. capt./headl. = the fragment contains one or more unpublished Sogdian captions or a Sogdian headline.

Only new identifications of manuscripts quoted in GMS with general signatures are given here, and repeated in a concordance at the bottom of the list. Those already given in Cat. are not included here.

(Par.) = *Paralipomena Manichaica*. In some GMS quotations it refers to GERSHEVITCH's private system of numbering small fragments with general signatures, see GMS, xi and Cat. XXXI.

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
MIK III 4981c	MSogd.	See above
MIK III 4981d	MSogd.	See above
MIK III 4981e	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., SLN <am>, 131 {ph. XL}
MIK III 4981f	MSogd.	Le Coq, Man. Miniaturen 39 (transcription of lines 1–7 only without transl.) {Photo Ed. 1 156b, Le Coq, Man. Miniaturen 4c, upper part only}; republ. Gulácsi, see above
MIK III 4990	MSogd.	see M 178
M1	Pe., Pth., MSogd.	Publ. Müller, Mahrnâmag {Taf. I–II; Photo Ed. 1, pl. 1–2}
M 14	MSogd., Pth. words	Publ. W./L. ii, 547–548 {Taf. II; Photo Ed. 1, pl. 14}
M 44	Pth, MSogd. capt.	Pth. parables with Sogd. caption; publ. Colditz 1987, 300f.; Sogd. capt. quoted by H., Fasts, 155 {ph. X–XI; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 7–8}. Tr. GSR 187
M 50	Pth, UnpMSogd. capt.	Pth. cantillated hymns with Sogd. capt.
M 52a	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. cantill. hymns, Sogd. captions. Same MS as M 61, 449a and others with no Sogd.
M 53	Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymns of supplication, Sogd. capt. Same MS as 230 and 2091, with no Sogd.
M 55a(?)	Pth., MSogd.?	Headline only, possibly Pth.: /A/ *'ncywg sxwn*; /B/ *(cxš'b)[yd?]*
M 58	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	
M 59	I Pe, UnpMSogd. capt.; II Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	I: Pe hymns, Sogd. capt.; II: Pth. cantill. Monday hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 61	Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Cantill. Monday hymn

6 Müller's reading (HRii, 92) of the caption /R/1/ *'yny sr pṭsr 'my xrwhw'n* does not make sense, and he left it untranslated. I propose reading *'yny sr pṭ sr 'm(d) xrwhw'n* "These (hymns should follow) strophe by strophe (the tune of) 'There came the Preacher'". The phrase *sr pṭ sr*, which occurs in other captions, e.g. M 195, must be a Pth. or Pe. technical metrical expression meaning "heading by heading, strophe by strophe" or the like. In fact, the only Sogd. word of the caption is *'yny*.

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 62	/R/ WMIr., MSogd. capt. /V/ blank	Cantill. hymn with /R/10/ Sogd. caption, publ. Cat., 6
M 64=MIK III 101	Pth, MSogd. capt.	Pth. cantillated hymns with Sogd. captions.[6] Publ. HRii 92–93, MSt. 14 {Photo Ed. 1 pl. 51b, 52b}
M 65	Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 66	Pth, Sogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymns to Living Self, Sogd. capt. Publ. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST HLS, l. 1210, pl. 1
M 74/I	Pe., MSogd. capt.	Pe. hymns with Sogd. capt., not Turk. as in Cat., 7 and Photo Ed. 2, 13. Publ. HRii, 75–77 {Photo Ed. 1, pl. 55a, 56a}
M 107	I UnpMSogd., Pth.; II UnpM-Sogd.	I/V/ numbered list of Pth. Dominions followed by Sogd. [see I.G. rev. Cat. and MHC(S), n. 3 to text 3.5]
M 108	UnpMSogd.	
M 109	Pe., Pth., MSogd.	Pe./Pth.–Sogd. glossary. Publ. H., Sogdica, a, 16 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 21}
M 110	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 111/I	I Pe., Pth., MSogd.; II Turk.	Joins M 725. Pe./Pth. and Sogd. glossary. Publ. H., Sogdica, b, 21 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 22–23}
M 112+M 146a +M 336c	/R/ MSogd.; /V/ Turk.	Joins M 146a and M 336c. Letter, publ. W.S., Briefe, I (14–42), 305–306; tr. GSR 262 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 24}
M 113 I	MSogd.; II blank	Publ. BBB §a, 41–42; tr. HG 189, GSR 148 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 25}
M 114	I MSogd., Pe., Pth., II Pe.,	Publ. BBB §d, 46–47; tr. HG 192–193, GSR 151 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 26} II: [Sogd. version in M 776]
M 115	MSogd.	Publ. MÜLLER 1907, 458–465 {Taf. vi; Photo Ed. 1 72c–d}
M 116	UnpMSogd.	Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 238–239
M 117	UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Precepts. 11–14 = M 765k/V/1–5 [I.G. rev. of Cat.]
M 118	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet. I: Questions by a pupil to a teacher, Mār Nāzugyazd. II: Precepts

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 119a, b	MSogd.	Joins M 1867a–b, publ. W.S., Briefe (II 5.19), 309f., Engl. tr. GSR 262 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 27–28}
M 120	UnpMSogd.	
M 121	UnpMSogd.	
M 122	UnpMSogd.	
M 123	UnpMSogd.	
†M 124	Pe, Pth., MSogd.	Pe./Pth.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, e, 29 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 29, from phot. Göttingen}
M 125	UnpMSogd.	
M 127	MSogd.	Tales. /R/ 8–14 ed. H., Tales C, 471. Publ. Morano forth. {Photo Ed. 2, 30}
M 128	UnpMSogd.	
M 129	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., Eva, 318ff. {Photo Ed. 2, 30}
M 130a	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 130b	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 131	MSogd.	Publ. BBB b, frgm, I A and I B, 42–45 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 33–34}; tr. HG 191 (M 131 + M 395 + M 5865), GSR 149–150, 13 §4 & 5
M 133	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., SLN <ak>, 128ff. {ph. XXXVIII–XXXIX, Photo Ed. 1, pl. 74–75}
M 134	UnpMSogd., Pth.	Double sheet. Sogdian with some Pth. words quoted
M 135	MSogd.	Publ. H., Tales A and B, 466–470 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 35–36}; tr. ML (A) 42, (B) 29, GSR 194–196
M 136	UnpMSogd.	On the hours of day and night
M 137 II	UnpMSogd.	[Same MS as M 280 and M 5264]. I Pth. (publ. Reck 2004, 93). II Song-hymn *(zndp'šyk)*. /V/10–15: H., TPS 1945, 151 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 37–38}
M 138	UnpMSogd.	Possibly a letter.
M 139 I – II	MSogd.	I: publ. BBB f 49–50 [tr. HG 193–194, GSR 151–152]; II: (liturg.) publ. BBB f 50–51 [tr. GSR 151]{Photo Ed. 2, pl. 37–38}
M 140	MSogd.	Joins M 1501: /R/6–12 Boyce, Sadwes, 909; Publ. W.S., BAI 1998, 187ff. {fig. 1–4; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 39}

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 141	UnpMSogd.	Joins M 6795, see Photo Ed. 2, p. 15. Discussed in REITZENSTEIN, NGGW 1922, 255. /V/11–13/ H. STP, 718; mentioned in SUNDERMANN 1994, 44 n. 34 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 40}
M 142	UnpMSogd.	
M 143	UnpMSogd.	
M 144	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 110
M 145	MSogd.	Joins M 1521. Pe.–Pth. and Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, o, 46 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 41}
M 146a	MSogd.	v. M 112
M 147	MSogd.	Sogd. calendar tables, publ. H., Fasts, 153 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 42}
M 148	MSogd.	Sogd. calendar tables, publ. H., Fasts, 149–150 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 43–44}
M 162a = TiD51	/R/ MSogd., /V/ Turk.	= TM 151. Same MS as M 112. /R/ (Sogd. letter) publ. W.S., Briefe I (38–40), 306 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 43–44}
M 162b = TiiK	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank.	
M 169 I	UnpMSogd.	II WMIr.
M 172 I = MIK III 196 I	Pe., MSogd.	II Turkish. I: Pe. and Sogd. interl., from Mani's Evangelion: McK., I, Mani ... 185, cf. HR ii, 100–101, MSt. 19, Sogd.: W./L. ii, 23 {ph. HR ii, Taf. 2, I, Mani ..., 196–197; Photo Ed. 1 pl. 77}; Rd. text c (Pe. only); tr. HG 184–185, GSR 146
M 178=MIK III 4990	MSogd.	Cosm., publ. H., Man. Cosm., 307 and 311–312 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 149–150; tr. GSR 235–236}. See also M 5920
M 182 + M 450	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H. Sogdica d, 26–27. Two fragments, glassed with M 450, from the same page {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 47}
M 195	Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymn, Sogd. capt.
M 197	I Pe., Pth.; II UnpMSogd.	II/V/ liturgical, publ. H., Fasts, 154 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 48}
M 207	UnpMSogd. /V/ blank	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 214 I	UnpMSogd., one side blank, II/V/ Pe.	Colophon
M 247	UnpMSogd.	
M 252b	MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, n, 46 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 53}
M 252c (?)	Pe., MSogd. (?)	Pe.–Sogd. glossary belonging to H., Sogdica, d, ll. 5–8 and 20–24 [H. *apud* Cat., 17] {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 53, but the fragment labelled M 252c does not correspond to the description given in Cat.}
M 259c	Pth., MSogd.	List of Pth. Dominions, one Sogd. word. Publ. Morano 1982, 12 {Photo Ed. 1, pl. 89}
M 264a	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 141, etc.
M 271	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt. [same MS as M 65]
M 280 II	UnpMSogd.	I Pth. (publ. Reck 2004, 95), II Sogd., Poem. [same MS as M 137 and M 5264, q.v.] {Reck 2004, Taf. I}
M 286	UnpMSogd., Pth.	Double sheet in two different hands. I/V/10ff. Pth., see I.G., rev. Cat.
M 296	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 299f	UnpMSogd.	
**M 309a	/R/ Pe., /V/ UnpSSogd., UnpMSogd., Chin.	/V/ two fragments stuck together not yet split, with Sogdian (in Man. and Sogd. script), Pe. and Chinese texts, see Reck, MH1, n. 416 {Photo Ed. 1, pl. 91}
M 309b	/R/ UnpMSogd.; /V/ Chin.	
M 311	Pe., Pth., MSogd. capt.	Pe., Pth. hymns with Sogd. capt. Publ. Reck 2004, 141 {Photo Ed. 1, pl. 92a–b}
M 329c	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. gloss. [/R/(?)ii = M 356, 5–6]. Publ. Morano 2005, 218–219 {fig. 2 p. 225}
M 336a	/R/ MSogd.; /V/ Turk.	Sogd. letter, publ. W.S., Briefe, I (1–13), 305 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 61–62}
M 336b	/R/ MSogd.; /V/ Turk.	Letter. Publ. W.S., Briefe, I (33–37), 306 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 61–62}
M 336c	/R/ MSogd.; /V/ Turk.	v. M 112

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 337	UnpMSogd.	
M 340b	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 341a	Pe., Pth., MSogd. capt	Pe., Pth. hymns with Sogd. Capt. Publ. RECK 2004, 146 {Taf. XIX}.
M 343	UnpMSogd.	
M 356	MSogd., /V/ blank	Sogd. gloss., Pe. equivalent missing. [5–9 = M 329c/R/(?)ii]. Publ. MORANO 2005, 217 {fig. 1 p. 224}
M 358	UnpMSogd.	
M 363	MSogd.	Cosm., publ. H., Gi, K, 70–71 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 63–64}
M 370	UnpMSogd.	
M 372	UnpMSogd.	
M 373	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 375	Pe., Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. hymns, Pth. and Sogd. capt.
M 378	MSogd.	Hist., publ. KG §25.1, 137–168 {ph. 78}
M 388	Pe., MSogd. capt.	Pe. hymns, Sogd. caption, publ. HR ii, 28–29, MSt. 23–24 {Photo Ed. 1, 97a–b}. See STi, 98
M 394	Pe., MSogd. capt.	Pe. Bēma hymns, Sogd. capt. Publ. RECK 2004, 152 {Taf. XXI}
M 395	MSogd.	See M 131. Publ. H., BBB b frgm. II B, 44 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 63–64}; tr. see under M 131
M 399	UnpMSogd.	Quot. of Lk. XII:24 [in /V/ acc. to I.G., rev. Cat.]. /R/ publ. W.S., Evang. 403–404 {ph. with art. pl. 8, fig. 12; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 65}
M 406	/R/ MSogd.?, /V/ blank	Iranian and Turk. names. Publ. W.S., Die Sprache, 270 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 65}
M 410	MSogd.	Hist., publ. KG §25.2, 138–139 {ph. 78}
M 420	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Confessional; late hand; tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 242
M 423	UnpMSogd.	
M 425	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. gloss.; text parallel to H., Sogdica, fr. y. From the same page as M 2066. Publ. MORANO 2005, 219–220. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 66}. Cf. M 6450

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 427b	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Transl. Asmussen, Xᵘāst., 242
M 428a	UnpMSogd.	
M 429	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.	
M 430a	UnpMSogd.	
M 449a	Pe., Pth., MSogd. capt.	Pe., Pth. Bēma hymns, Sogd. capt. Publ. Reck 2004, 147 {Taf. XIX}.
M 450	Pe., MSogd.	Joins, and is glassed together with, M 182, q.v.
M 452b	UnpMSogd.	
M 459d	UnpMSogd.	
M 476	Pe., Pth., MSogd.	Pe., Pth. hymns, Sogd. name, W.S., AoF 6, n. 140
M 481	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Colophon to a Pth. work entitled Qolasta over awareness and wisdom
M 483	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Pe.	Possibly Man. Letter iii [same MS and same texts as M 513]
M 485b	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 141, M 264, etc.
[M 496a]	Pth., Turk. Headl.	Pth. hymns to Living Self. Sogd. Headl. according to Cat., but *p'š'q* is clearly Turk. Publ. Durkin-Meisterernst HLS, l. 749 and 765, pl. 5
M 498b	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 498c	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 500k	/R/ blank, /V/ Pe., MSogd.	See M 752a {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 70}
M 500l	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 500m	UnpMSogd.	
M 500n	UnpMSogd.	From the *Book of the Giants*. /R/ publ. H., Gi, I, 70; /V/ letters only according to Cat., but in fact a piece of paper is stuck to the fragment, covering almost the entire verso page, which appears to be written. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 70}
M 501g	UnpMSogd.	
M 501h	UnpMSogd.	
M 501i	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 501j	UnpMSogd.	Late hand, perhaps colophon

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 501k	UnpMSogd.	Headl. only
M 501l	UnpMSogd.	
M 501m	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 501n	MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. gloss., publ. H., Sogdica, fr. k.
M 502l	UnpMSogd.	
M 502n	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 502o	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 243
M 502p	UnpMSogd.	
M 502q	UnpMSogd.	
M 503o	UnpMSogd.	Not Turk. as in Cat., 36. /B/3/ *β'rycfyk*
M 503p	UnpMSogd.	Not Turk. as in Cat., 36. /A/2/ *wm'tyš*
M 503q	Pe., MSogd.	Pe. and Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, s, 52 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 71–72}
M 504	UnpMSogd.	Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 243
M 513	/R/ UnpMSogd.; /V/ Pe.	Possibly Man. Letter iii, late hand. [Same MS as M 483]
M 521a	UnpMSogd.	
M 521b	UnpMSogd.	
M 528	MSogd.	Confessional, publ. BBB e, 48 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 75}
M 530	UnpMSogd.	Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 244
M 540e	UnpMSogd.	On the fruits of the limbs of the soul (I.G., rev. Cat.). Partly publ. Y.Y., Acta Asiatica 78, 75.
M 548	MSogd.	Publ. H., BSOAS 1948, 317 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 79–80}
M 549+M 1760	UnpMSogd.	M 1760 described as Pe. in Cat. Joined by W.S., AoF 5, 202. II: publ. H., Murder, 142–144 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 79–80}
M 558	I Pth., UnpMSogd. capt., II Pth.	I Pth. hymns, Sogd. capt.; II Pth. cantill. hymns
M 568	UnpMSogd.	
M 575	UnpMSogd.	
M 579	UnpMSogd.	
M 583	MSogd.	Sogd. hymn, publ. W./L. ii, 545–547 + Taf. 2 {Photo Ed. 1, 116}

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 591	UnpMSogd.	Questions and answers
M 594a	UnpMSogd., Pth. word	a,b,c from same MS. Confessional, cf. Asmussen, X^{u}āst., 244
M 594b	UnpMSogd.	
M 594c	UnpMSogd., Turk.	Confessional.
M 598	UnpMSogd.	Confessional, tr. Asmussen, X^{u}āst., 245
M 599	UnpMSogd.	
M 600	UnpMSogd.	
M 601	Sogd., Turk.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
**M 608b	/R/ Pth., /V/ Pth., UnpSSogd.?	
M 614	WMIr., MSogd.	Pe., Pth. and Sogd. glossary. Publ. H., Sogdica, f, 31–32 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 81–82}
M 617	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet. Homilies?
M 625a	Pe., UnpMSogd.	Sogd.–Pe. bilingual, from GGZ; cf. M 776
M 628b = (M 8440)	UnpMSogd.	Not Turk. as in Cat. /A/3/ *w'nw w(')[β*
M 632	/R/ MSogd. /V/ UnpSSogd.	/R/ 2 lines in Man. script, publ. Cat., 44. /V/ see Reck, MH1, n. 417
M 635	UnpMSogd.	
M 640	Pe., UnpMSogd. Capt.	Pe. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 648b	MSogd.	Publ. H., Gi, C, 65–66 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 81–82}
M 655c	UnpMSogd.	
M 657 II	I Turk., II UnpMSogd.	II is not mentioned in Cat., 45. See Zieme, BTT V, p. 55 Anm. 521. {Photo: Zieme, BTT V, Taf. XXXI}
M 659	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., Paraklet, 208 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 83–84}
**M 660	UnpSSogd.	
M 662	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 664	UnpMSogd.	On the fruits of the limbs of the soul (I.G., rev. Cat.). Partly publ. Y.Y., Acta Asiatica 78, 75
M 670	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Tr. Asmussen, X^{u}āst., 245–246
M 671 I	I Pe., UnpMSogd. II Turk.	I Pe., Sogd. bilingual

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 672a	Pe., UnpMSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. bilingual [Same MS as M 672b]
M 672b	UnpMSogd.	[Same MS as M 672a]. Cf. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 246
M 674	UnpMSogd.	Answers to questions on cosmology [I.G., rev. Cat.]
M 684	UnpMSogd.	Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 246ff.
M 692	MSogd.	Publ. H., Gi, V, 74; re-ed. SKJÆRVØ 1995, 204 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 83–84}
M 697	UnpMSogd.	Tr. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 249
M 699	Pe., MSogd.	Glossary. Joins M 875. Publ. H., Sogdica, Gl. c, 24ff. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 85–86}
M 704	UnpMSogd.	
M 707a	Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 712	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 715c	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 716b	UnpMSogd.	Cosmogony [tr. of Pe. text in M 292 /V/ = W.S., KPT 3.3]
M 725 I		Joins M 111, q.v.
M 727c	Pe., Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe., Pth. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 746c	UnpMSogd.	Medical text
M 750	UnpMSogd.	Confessional? cf. ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 249
M 752	Pe., Sogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, h, 38–39 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 92}
M 759	Pth., MSogd. capt.	Pth. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt., publ. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST HLS, ll. 1317, 1621, 1631 and 1637, pl. 13
M 760	MSogd., Turk.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 765c	UnpMSogd.	
M 765d	UnpMSogd.	
M 765f	UnpMSogd.	
M 765j	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth. /V/ UnpSSogd.	/V/ only a few letters in Sogd. script
M 765k	UnpMSogd.	Precepts [/V/1–5 = M 117, 11–14, I.G., rev. Cat.]

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 767	I UnpMSogd., II MSogd.	Double sheet in two hands. Chronological calculations. II publ. H., Compendium, 203.
M 769	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Tr. Asmussen, X^{u}āst., 250
M 771	UnpMSogd.	
M 776	UnpMSogd., Pe.	Sogd., with 2 lines in Pe. Same text as M 114 ii, cf. also M 625a = GGZ
M 778b	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Tr. Asmussen, X^{u}āst., 251
M 794a	MSogd.	Same MS as M 794b,c. Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 794b	MSogd.	Same MS as M 794a,c. Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 794c	MSogd.	Same MS as M 794a,b. Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 796	UnpMSogd.	I Astronomical treatise, on lunar and solar years; II Calendar tables, Publ. H., Fasts, 153–154 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 96–97}
M 797	Pe., Pth., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe., Pth. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 798e	UnpMSogd.	
M 801a = MIK III 53	Pe., Pth., MSogd.	Publ. BBB, 18–41
M 802	UnpMSogd.	/R/7 Pth. *(bwyndy)*, I.G. rev. Cat., 159
M 807a	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.	/V/ confused lines in large Sogdian script
M 807d	UnpMSogd.	
M 810	UnpMSogd.	
M 813 I	UnpMSogd., Pth.	I Sogd. and Pth. quotes from the *Book of Giants*. II Turkish.
M 814	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 815	Pth., MSogd.	Pth.–Sogd. biling. hym. cyc. AR Ia 7–8, 12–13; publ. W.S., MHC(S), §14 {pl. 23a, 23b}
M 821	UnpMSogd.	
M 834	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 835	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary. H., Sogdica, g, 35ff. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 111–112}
M 840c	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 840k	UnpMSogd.	cited in GMS as 840b
M 840p	UnpMSogd.	
M 849a	UnpMSogd.	
M 857	UnpMSogd.	[M 857 and M 857 II quoted in BRUNNER 1977, 137, 169 are a mistake for M 5860 (Pth.)]
M 858a	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Turk.	Joins L75 (RAGOZA 1980, 52, facs. 154). Letter? /V/ Turk. in Sogd. script, see I.G., rev. Cat. See also W.S., Briefe, n. 1
M 870c	UnpMSogd. and quotes	Confessional? see ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 251
M 871j	UnpMSogd.	
M 875	Pe., MSogd.	Joins M 699. Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, c, 24–25 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 111–112}
M 880	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 882d	UnpMSogd.	
M 891a	UnpMSogd.	Letter?
M 894	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet. Confessional. See ASMUSSEN, Xᵘāst., 251
M 896	UnpMSogd.	
M 897	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. hymns, Sogd. Capt.
M 900	UnpMSogd.	
M 904	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., SLN <y>, 60–61 {ph. XX, XXI}
M 910	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet in two hands
M 912	/R/ Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.; /V/ Pth.	/R/ Pe., Sogd. interlinear capt., /V/ Pth. hymns
M 915	MSogd.	Publ. H., Compendium, 206 {no printed photo}
M 916b	UnpMSogd.	
M 1060	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Pe.	Quoted in GMS §§30, 733, 1056+A: *wyjtry nxwyδδ* (R/7) as Ti
M 1063	I/R/Pe., I/V/MSogd., II UnpMSogd.	I/R/ glossary, Pe. words only; publ. H., Sogdica, w, 54. I/V publ. MORANO 2005, 220 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 114}
M 1064	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Chin.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 1070	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.	Same MS as 1071. /V/ see Reck, MH1, n. 418
M 1071	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.(?)	Same MS as 1070. /V/ see Reck, MH1, n. 419
M 1082	UnpMSogd.	
M 1087	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpMSogd., Chin.	Late hand
M 1088	UnpMSogd.	Late hand
M 1101	UnpMSogd.	
M 1102	UnpMSogd.	
M 1103	UnpMSogd.	
M 1112	Pth., UnpMSogd.	Pth. and Sogd. hymns
M 1134	MSogd., Turk.	Not confessional, as in Cat. (see item below). Quoted in GMS §§584, 618, 622 and 810 as Ti. Joins M 3611.[7] Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 1135	UnpMSogd.	Confessional. Cf. Asmussen, Xᵘāst., 251 (given as M 1134)
M 1170	UnpMSogd.	
M 1173	UnpMSogd.	
M 1200	UnpMSogd.	/V/4 quoted in GMS §724 as Tiα: *'šm'x δ'rṭ['Jsk* and /R/1/ § 399 (Par. 12): *z'kṭ(yy)*
M 1204	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Turk.	Letter
M 1207	UnpMSogd.	/II/R/4–5 quoted in GMS §1629 as Tiα: *kw 'šy'ḷ s'r ''nyy*
M 1212	UnpMSogd., Pe.	/R/ Sogd. with Pe. quotations
M 1225	MSogd.	Letter. Publ. W.S., Briefe, II (1–4) 309 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 115}; see M 119
M 1340	Pe., MSogd.	See M 752. Publ. Morano 2005, 220–221. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 116}
M 1372	UnpMSogd.	same MS as 1373
M 1373	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as 1372
M 1374	UnpMSogd.	Quoted in GMS §942 as Tiα: *mrṭ'ny'* (= Par. 19)
M 1375	UnpMSogd.	

7 Kindly pointed out to me by Elio Provasi.

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 1400	UnpMSogd.	
M 1405	UnpMSogd.	
M 1422	UnpMSogd.?	
M 1459	UnpMSogd.	
M 1469	UnpMSogd.	
M 1501	MSogd.	Joins M 140, q.v.
M 1513	Pe., UnpMSogd.(?)	Pe., Sogd. words (?), Cat., 72
M 1517	UnpMSogd.	I: Words and letters only. Sogd. II: Letters only. Sogd. (?)
M 1546	UnpMSogd.	
M 1565	/R/? UnpMSogd., /V/? blank	
M 1608	Pth., MSogd.	Publ. KG § 8. On side /B/ imprint (hardly visible on the printed photo) of two Sogd. words written vertically in two lines in red ink: *ptymt yw(.)[/ 'xšy(w)]* {Taf. 49}
M 1695	/R/? Pe., /V/? UnpMSogd.	
M 1696	/R/ Pe., MSogd. /V/ Chin.	Pe. and Sogd., perhaps glossary; late hand. Publ. MORANO 2005, 222 {fig. 3, p. 226}
M 1697	UnpMSogd.	
M 1698	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 1699	UnpMSogd., WMIr.	Sogd. with WMIr. quotations
M 1700	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 1701	UnpMSogd.	
M 1719	UnpMSogd.	
M 1755	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 1760	UnpMSogd.	Described as Pe. in Cat. I/R/1–6 joined to M 549 by W.S., AoF 5, 202
M 1762	UnpMSogd.	
M 1763	UnpMSogd.	
M 1764	UnpMSogd.	
M 1765	UnpMSogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 1766	UnpMSogd.	
M 1767	UnpMSogd., WMIr.	
M 1768	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 1769	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 1770	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 1771	UnpMSogd.	
M 1772	UnpMSogd.	
M 1773	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Quoted GMS § 1082, n.1 as T i α (Par. 53)
[M 1775]	Turk.	Not Sogd. as in Cat., 79
M 1775a	UnpMSogd.	Not listed in Cat., /A/2/ *](p)wty(š)tyy b[*
M 1777	UnpMSogd.	similar to M 1778, and from the same MS
M 1778	UnpMSogd.	similar to M 1777, and from the same MS
M 1779	UnpMSogd.	
M 1780	UnpMSogd.	
M 1822	UnpMSogd.	
M 1825	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Chin.	
M 1826	UnpMSogd.	In two hands. One side cited in GMS §§ 254, 1059, 1103 as TiDa [TiD]
M 1828	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., Paraklet, 204–205 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 120}
M 1843	UnpMSogd., Pth.	In /B/ three lines in Pth.
M 1846	UnpMSogd.	Confessional, partly tr. Asmussen, Xᵘāst., 251–252
M 1857	UnpMSogd.	Confessional, tr. Asmussen, Xᵘāst., 252
M 1867a, b	MSogd.	Letter, publ. W.S., Briefe, II (19–21) 310 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 120}. See M 119 and Photo Ed. 2, p. 33.
M 1900	Pe., UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe. cantill. hymns, Sogd. capt.
M 1909	I Pth., II UnpM-Sogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 1910	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Letter, late hand
**M 1917	UnpSSogd.	Letters and numerals in Sogd. script
M 1920	UnpMSogd.	
M 1922	UnpMSogd.	
M 1950	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 165 *(wcnyy)* as TiD
M 1958	UnpMSogd., Pth.	
M 1960	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 1961	UnpMSogd.	from same MS as 1962; quoted in GMS § 1374 *('rtšδ)* as TiD (Par. 35)
M 1962	UnpMSogd.	from same MS as 1961
M 2003	UnpMSogd.	
M 2005	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Precepts. /R/3–4 quoted by H., BBB, 68 on 544 and GMS § 27 as TiD
M 2006	UnpMSogd.	
M 2009	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet [from same MS as 2010]
M 2010	UnpMSogd.	[from same MS as 2009]
**M 2011	UnpSSogd.	
**M 2019	SSogd.	Letters of Headl. in Sogd. script. Publ. RECK, MH1, n. 420
M 2022	UnpMSogd.	
M 2025	UnpMSogd.	
M 2026	MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, i, 43 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 121}
M 2064	UnpMSogd.	
M 2065	UnpMSogd.	
M 2066	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, x, 54. From the same page as M 425. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 121}
M 2073	UnpMSogd., Pe.	Sogd. with Pe. quotations
M 2074	UnpMSogd.	On the elements
M 2076	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 2083	UnpMSogd.	
M 2085	UnpMSogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 2090	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 1572 as TiD20 (= Par. 43)
M 2151	UnpMSogd.	
M 2155	UnpMSogd.	
M 2159	UnpMSogd.	
M 2162	UnpMSogd.	
M 2163	MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, u, 53 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 122}
M 2166	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 2167	UnpMSogd.	
M 2204	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 2207	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 2214	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 2215	UnpMSogd.	Glassed together with U135 [TM 184], not described in Cat. The two fragments are evidently from the same MS
M 2219	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth. Quoted in GMS § 247 n. 1 *(qncyy)* as TiD16
**M 2233	UnpSSogd.	See RECK, MH1, n. 421
**M 2234	UnpSSogd.	See RECK, MH1, n. 422
M 2242	Pe., UnpMSogd.	
**M 2305	UnpSSogd.	
M 2308	UnpMSogd.	from same MS as M 141, M 5701 etc.
M 2313	UnpMSogd.	from same MS as M 2316
M 2316	UnpMSogd.	from same MS as M 2313
M 2319	UnpMSogd.	
M 2320	UnpMSogd.	
M 2329	UnpMSogd.	Late hand. Quoted in GMS as Tii (for i) D32
M 2333	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet. Confessional. Cf. ASMUSSEN, X^{u}āst., 252
M 2403	UnpMSogd.	
M 2405	UnpMSogd.	
M 2408	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Quoted as TiD in GMS §§ 857 and 219
M 2417	UnpMSogd., Pe.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary?

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 2452	UnpMSogd.	
M 2608	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, q, 48–49 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 123–124}
M 2804	UnpMSogd.	[4 frgm. from one MS]
M 2805	UnpMSogd.	[4 frgm. from one MS]
M 2806	UnpMSogd.	[4 frgm. from one MS]
M 2807	UnpMSogd.	[4 frgm. from one MS]
M 2891	MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, m, 45 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 122}
M 3028	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 3030	UnpMSogd.	
M 3031	UnpMSogd.(?)	Centre of a double sheet
M 3033	UnpMSogd.	
M 3034	UnpMSogd.	
M 3035	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 3220	UnpMSogd.	
M 3221	UnpMSogd.	
M 3222	UnpMSogd.	
M 3223	UnpMSogd.	
M 3224	UnpMSogd.	
M 3225	UnpMSogd.	
M 3226	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.	/R/ 3 lines of Man. script, late hand
M 3227	UnpMSogd.	
M 3229	UnpMSogd., Pth.	
M 3234	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, l, 45 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 122}
M 3502	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 3600	UnpMSogd.	
M 3601	UnpMSogd.	
M 3602	UnpMSogd.	
M 3603	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 3604	UnpMSogd.	
M 3605	UnpMSogd.	
M 3606	UnpMSogd.	
M 3607	UnpMSogd.	
M 3608	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 3609	UnpMSogd.	
M 3610	UnpMSogd.	
M 3611	MSogd., Turk.	Joins M 1134 q.v. Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 3612	UnpMSogd.	
M 3701	UnpMSogd.	
M 3823	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 4153	UnpMSogd.	
M 4158	UnpMSogd.	
M 4162	UnpMSogd.	
M 4164	/R/ Pe., MSogd., /V/ blank	Pe-Sogd. gloss., of words beginning with *b-*, cf. H., Sogdica, h, and M 1340. See Cat. on M 500k and Photo Ed. 2, p. 36 (belonging to 752a–c) See M 752. Publ. Morano 2005, 221–222 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 125}
M 4435, M 4436, M 4437	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Possibly Man. Letter [all three fragments are from the same page and glassed together]
M 4512	UnpMSogd.	
M 4551	UnpMSogd.	
M 4701	UnpMSogd.	
M 4720	UnpMSogd.	
M 4721	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 4722	UnpMSogd.	
M 4723	UnpMSogd.	
M 4724	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 4725	UnpMSogd.	
M 4751	UnpMSogd.	
M 4823	UnpMSogd.	
M 4862	UnpMSogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 4867	UnpMSogd.	
M 4868	UnpMSogd.	
M 4869	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 4870	UnpMSogd.	
M 4874	UnpMSogd.	
**M 4905	UnpSSogd.	See RECK, MH1, n. 423
**M 4906	SSogd.	Publ. W.S., SSeele, bc (132–133) {Taf. xxxix}; see RECK, MH1, n. 424
M 4908	Pe., UnpMSogd.??	Pe. according to Cat. But see W.S., *PB*, 47 s.v. *l'n*
M 4910	UnpMSogd.	Quoted in GMS §569 as TiiD52ci
M 4911	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet. /II/R/2 quoted in GMS §785 *('nsδ[']*) as TiiD52cii
M 4917	UnpMSogd.	
M 4922	UnpMSogd.	
M 4950	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 5030	MSogd.	Parable. Publ. MORANO forth. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 126}
M 5051	UnpMSogd.	Late hand. Quoted in GMS as TiiD63a. /V/4–9: I.G., rev. Cat., 81
†M 5052	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, t, 52 {no ph.}. See Cat., XXXI
M 5073	UnpMSogd.	
M 5074	UnpMSogd.	
M 5075	UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	
M 5093	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 5166	UnpMSogd.	
M 5224	Pe., UnpMSogd.	
M 5229	UnpMSogd.	
M 5264	UnpMSogd.	Poems [same MS as M 280 and M 137]
M 5266	UnpMSogd.	Two pp. in diff. hands. /R/ on the gods of the third creation. /R/2–11: H., BSOAS 1948, 314. See Photo Ed. 2, p. 38. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 127–128}

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 5268	MSogd.	Calendar tables. Publ. H., Fasts, 151–152 {ph. (/R/ only) with art., pl. XIV}{Photo Ed. 2, pl. 127–128}
**M 5269	/R/ Pe., /V/ UnpSSogd.	
M 5270	MSogd.	Publ. H., Tales, D, 472 {ph. /V/ with art.; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 129–130}
M 5271	UnpMSogd.	Quoted in GMS as TiiD66c
M 5384	UnpMSogd.?	
†M 5436	I /R/ Toch B, /V/ Pe., MSogd. capt.; II Pth.	Joins M 8533, q.v.: /R/ Tocharian hymn to Mani, /V/ Pe. installation hymns with Sogd. capt. II Pth., cantill. hymns. I/V publ. H. in von Gabain/Winter 1958, 34ff. {*ibid.*, Taf. II; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 147–148 (two upper lines lost)}
†M 5437	Pe, UnpMSogd. capt.	Pe., Sogd. capt.
†M 5446	UnpMSogd.	
†M 5452	UnpMSogd.	
†M 5453	UnpMSogd.	
†M 5454	UnpMSogd.	
**†M 5457	UnpSSogd.	See Reck, MH1, n. 425
M 5542	Pe., MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, r, 50 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 132}
M 5563	UnpMSogd.	
M 5571	UnpMSogd.	
M 5588	UnpMSogd.	
M 5591	UnpMSogd.	
M 5592	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. Morano forth.
M 5595	UnpMSogd.	
M 5596	UnpMSogd.	
M 5597	UnpMSogd.	
M 5606	UnpMSogd.	
M 5690	UnpMSogd.	On the religion and hearers. /R/2–7: BBB, 605; /V/2–8: H., BSOS 1936, 585
M 5701	UnpMSogd.	From same MS as M 2308. Joins M 6796, see Photo Ed. 2, p. 39 with n. 52 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 132}

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 5730	MSogd.	joins M 5731, q.v.
M 5731	MSogd.	Publ. H., Tales, E, 473f. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 133–134}
M 5779	Pe., Pth, MSogd.	Publ. BBB (c) {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 137}
M 5865	MSogd.	See under M 131. Publ. BBB, frgm. II A and II B, 43–44; tr. see under M 131 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 138}
M 5885	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth., /V/ blank	
M 5886	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth., /V/ blank	
M 5887	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth., /V/ blank	
M 5888	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth., /V/ blank	
M 5889	/R/ UnpMSogd., Pth., /V/ blank	
M 5912	UnpMSogd.	From the same MS as M 5913
M 5913	UnpMSogd.	From the same MS as M 5912
M 5920	UnpMSogd.	Publ. partly H., Man. Cosm., 318 (variants to MIK III 4990). {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 139–140}
M 5928	UnpMSogd.	
M 5991	UnpMSogd.	
M 6067	UnpMSogd.	
M 6095	Pe., Pth, UnpMSogd. Headl.	
M 6099	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as 6100
M 6100	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as 6099
M 6102	UnpMSogd.	
M 6132	MSogd.	Publ. RECK 2003, 329–330 {Taf. 8a, b}
M 6133	UnpMSogd.	
M 6134	UnpMSogd.	
M 6136	UnpMSogd.	
M 6290	MSogd.	Publ. GULÁCSI, 231, n. 38 {fig. 38.1, 38.2, p. 90}
M 6291	UnpMSogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 6320	UnpMSogd.	
M 6330	UnpMSogd.	/V/1–7: BBB, 77 on 623
M 6450	Pe., Pth(?), MSogd.	Pe.–Sogd. glossary, publ. (partially) H., Sogdica, y, 55–56; parallel text in M 425, cf. Cat., 28. Publ. Morano 2004 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 143–144}
M 6451	Pe., UnpMSogd.	Not *išnōhr* as in Cat., see W.S., SSeele, 50. Quoted in I.G., Sogd. Comp., p. 143 as TiiD406a. In Cat. given as Sogd., but in /R/1 Pe. text: *'(y)g ky psfyd u wbdyd*
†M 6457 (?) [not in Cat.]	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	[TiiD406]. Possibly lost. Quoted I.G., rev. Cat.
M 6470	Pth., MSogd. capt.	Tales. Pth., Sogd. capt. Publ. W.S., KPT §28 {Taf. xliii/xliv}
M 6610	UnpMSogd., Turk.	Quoted in GMS as TiiK (So.64). /R/ Sogd. in Man. script and Turk. in Sogd. script interlined, /V/ glossar Sogd.–Turk.
M 6670	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6671. Calendar tables. /V/ same text as in M 115/R/ii/2ff.
M 6671	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6670. Calendar tables. /V/ same text as in M 115/R/i/3ff.
M 6672	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Same MS as M 6673
M 6673	UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Same MS as M 6672
M 6702	UnpMSogd.	
M 6760	UnpMSogd.	
M 6761	UnpMSogd.	
M 6762	UnpMSogd.	
M 6763	UnpMSogd.	
M 6764	UnpMSogd.	
M 6765	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 6766	UnpMSogd.	
M 6790	UnpMSogd.	Late hand
**M 6791	/R/ Pth., /V/ UnpSSogd.	Late hand. /V/ see Reck, MH1, n. 426

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 6795	UnpMSogd.	Joins M 141, q.v. {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 40} [Same MS as M 6796, 6800]
M 6796	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6795, 6800; joins M 5701 q.v.
M 6800	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6795, 6796
† M 6803	UnpMSogd.	
† M 6807	UnpMSogd.	
M 6847	UnpMSogd.	
M 6856	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet
M 6857	Pth., UnpMSogd.	
M 6858	UnpMSogd.	
M 6860	MSogd.	Tale. Publ. MORANO forth.
M 6862	UnpMSogd.	
M 6864	UnpMSogd.	
M 6865	Pth., MSogd.	Pth.–Sogd. glossary, publ. H., Sogdica, v, 53 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 143–144}
M 6887	Pe., UnpMSogd.	
M 6896	UnpMSogd.	
M 6934	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6937
M 6937	UnpMSogd.	Same MS as M 6934
M 6939	UnpMSogd.	
M 6940	UnpMSogd.	
M 6957	UnpMSogd.	
M 7107	UnpMSogd., WMir.	
M 7391+ M 7392	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ Chin.	Two joining fragments of letter formulae written as exercise.
M 7420	/R/ MSogd., /V/ Chin., MSogd.	Abbreviated version of *āzand-nāme*. Publ. W.S., *PB*, 36 {ph. XXIV}
M 7440	/R/ MSogd., /V/ blank	Letter (one line only, reconstructable from W.S., Briefe, 301); publ. SIMS-WILLIAMS/HALÉN, 7
†M 7800	MSogd., Turk.	Sogd. with Turk. marginal notes. I publ. H., Gi, G, 68–69; II publ. SUNDERMANN 1994, 45–46 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 145–146, from photo Göttingen}
M 7905	UnpMSogd.	

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
M 7950	UnpMSogd., WMIr	
M 8000	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Late hand. Letter. Same MS as 8001
M 8001	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ blank	Same MS as 8000 (glassed together)
M 8005	MSogd.	Publ. H., Gi, E, 66 {Photo Ed. 2, pl. 147–148}
M 8151	UnpMSogd.	
M 8170	MSogd.	Publ. W.S., SSeele, cd (146–149) {Taf. xliii}
M 8200	MSogd.	Publ. Gulácsi, 238, n. 56 {fig. 56.1–2 p. 131}
M 8224	UnpMSogd.	
M 8225	UnpMSogd., Turk.	Not listed in Cat. /A/ has 2 lines in Turk. in Sogd. script; /B/ has 3 lines in Sogdian in Manichaean script. Quoted as M 119c by W.S., Briefe, 296
M 8430 II	UnpMSogd.	Double sheet in two hands. I Pe.
M 8440		= M 628b, q.v.
M 8533 [TM 177]	I /R/ Toch. B., /V/ Pe., MSogd. capt.	Joins M 5436 I. /V/ publ. H. in von Gabain/ Winter 1958, 34ff. {*ibid.*, Taf. II; Photo Ed. 2, pl. 147–148 (two upper lines lost)}
M 8600	/R/ UnpMSogd., /V/ UnpSSogd.	/R/ description of paradise, late hand; /V/ Buddhist text in Sogd. script. /R/1/: KG, 184 (quoted as M 9006)
[M 9006, not in Cat.]	[Pth.].	KG, 184, quoted erroneously = M 8600, q.v.
M 9110	UnpMSogd.	
M 9150	UnpMSogd.	
M 9151	UnpMSogd.	
**M 9185	/R/ UnpSSogd. /V/ Chin.	
Ti	UnpMSogd.	Quoted in GMS § 810: *srδng wnwnyy wβy(t)* = M 1134/V/3; §§ 584 and 618: *w'z'm* (Par. 10) = M 1134/R/3; § 622: *ptyxw'yy* = M 1134/V/4; §§ 30 and 733: *nxwyδδ* = M 1060/R/7; § 1056+A: *wyjtrγ nxwyδδ* (= Par. 10) = M 1060/R/7

Signature	*Language(s)*	*Contents and secondary literature*
Tiα	UnpMSogd.	Quoted in GMS § 724: *'šm'x δ'rṭ['']sk* = M 1200/V/4; § 1629: *kw 'šy'ẖ s'r ''nyy* = M 1207/II/R/4–5; § 399: *z'kṭ(yy)* (= Par. 12) = M 1200/R/1; § 942: *mrṭ'ny'* (=Par. 19) = M 1374/A/4
TiD	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 27: *nyzndy'* = M 2005/R/2; § 163: *wcnyy* = M 1950/R/3; § 1253: *nfryṭ'* = M 1843/B/7; § 1194: *šyrw* (= Par. 27) = M 1846/A/6; § 1374: *'rṭšδ* (= Par. 35) = M 1961/A/2; § 1014: *(s)ngcyk zyrn* (= Par. 41) = M 2074/A/1; *[t]'yw'qcyq* (= Par. 42) = M 2151/B/2; § 1068: *βr'znṭyy* (= Par. 41) = M 2074/A/2; H. Murder, 143 n. 6 (as T i D R, 5): *δβ'r rw'ng'n* = M 1857/A/4. See also M 2408
TiD16	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 247 n.1: *qncyy* = M 2219/A/2
TiD20	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 1572: *yrf 'yc* (= Par. 43) = M 2090/A/3
TiD51 [M number not identified]	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 995: *'nd(ry)kṭ*
TiiD52	UnpMSogd.	Quoted GMS § 785 [TiiD52cii]: *'nsδ['']* = M 4911/II/R/2

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Ahura Mazdā and the Darkness

About the Meaning of *Y.* 44, 5b

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Y. 44 is doubtless one of the best-known texts among the Gāθie *hāitis*; its relatively clear style, based on the syntactic repetition (19 times) of the opening interrogative (and rhetorical) formula[1] (*taṯ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā* "I ask You this, tell me truly, o Ahura") has attraeted the interest of many scholars, in partieular with regard to stanzas 3–5,[2] where the funetions of Ahura Mazdā as a "ereator-organizer" of the cosmos are patently represented:

Y. 44, 3:
taṯ θβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā
kasnā ząθā ptā aṣahiiā pouruiiō
kasnā xᵛāŋg strāmcā dāṯ aduuānəm
kā yā må uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī θβaṯ
tācīṯ mazdā vasəmī aniiācā vīduiiē.

"This I ask You, tell me truly, O Ahura:
Who (was) the primaeval father of *aṣa-* by means of (his) begetting?
Who fixed the course of the sun and of the stars?
Who (is he) through whom the moon (now) waxes, later wanes?[3]
These and other things indeed I wish to know, O Mazdā."[4]

1 See Insler 1975, p. 240; Humbach 1991, II, pp. 145–146; ef. Schmitt 1967, p. 36. The frequent interrogation attested in this *hāiti* and opened with *kasnā* should be compared with the current referenee to *kásmai* in the famous Vedie hymn to the "Unknown god" (*Ṛv.* 10, 121; Aufrecht 1877, pp. 423–424).

2 See Insler 1975, pp. 65–66; Kellens/Pirart 1988, pp. 148–149; Humbach 1991, I, pp. 157–158.

3 Cf. *Yt.* 7, 2 [= *Ny.* 3, 4]: *kaṯ må uxšiieitī kaṯ må nərəfsaiti. paṇca.dasa må uzuxšieiti paṇca.dasa må nərəfsaiti* "When the moon waxes, when the moon wanes? Fifteen days the moon waxes, fifteen days the moon wanes"; Pahlavi translation: *čiyōn ka māh waxšēd čiyōn ka māh nirfsēd, 15 ka māh waxšēd 15 ka māh nirfsēd* "When the moon waxes, when the moon wanes? Fifteen (days are) when the moon waxes, fifteen (days are) when the moon wanes" (Dhalla 1908, pp. 90–91; Taraf 1981, pp. 70–71).

4 *Y.* 44, 3 (Dhabhar 1949, pp. 186–187): *ān ī man tō pursēm rāst man gōwē ohrmazd. kē zahag [ān ī ašwahišt zahag kē, u-š kē] pid ī ahlāyīh fradom [kū-š fradom parwardārīh*

Y. 44, 4:
taṯ ϑβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā
kasnā dərətā ząmcā adā nəbå̊scā
auuapastōiš kā apō uruuarascā
kā vātāi duuąnmaibiiascā yaogəṯ āsū
kasnā vaŋhāuš mazdā dąmiš manaŋhō.

"This I ask You, tell me truly, O Ahura:
Who upheld the earth below and the nimbuses (above; i.e., the heavens)
from falling?[5] Who the waters and the plants?
Who yoked a pair of swift (horses) to the wind and the clouds?
Who is the creator of the good thought, O Mazdā?"[6]

Y. 44, 5:
taṯ ϑβā pərəsā ərəš mōi vaocā ahurā
kā huuāpå̊ raocå̊scā dāṯ təmå̊scā
kā huuāpå̊ xᵛafnəmcā dāṯ zaēmācā
kā yā ušå̊ arām.piϑβā xšapācā
yå̊ manaoϑrīš cazdōŋhuuaŋtəm arəϑahiiā.
"This I ask You, tell me truly, O Ahura:
Which craftman arranged lights and darkness?
Which craftman arranged sleep and waking?
Who (is He) through whom dawn, midday and night (were fixed)
which remind the desiring (person) of the object of (his) desire?"[7]

kē kard]. *kē xwarxšēd ud star dād rāh* [*kū rāh ī awēšān kē dād*]. *az kē ka māh waxšēd ud nirfsēd ī tō* [*kū-š abzāyišn ud kāhišn az kē*[, *ān-iz-im ohrmazd kāmag ān-iz ī any āgāhīhišnīh*] *kū bē dānēm*] "This I ask You, tell me truly, O Ohrmazd: Which offspring [who (did) that (which is) the offspring of the righteousness? and who is he] the first father of the righteousness, [that (is), who made the first nourishment?] Who made the way of the Sun and of the Moon"? [Who is that made their way?] By whom the Moon now waxes and wanes if not you? [That (is) their increasing and decreasing (derive) from whom?] And also that is the will of Ohrmazd, and (there are) even many other (things) which need to be known. [This I want to know!]"

5 OBERLIES 1998, p. 340, n. 32, compares this very passage with those contained in the hymn to Indra of *Ṛv.* 6, 30, 3–5. Cf. GELDNER 1951, II, p. 129.

6 *Y.* 44, 4 (DHABHAR 1949, pp. 187–188): *ān ī man tō pursēm rāst man gōwē ohrmazd. kē dārēd zamīg pad adārišnīh* [*kū-š dāštār-ēw ī gētīg nēst*]. *a-bē-ōbadišn* [*ay ēn dānēm kū bē nē ōbadēd*], *kē āb ud urwar dād. az kē ka wād abr āyōzēd tēz* [*ō xwēškārīh*], *kē ohrmazd wahman dām* [*kū wahman dām ī kē*]. "This I ask you, tell me truly, O Ohrmazd: Who holds the earth in the state of unpreservation? [That (is), he (is) not the unique keeper of the material world]. Its state of unfallingness [that (is) to say I know this, that it does not fall]. Who created water and plants? By whom (it happens) that the wind sharply yokes clouds [to their proper function]? Whose creature, O Ohrmazd, is Wahman? [That (is), Wahman (is) creature of whom?]"

It is not my intention to discuss in detail in the present paper the tantalizing problem of the primordial ontologic role played by Ahura Mazdā – if he really was *stricto sensu* a "creative" or simply an "organizing"[8] divinity. Gherardo Gnoli[9] has already systematically countered the arguments of those scholars[10] who tried to maintain the existence of the idea of a *creatio ex nihilo*[11] in the framework of the Zoroastrian doctrines. In contrast with such a thesis, Gnoli has clearly shown that the Indo-Iranian religious traditions did not attest a concept[12] that in its turn had been independently developed in the Judaeo-Christian tradition[13] only during the Hellenistic period.[14] In fact, as we may note, according to *Genesis* I, 1, Jahweh seems to be using a kind of primordial material for

7 *Y.* 44, 5 (Dhabhar 1949, p. 187): *ān ī man tō pursēm rāst man gōwē ohrmazd. kē pad hu-ayābāgīh rōšnīh dād ud kē tārīgīh, kē pad hu-ayābāgīh xwāb dād ud zēnāwandīh [tuxšāgīh]. kē ōš rapihwin šab [ušahin rapihwin ud zamānag ī šab kē dād]. [kē paymān ī ōy ī hamāl-wizārdār pad dādestān kū ān zamānag ka sōšyāns rasēd kē dād.]* "This I ask you, tell me truly, O Ohrmazd: Who in good comprehension created lights and darkness? Who in good comprehension created sleep and awakening [diligence]? Who (made) dawn, afternoon, night? [Who created the night (and) afternoon (*gāhs*) and the time of the night? Who (created) the period of him who (is) the comrade-(and)-redeemer according to the law? That (is), who created that time when the Sōšyāns will arrive?]"

8 See the discussion in Kellens 1989. In any case the "organization" of the cosmos from chaos cannot be considered but a creative operation different, of course, from that of the Christian tradition.

9 Gnoli 1963. Cf. already Spiegel 1871, p. 454; and West 1880, p. 9, n. 2.

10 See in particular Casartelli 1884, pp. 24–28; Jackson 1928, p. 120, seems to deny the idea of a *creatio ex nihilo* in the earlier sources, while he accepts its presence with reference to *Bd.* 30, 5–6 (like Casartelli); these very passages of the *Bundahišn* have been discussed in detail by Gnoli 1963; for the earlier discussion see de Harlez (1879, pp. 116–117, 141–142); Gray 1908–1927, col. 162; Moulton 1913, pp. 291–292; Zaehner 1961, pp. 54–55. Cf. also Gnoli 1962, pp. 117–118, n. 99 and 100.

11 According to Long (1963, p. 149) the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* should be characterized by four elements: 1) the omnipotence of the creator; 2) his unique and isolated existence in a status of void, before the origin of space and time; 3) the creation is the fruit of a deliberate decision of God; 4) god is free, i.e., not determined from a pre-existing or a co-existing condition.

12 See now Oberlies' considerations about the *ásat*, which cannot be considered as a "Nicht-Sein", but like a primordial chaos (1998, p. 383); the situation concerning the Upaniṣadic literature seems to be more complex (see again Oberlies 1998, p. 383, and in particular n. 230).

13 I would like to remark, however, that the problem of the creation *ex nihilo* seems to have been, at least in the past centuries, assessed according to confessional terms, mostly originating from the framework of the Christian theology. The history of the Mazdean concept of creation, on the contrary, cannot be resolved with categories which have been developed for reasons that have nothing to do with the early Iranian cultural patterns.

14 See Westermann 1959, p. 152; Filoramo (apud Pettazzoni 1990, p. XIX) remarks that the concept of *creatio ex nihilo* is only attested for the first time in *Macc.* 7, 28.

his creation of heavens and earth,[15] the realization of which is designated by the verb *br'*,[16] lit. "to build, to make, to create". By the way, let us also remark that this very kind of theological and philosophical approach to the definition of the primordial origin of the creation is nothing but a "modern" problem, and that its intellectual complexity was beyond the perspeetives and the cultural schemes of those aneient peoples. Thus, coming back to the Indo-Iranian framework, we can affirm that Ahura Mazdā, as in the case of the Vedie gods, was basieally coneeived as a divinity operating with a primaeval stock,[17] a kind of primordial "substance", in a still latent phase which was between eosmie order and disorder.

The Pahlavi sources offer, in the framework of a radieal dualism whieh is strueturally different from the theological pattern of the Gāθās (based on the direet opposition between the two Mainiius), an interesting development of earlier traditions in any case. Aeeording to the *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 64,[18] Ohrmazd produced or generated a "Form of Fire" *(āsrō-kerpa)* from the "Light without beginning" (*asar rōšnīh*; ef. L.Av. *anaγra raocå̊*);[19] in addition this passage shows the identity between God himself and that "Form of Fire". According to *Ir.Bd.* 1, 44,[20] Ohrmazd brought forth the ereation from his own essence – which is the "material Light" *(gētīg rōšnīh)* –, the form of his ereatures, in a "Form of Fire" *(Ohrmazd az ān ī xwēš xwadīh, az gētīg rōšnīh, kirb ī dāmān ī xwēš frāz brēhēnīd pad ātaxš kirb)*; eontrariwise, Ahreman (*Ir.Bd.* 1, 47), brought forth his creation from the material darkness, whieh is his own essence *(gannāg mēnōg az gētīg tārīgīh ān ī xwēš-tan dām frāz kirrēnīd)*.[21]

The peeuliar fact to which I would like to attract seholars' attention in this work eoneerns the meaning of the seeond verse-line of *Y.* 44, 5, whieh is implieitly referred to an early aetion of Ahura Mazdā:

kā huuāpå̊, raocå̊scā dāṯ təmå̊scā
"Which craftman arranged the lights and the darkness?"

From this passage we should be compelled to deduce that Ahura Mazdā actually was **təmah-dā-*, and that the origin of the darkness as well as that of the light derived from him. This way Ahura Mazdā would be perfectly similar to

15 See, e.g. KÜNG et al. 1986, p. 244. A different opinion has been expressed by SARNA 1989, p. 5.

16 Cf. GESENIUS 1962, p. 113. On the contrary VON RAD 1978, pp. 55–56, suggests that the special use of such a verb denoting absence of any effort and never followed by a reference to a complement of matter implies the idea of a *creatio ex nihilo*.

17 See MACDONELL 1898, pp. 11–15.

18 Cf. WEST 1882, pp. 197–199.

19 See GNOLI 1962, pp. 117–118. We may recall that *anaγra-* has been generally translated as "endless", while its basic meaning is "without beginning".

20 See GNOLI 1962, p. 118; cf. CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, p. 38.

21 ZAEHNER 1955, p. 281; cf. CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, pp. 38–39.

Jahweh, who, according to *Isaiah* 45, 7, "creates darkness" and "evil", as already Moulton remarked.[22] This is what apparently results, but is such a conclusion plausible? And does it fit into the Old Avestan pattern?

It is well known that the stem *təmah-*, n.,[23] in Old and Later Avestan has only a negative meaning; in Old Avestan the sole attestation of *təmah-* other than this occurs in *Y.* 31, 20 (*darəgām āiiū təmaŋhō* "the long duration of the darkness"), where it is referred to the obscure place of damnation of the enemy of the *aŝauuan-*. In Later Avestan some passages are even more striking: the abode fashioned *(frāθβərəsaṯ)* by Ahura Mazdā for Miθra (*Yt.* 10, 50) above the shining Mount Harā is a place "where there is no night or darkness [...]" *(yaθra nōiṯ xšapa nōiṯ təmå̊)*,[24] because it is continuously lightened by the sun, a statement which implies that a perfect (i.e. "unmixed") creation cannot be infected by the presence of the darkness. The Daēuuas, on the contrary, run in the darkness (*Y.* 57, 18: *daēuua ... taršta təmaŋhō duuarəṇte*) and they manifest themselves – or they have the "aspect" *(ciθra-)*[25] – of the darkness, being in fact *təmasciθra-*,[26] while their strength would grow if the sun (Huuarə.xšaēta) were not able to rise again (*Yt.* 6, 3: *yeiδi.zī huuarə nōiṯ uzuxšiieiti aδa daēuua vīspå mərəṇciṇti yå̊ həṇti haptō.karšuuōhuua*).

Ohrmazd, before the creation, was ever in the Light *(andar rōšnīh hamē būd)*, because – as the first chapter of the *Iranian Bundahišn* (par. 2)[27] explains – "that Light is the space and place of Ohrmazd" *(ān rōšnīh gāh ud gyāg ī ohrmazd)*. The scribe added: "there are some who call it the Light without beginning" *(ast kē asar rōšnīh gōwēd)*.[28]

In addition, the demoniac and dangerous dimension of the darkness is directly confirmed by Vedic sources, where *támas-* is the dangerous enemy of the Dawn (Uṣās) – sister of Rātri, the goddess of the bright night[29] – and represents the chaotic obscurity trying to kidnap Uṣās;[30] Rātri, in fact, is given the splendour of the stars and drives the darkness away (see, e.g., *Ṛ̊v.* 10, 127, 2: *jyótiṣā*

22 Moulton 1913, p. 291.
23 Bartholomae 1904, cols. 648–649.
24 Cf. Gershevitch 1959, pp. 98–99.
25 See Panaino 2003.
26 Bartholomae 1904, col. 648. Cf. *Yt.* 6, 4: *yō yazaite huuarə yaṯ aməšəm raēm auruuaṯ. aspəm paitištātāe təmaŋhąm, paitištātāe təmasciθranąm daēuuanąm* "he who worships the Sun, immortal, splendid, having swift horses, in opposition to the darkness, in opposition to the demons who manifest themselves in the darkness" (or "who have the aspect of the darkness").
27 Cf. Zaehner 1955, p. 312; cf. Cereti/MacKenzie 2003, pp. 32–33.
28 Cf. Zaehner 1955, p. 278; cf. Cereti/MacKenzie 2003, p. 32.
29 On the complex dialectic relating Rātri to Uṣās (cf. also the compound *uṣāsānaktā*), see the detailed discussion offered by Montesi 1957 [= 1993]. In *Ṛ̊v.* 10, 89, 15, the "blinding darkness" (*andháṃ támaḥ*) is set in opposition to the "starlit night" (*sujyotíṣo aktávaḥ*). Cf. also Panaino 2001.
30 Hillebrandt 1927, pp. 26–27; 1980, pp. 31–32.

bādhate támaḥ "with light she drives the darkness away");[31] she also protects her worshippers from the wolf and the thief, i.e. from all those dangerous creatures considered as Dāevic in the Avestan framework and that are *təmasciϑra-*. Then, why is Ahura Mazdā attributed with the act of *dā-*ing (creating/placing/fixing/arranging) *təmah-*?

A fitting solution actually comes from the Vedic sources, in particular from *Ṛv.* 10, 129, 1–3,[32] a text which in some points presents us with a series of cosmological and speculative[33] questions recalling those of *Y.* 44:

> 10, 129, 1:
> *nā́sad āsīn nó sád āsīt tadā́nīṃ nā́sīd rájo nó vy̯òmā paró yát /*
> *kím ā́varīvaḥ kúha kásya śármann ámbhaḥ kím āsīd gáhanaṃ gabhīrám*
> "There was not the non-existent nor the existent then; there was not the air nor the heaven which is beyond. What did it contain? Where? In whose protection? Was there water, unfathomable, profound?".

31 See MACDONELL 1917, p. 204. Cf. HILLEBRANDT 1913, p. 149; PAPESSO 1929–1931, p. 222; RENOU 1966, pp. 135–136; VARENNE 1967, p. 99. Cf. MACDONELL 1898, p. 124.

32 AUFRECHT 1877, II, p. 430. See MACDONELL 1917, pp. 207–209, whose English translation I have basically followed. See also the translations offered by RENOU, PAPESSO and GELDNER. RENOU 1956, p. 125: (1) "Ni le non-Être n'existait alors, ni l'Être. Il n'existait l'espace aérien, ni le firmament au-delà. Qu'est-ce que se mouvait puissamment? Où? Sous la garde de qui? Était-ce l'eau, insondablement profonde?" (2) "Il n'existait en ce temps ni mort, ni non-mort ; il n'y avait de signe distinctif pour la nuit ou le jour. L'Un respirait de son propre élan, sans qu'il y ait de souffle. En dehors de Cela, il n'existait rien d'autre." (3) "A l'origine les ténébres étaient cachées par les ténébres. Cet univers n'était qu'onde indistincte. Alors, par la puissance de l'Ardeur, l'Un prit naissance, (principe) vide et recouvert de vacuité"; PAPESSO (1929–1931, pp. 222–223: (1) "Allora non c'era il non essere, non c'era l'essere; non c'era l'atmosfera, né il cielo (che è) al di sopra. Che cosa si muoveva? dove? sotto la protezione di chi? Che cosa era l'acqua (del mare) inscandagliabile, profonda?" (2) "Allora non c'era la morte, né l'immortalità; non c'era il contrassegno della notte e del giorno. Senza (produr) vento respirava per propria forza quell' [*tad*] Uno [*ekam* (neutro)]; oltre di lui non c'era nient'altro." (3) "Tenebra ricoperta da tenebra era in principio; tutto questo (universo) era un ondeggiamento [*salila*] indistinto. Quel principio vitale che era serrato dal vuoto, generò se stesso (come) l'uno mediante la potenza del proprio calore *[tapas]*". GELDNER 1951, III, pp. 359–360: (1) "Weder Nichtsein noch Sein war damals; nicht war der Luftraum noch der Himmel darüber. Was strich hin und her? Wo? In wessen Obhut? Was war das unergründliche tiefe Wasser?" (2) "Weder Tod noch Unsterblichkeit war damals; nicht gab es ein Anzeichen von Tag und Nacht. Es atmete nach seinem Eigengesetz ohne Windzug dieses Eine. Irgend ein Anderes als dieses war weiter nicht vorhanden." (3) "Im Anfang war Finsternis in Finsternis versteckt; all dieses war unkenntliche Flut. Das Lebenskräftige, das von der Leere eingeschlossen war, das Eine wurde durch die Macht seines heißen Dranges geboren." See also the translation and the ample commentary formerly given by GELDNER 1908, pp. 14–15, 16–23 and *passim*. About the commentary by Sāyaṇa see again GELDNER 1908, pp. 24–34. Cf. also VARENNE 1967, p. 331; SANI 2000, p. 65.

33 GELDNER 1908, pp. 10–11 and *passim*.

10, 129, 2:
ná mr̥tyúr āsīd amr̥taṃ ná tárhi ná rátr̥yā áhna āsīt praketáḥ /
ánīd avātáṃ svadháyā tád ékaṃ tásmād dhānyán ná paráḥ kíṃ canā́sa
"There was not death nor immortality then. There was not the beacon of the night, not of the day. That one breathed, windless, by its own power. Other than that there was not anything beyond".

10,129, 3:
táma āsīt támasā gūḷhám ágre ʾ$_a$praketáṃ saliláṃ sárvam ā idám /
tuchyénābh$_u$v ápihitaṃ yád ā́sīt tápasas tán mahinā́jāyataikam
"Darkness was in the beginning hidden by darkness; indistinguishable, this all was water. That which, coming into being, was covered with the void, that One arose through the power of heat".

From these passages we can deduce that *támas-* was associated with the image of the primordial chaos, when "darkness was hidden by darkness", and when neither Rātri (the starlit Night) nor the day *(ahan-)* existed yet. If we connect the basic image of this chaos to the Iranian, i.e. Mazdean context, we could suppose that the act of Ahura Mazdā would have been, thus, the establishing of an "order" in his work of creation/organization of the world, by fixing *(dāṯ)* the alternation between the lights *(raocah-)* and the darkness *(təmah-)* as well as that between sleeping *(x^{v}afnəm)* and waking *(zaēmā)*. In fact, the need of sleep is also a consequence of the "mixed" existence, if we consider that Miθra is "sleepless" *(ax^{v}afna-)*, while Būšiiąstā[34] ("What-will-be-ness") is the demoness encharged with retarding human awakening each morning (in fact she is *zairina-* "weakening, putting to sleep")[35] in order to make people desert their good duties. Anyway, it is in the determination of the orderly and regular succession between night and day that we can see the first divine success over the original chaos and its darkness. The same idea was probably expressed through the Vedic myth of the liberation of Uṣas (or of her cattle and horses) from the Vala, the rock in which she was imprisoned, if Montesi is right when he states that "il mito della liberazione dell'aurora è il mito dell'instaurazione archetipica dell'Ordine *(r̥tá)* come successione del giorno e della notte di contro al caos delle origini".[36]

There is no reason to maintain that Ahura Mazdā was creating something bad or negative, because the questions of *Y.* 44 surely concern the condition of the world in its "mixed" status and not in its divine meta-temporal and eternal dimension, existing before the clash of the good and evil principles. This interpretation is confirmed by many statements contained in the text such as (a) the reference to the path of the sun and of the stars *(x^{v}āŋg strāmcā ... aduuānəm)*, (b) the essential mention of the lunar phases *(mā̊ uxšiieitī nərəfsaitī)*, and (c)

34 See Gray 1929, pp. 202–203. Cf. Bartholomae 1904, col. 970.
35 Cf. Bartholomae 1904, col. 1681.
36 Montesi 1953–1954, p. 27. The close link between darkness and ignorance is well developed in Hinduism; see Doniger 2002, pp. 90, 117, 207, 441.

that of the main periods of an entire day (morning, midday and night; *ušå arəm. piθβā xšapācā*). The idea of a regular and ordered cosmic movement, established, fixed, then created, by Ahura Mazdā, implied of course God's capability of controlling, at least partially (i.e. before the complete elimination of *druj-* and of Aŋra Mainyu, after the intermediate phase of mixture, the *gumēzišn* of the Pahlavi books), the chaotic primordial material, and in particular its darkness, these representing *de facto* the "cosmic disorder" *(druj-)*, while the divine normative intervention emphasized the power of *aša-*, triumphing at the end of the fight with the final restoration *(frašō.kərəti-)* of the world. In this respect the standard dualistic scheme of the Zoroastrian sources presents us with an interesting nuance, which could only *prima facie* be considered contradictory, i.e., with the idea that Ahura Mazdā had to manage the creation in order to govern the inevitable (but provisional, i.e., limited in time) presence of evil forces. Then he had to organize life in the actual reality, also imposing his force on the primordial obscurities. Thus, the present text shows the result of the creative action of Ahura Mazdā with reference to a dimension, being not that of the *manahiia- ahu-* (or *manaŋhō*),[37] but of the *astuuaṇt-*,[38] or, with Later Avestan terms, that of the *gaēiθiia- sti-* and not the *mainiiauua-* one (Pahl. *mēnōg* and *gētīg*).[39] In fact, if we take into consideration the cosmology of the *Bundahišn*, in particular the first,[40] the second[41] and the fifth chapter,[42] it is clear that the movement of the astral bodies, the lunar phases and the alternation of day and night are strictly related to the presence of Ahreman in the good creation, because the Ahuric beings were put in motion only after such an invasion. In addition, this explains why, e.g., the abode of Miθra, which is outside of the *gumēzišn* dimension, does not know the presence of the darkness. In addition we may consider the Pahlavi commentary to *Y.* 44, 5, where it is clear that the passage was understood by the Sasanian translators as referring to the *gumēzišn* and to the intermediate period, that only the Sōšyāns will purify and dissolve into the *frašgird*, i.e. the "final Restoration".

We shall also take into consideration the later Avestan opposition between *anaŋra raocå̊* "the lights without beginning" (i.e., "unlimited") and *anaŋra təmå̊* "the darkness without beginning", which is attested in the parallel passages of *Hadōxt Nask* 2, 15 and 2, 33.[43] In fact, after the meeting with the *daēnā-*, at its fourth step *(tūirīm gāma)* the soul of the right man *(yō narš aṣaonō uruua)* enters the *anaŋra raocå̊* (then the highest paradisiacal level; *anaŋraēšuua raocōhuua*),

37 Cf. *Y.* 40, 2; 53, 6.
38 Cf. *Y.* 28, 2; 43, 3.
39 See GNOLI 1963; SHAKED 1971.
40 See now CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003. Cf. ZAEHNER 1955; NYBERG 1929.
41 See HENNING 1942.
42 See MACKENZIE 1964.
43 See PIRAS 2000, pp. 54, 57.

while that of the sinner *(yō narš druuatō uruua)* reaches the lowest place, i.e., hell, in the unlimited darkness *(anaγraēšuua tamōhuua)*. This comparison raises some interesting reflections concerning the background of late Zoroastrian uranography. In fact, according to *Ir.Bd.* 2, 13,[44] *asar rōšnīh*, i.e. *anaγra raocå̊*, were placed by god above the sphere of the Sun and correspond to the throne *(gāh)* of Ohrmazd; they lie above the throne of the Amahraspand.[45] On the contrary, the unlimited darkness corresponds to the lowest infernal place, but it does not find any special cosmic collocation, because hell is neither in heaven nor is it apparently visible, while the evil forces are actually imprisoned in the earthly "mixed dimension", or in the first sphere of heaven, that of the fixed stars. To be more precise, this sphere was actually divided, according to Pahlavi uranography (see *Ir.Bd.* 2, 9), into two levels: in the first one the stars revolve fighting with the planets from the time of Ahreman's irruption; the second one is that of the "Unmixable stars", which was made "for the purpose that at the time of the aggressor's arrival they should repel him in battle and not let him carry his pollution (lit. "mixing") higher up".[46] As Henning has shown,[47] with reference to *Ir.Bd.* 6 (J), 5,[48] the function of the Unmixable stars was that of preventing darkness and sinfulness from carrying their pollution higher up to the upper spheres towards the Paradise of Ohrmazd. Although the details of this doctrine belong to later astronomic-astrological speculations, in my opinion it is highly probable that the presence of the darkness, also of the *anaγra təmå̊*, was linked with the mixed dimension (i.e. with the earth and the heaven of the stars, where the demoniac Pairikās and the "star(red)-worms" [*stārō kərəmå̊*] are active).[49]

Thus, we can suspect that these *anaγra təmå̊* correspond symbolically to the original, shapeless, disorderly primordial state of obscurity, existing before the creation and still surviving in hell. But, if the devilish forces are now imprisoned – in time and space – in the ordered scheme of the good creation, this unlimited darkness should be located in *intimo demonio*; in other words, it should represent his (i.e. Ahreman's) darkest and most disordered "ipseity", the farthest place from the divine brightness, the enlightened abode of Ahura Mazdā. This seems to be absolutely correct if we recall that, at the beginning of his creation, Ohrmazd, who was high *(bālistīg)*, in the light (*andar rōšnīh*; see *Ir.Bd.* 1, 0),[50] found the basic "Form of Fire" for his work in the *asar rōšnīh*, the "Light without beginning" (see *Dādestān ī Dēnīg*, 64), while – as stated in *Ir.Bd.* 1, 3[51] – Ahreman, who "was deep down in the darkness" *(andar tārīgīh)* and whose

44 See Henning 1942, p. 232; cf. Anklesaria 1956, pp. 34–35.
45 Henning 1942, pp. 233, 239–241.
46 Henning 1942, pp. 232–233.
47 Henning 1942, pp. 240–241.
48 Cf. Anklesaria 1956, pp. 84–85.
49 Panaino 1990, pp. 34, 63–64, 68, 75–78, 92–93, 97–98, 106, 139–141; 1995, pp. 19, 37, 41.
50 Cereti/MacKenzie 2003, pp. 38–39.
51 Cereti/MacKenzie 2003, pp. 32–33.

place was that darkness *(ud ān tārīgīh gyāg. ast kē asar-tārīgīh gōwēd)*, i.e. the "darkness without beginning", generated (*Ir.Bd.* 1, 28)[52] his own bad creation from the material Light, which is also the Light without beginning.

In any case before concluding this contribution, we must reflect on the objective difference we can see in the presentation of the cosmological background between the *Gāθās* and the Pahlavi sources. The *Gāθās*, in fact, still reflect an Indo-Iranian approach to the problem, a simpler and essential one, in which God is the basic organizer of the actual, "mixed", reality; thus they declare that Ahura Mazdā fashioned *(dāt)* light and darkness, i.e. they were using a formula that the Pahlavi texts would never use in such a crude way. In this respect, the later Mazdean sources present us with a clearly developed theologico-philosophical reworking of the problem of the origin, where the phase before the creation and the creative actions are assessed and justified in a systematic form, which, of course, represented a clear re-elaboration of an older pattern. We must also consider that the Gāθic assessment of the world's creation/organization confirms the strong monotheistic orientation of earlier Mazdeism, where, notwithstanding its dualistic framework, Ahura Mazdā, like Jahweh, "separated" the light from the darkness (*Genesis*, I, 4). We shall affirm that *Y.* 44, 5 apparently presents us with a stronger monotheism than that attested in *Genesis*; actually, in this *Gāθā*, it is in fact Ahura Mazdā who is attributed with the act of fashioning both light and darkness (the meaning of which requires at least an explicative exegesis as we have done), while, in *Genesis* it is immediately clear that Jahweh separated (*wayyabdēl*; causative from the root *bdl*;[53] according to the *Septuaginta*, διεχώρισεν)[54] the lights (*'ôr*; φῶς) from the darkness (*ḥōšeq*; σκότος) just after the creation of the light he had commanded into existence, while darkness, covering the primordial abyss (*t^{e}hōm*; ἄβυσσος in the *Septuaginta*; cf. I, 2) once enfolding the earth,[55] already existed before the created world.

This peculiar comparative situation deserved – I think – more attention than it has been given before. I am glad to dedicate this short research to the extraordinary memory of Professor RONALD E. EMMERICK, whose uncomparable scholarly depth so widely shed more light over our field.

52 ZAEHNER 1955, p. 316; see now CERETI/MACKENZIE 2003, p. 38.

53 Cf. GESENIUS 1962, pp. 34–35.

54 See RAHLFS 1935, p. 1.

55 We recall that such a word has been compared with Akkadian *tiâmtu*, *tâmtu*, *tâmdu* "sea" (see GESENIUS, 1962, p. 871a), but also with the name of the demoness Tiâmat (see BLACK/GEORGE/ POSTAGATE 2000, p. 405. Cf. also CHEYNE/SUTHERLAND BLACK 1899, col. 31; very sceptical and openly "confessional" the position assumed by VON RAD 1978, p. 57, in this regard.

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Zur Lage der Gōrānī-Dialekte im Iran und ihrer Erforschung

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Das Gōrānī hat in seinem heutigen Verbreitungsgebiet im West-Iran (nordwestlich von Kermānšāh) und im nordöstlichen Irak ca. 200000–300000 Sprecher und ist damit eine der zahlenmäßig bedeutendsten „nordwestiranischen" Sprachen. Neben einem kompakten dialektalen Kerngebiet um Pāve und nordwestlich davon (Nousūd) gibt es eine Reihe von isolierten Dialekt-Inseln des Gōranī südlich von Pāve. Zwischen den beiden Regionen verläuft eine religiös-kulturelle Trennlinie: Im Norden (Pāve und, nicht weit davon, Nousūd) sind die Gōrānī-Sprecher Sunniten, im südlichen Gebiet (Gahvāre, Zarde etc.) gehören sie der eigenständigen Religionsgemeinschaft der Ahl-e Ḥaqq an.[1] Das Dorf Kandūle (nördl. von Kermānšāh) stellt mit einigen Nachbardörfern eine Gōrānī-Exklave dar. Sein Dialekt steht denjenigen der Gebiete um Pāve und Nousūd nahe, die Bewohner von Kandūle sind allerdings Zwölferschiiten.

Die geographische Lage – und Zersplitterung – im Süden des kurdischen Sprachgebiets weist darauf hin, daß Gōrāni-Sprecher ehemals ein kompakteres und deutlich größeres Gebiet besiedelt haben, das dann – aus nördlicher Richtung – nach und nach *kurdisiert* wurde. Diese Hypothese wird sowohl durch gewisse historische Zusammenhänge gestützt als auch durch die Tatsache, daß in südkurdischen Dialekten ein Gōrānī-Substrat festgestellt werden kann.[2] Die „freundschaftliche ethnische Umklammerung" der Gōrānī-Sprecher durch die Kurden läßt mittel- und langfristig eine Fortsetzung auch des sprachlichen Verdrängungsprozesses erwarten.

Auch wenn viele seiner Einzeldialekte noch kaum untersucht sind, zählt das Gōrānī zu den „relativ gut erforschten" westiranischen Sprachen. Bisher sind drei Monographien zum Gōrānī erschienen, von denen die ersten beiden[3] umfangreiche Texte, Wörterverzeichnisse und grammatikalische Skizzen, und die dritte[4] die ausführliche Grammatik eines Einzeldialekts (desjenigen der Stadt Nousūd nordwestlich von Pāve) enthalten. Insgesamt haben vor allem

1 „Gōrānī" ist eigentlich die Eigenbezeichnung nur der südlichen Dialekte. Die nördlichen Sprecher bezeichnen ihre Dialekte als „(H)ourāmī" oder „Pāve'ī". In der westlichen Forschung wird jedoch „Gōrānī" als Oberbegriff für alle diese Dialekte verwendet.

2 Siehe MacKenzie 1961.

3 Benedictsen/Christensen 1921; Mann/Hadank 1930.

4 MacKenzie 1966.

die Dialekte der Region Pāve (und nicht weit davon) Beachtung gefunden, sowie – von OSKAR MANN – die Gōrānī-Exklave von Kandūle (nördlich von Kermānšāh), weniger hingegen die (südlichen) „Ahl-e Ḥaqq-Dialekte".

Ende September 2004 unternahm ich im Rahmen eines zweiwöchigen Iran-Aufenthalts eine einwöchige Reise durch die Gōranī-sprachigen Gebiete Südwest-Irans. Ziel der Reise war es, einen Überblick über die gegenwärtige Situation und dialektale Verbreitung der im Iran gesprochenen Dialekte des Gōrānī zu gewinnen, Kontakt zu einzelnen Sprechergemeinschaften aufzunehmen und Möglichkeiten einer zukünftigen Kooperation bei der Erforschung des Gōrānī auszuloten.

Die Reise durch die Gōrānī-Gebiete begann am 30.9.2004 in Kermānšāh und endete am 6.10.2004 ebendort. Am Morgen des 30.9. reiste ich mit Seyyed Fereydūn Ḥosseinī, einem in Karağ (bei Teheran) ansässigen Gōrānī-Sprecher, in die Stadt Gahvāre, aus der seine Familie stammt und zu der er noch enge verwandtschaftliche und soziale Kontakte pflegt. Die Kleinstadt Gahvāre stellt eines der historischen Zentren der Gōrān dar.[5] Inzwischen ist in Gahvāre selbst das Gōrānī jedoch weitgehend ausgestorben, Hauptsprache des Ortes ist jetzt ein südkurdischer Dialekt. Daneben sprechen die meisten Bewohner auch die Landessprache Persisch.

Nach Aussagen Fereydūns finden sich in der Stadt noch ca. drei Gōrānī-Sprecher, dazu kommen einige wenige, die in Kermānšāh oder anderen iranischen Städten wohnen; alle seien über 70 Jahre alt. Mit einem der drei Gōrānī-Sprecher in Gahvāre, Seyyed ʿAzīz Mehrābī, einem Verwandten Fereydūns, begann ich meine Befragungen. Diese konzentrierten sich in Gahvāre, wie an den meisten anderen Orten, im wesentlichen auf das Abfragen eines „Kernwortschatzes" von ca. 100–150 Wörtern sowie auf die Flexion einer Reihe von Verben in Präsens und Präteritum. Die Interviews wurden auf Persisch geführt.

Am 1.10. fuhr ich mit Fereydūn nach Zarde, einem Dorf in der Nähe von *Bābā Yādegār*, dem bedeutendsten Heiligtum und Wallfahrtsort der Ahl-e Ḥaqq. Wie die Gōrānī-Sprecher von Gahvāre und Umgebung gehören auch diejenigen von Zarde den Ahl-e Ḥaqq an, ihr Dialekt unterscheidet sich jedoch in einigen Punkten deutlich von demjenigen von Gahvāre. In Zarde waren wir zum Mittagessen bei einer Familie zu Gast. Als ich mich vorstellte und mich höflich nach dem Befinden der Anwesenden erkundigte, erhielt ich von einem älteren Herrn die Antwort, es gehe ihm schlecht. Auf meine Nachfrage gab er an, „die Deutschen hätten ihm die Augen kaputtgemacht".

Es stellte sich heraus, daß das Dorf Zarde im Jahre 1988, wie die (auch von Gōrānī-Sprechern bewohnte) Stadt Ḥalabğa jenseits der Grenze auf irakischer Seite, Opfer irakischer Giftgasangriffe geworden war und ca. 60 seiner Bewohner verloren hatte. Die Berichterstattung westlicher Medien konzentrierte sich damals vor allem auf die über 5000 kurdischen Opfer von Ḥalabğa und

5 MANN/HADANK 1930, S. 436f.

schenkte – sicherlich auch bedingt durch das politisch schwierige Verhältnis „westlicher" Staaten zur Islamischen Republik Iran – den Opfern auf iranischer Seite weniger Beachtung. Die Überlebenden von Ḥalabğa wurden in Deutschland medizinisch großzügig behandelt; die Opfer von Zarde erhielten hingegen keine Hilfe aus Deutschland. Die deutsche Mitverantwortung für die Giftgasangriffe wurde im Iran bekannt und wurde mir nun – in Zarde – vorgehalten.

Am 2.10. unternahm ich mit Fereydūn einen Ausflug nach Gourāğū, einem ca. 10 km von Gahvāre entfernten Dorf. Es ist nur mit geländegängigen Fahrzeugen in ca. zwei Stunden erreichbar. Seine schlechte Anbindung an das Straßennetz hat sicherlich dazu beigetragen, daß in Gourāğū – als einem der wenigen Orte in der Umgebung von Gahvāre – Gōrānī noch von allen Einwohnern gesprochen wird. In Gourāğū nutzte ich den ganzen Nachmittag zu intensiven sprachlichen Befragungen.[6]

Am 3.10. fuhr ich weiter nach Pāve, einer Stadt von ca. 20000 Einwohnern. Sie liegt südlich der historischen Region Awromān (heute ausgesprochen: (H)ourāmān), die von Nousūd (im Süden) bis Merīvān (im Norden) und im Westen bis auf irakisches Gebiet (Halabğa) reicht. Awromān ist in die drei Unterregionen (südl.) Awromān-i Lohon (Hauptort: Nousūd), Awromān-i Taxt (nördlich von Nousūd) und, weiter nördlich, Awromān-i Režāv (Hauptort: Merīvān) unterteilt. Die Region Awromān ist von den weiter südlich gelegenen Ahl-e Ḥaqq-Gebieten um Gahvāre und Zarde durch einen Gebirgszug getrennt. Sie ist fast ausschließlich von Gōrānī-Sprechern bewohnt und sunnitisch. Anders als in Gahvāre, wird in Awromān das Gōrānī nach wie vor von allen Einheimischen gesprochen.

In Pāve wohnte ich drei Tage lang im Haus des stadtbekannten, „Dr. Borhān" genannten Arztes Borhānoddīn Valadbeygī. Dieser setzt sich seit vielen Jahren für die Region Pāve in landschaftsbewahrender und kulturfördernder Weise ein und hat, unter anderem, einen Reiseführer zu den Naturschönheiten der Region Pāve veröffentlicht.[7] Leider stoßen Dr. Borhāns Bemühungen bisher auf wenig Interesse, geschweige denn finanzielle Unterstützung, seitens kommunaler oder staatlicher Stellen.

Am 4.10. bereiste ich zusammen mit dem pensionierten Armeeangehörigen Qāder Maḥmūdweyssī (ca. 70 Jahre alt) einige Dörfer in der unmittelbaren Umgebung von Pāve wie Dīše und Xānaqāh. Leider fand ich in keinem der Dörfer einen „guten" Gōrānī-Informanten, deshalb blieb der linguistische Ertrag dieses Tages gering.

Anders am 5.10.: Nach einem Besuch bei dem zweitwichtigsten Ahl-e Ḥaqq-Wallfahrtsort Solṭān Esḥāk, nördlich von Pāve (inmitten sunnitischen Siedlungsgebietes), fuhr ich weiter in die Kleinstadt Nousūd. Zunächst wollte

6 Ab 2007 soll das Dorf Gourāğū einem Staudamm weichen, die Bewohner werden umgesiedelt.

7 Valadbeygī 1380 [2002].

ich mit Qāders Hilfe den Gōrānī-Informanten MACKENZIE's aus den späten 1950er Jahren, Tahsin Beg, kennenlernen und stichprobenartig überprüfen, ob sich sein von MACKENZIE akkurat festgehaltener Idiolekt nach über 40 Jahren in irgendeiner Weise verändert hatte.

Der Versuch der Kontaktaufnahme mißlang jedoch. Der über 70jährige Tahsin Beg war in den 1950er Jahren nach London gegangen, um für die *Anglo-Iranian Oil Company* zu arbeiten. Dort traf er im Jahre 1957 MACKENZIE, der über mehrere Monate hinweg mit ihm als Gōrānī-Informant arbeitete. Nach seinem Eintritt in den Ruhestand vor ca. 10 Jahren war Tahsin Beg ohne seine Familie (die in London zurückblieb) nach Iran zurückgekehrt. Zunächst wollte er sich in Pāve niederlassen, dann aber zog er sich in seinen Heimatort Nousūd zurück.

Die wiederholten Versuche Qāders, uns bei Tahsin Beg telefonisch anzumelden, blieben erfolglos. Tahsin Beg wollte mit niemandem sprechen, auch nicht (oder: erst recht nicht?) mit einem Ausländer und über Gōrānī. Qāder entschuldigte sich bei mir: Tahsin Beg schließe sich seit Jahren von der Welt ab und lebe nur noch für das Studium von Literatur, vor allem mystisch-philosophischer Werke. Einmal am Tag rufe er in einem Restaurant an und bestelle ein Mittagessen, das ihm von dort gebracht werde. Dies sei in der Regel sein einziger Kontakt zur Außenwelt.

In diesem Zusammenhang ist eine Bemerkung in der Einleitung zu MACKENZIE's Gōrānī-Grammatik von Interesse.[8] Als MACKENZIE den jungen Tahsin 1957 in London kennenlernte, stellte er fest, daß dessen Urgroßvater, der „Sultan von Luhon" Hama Sa'īd Sān (Tahsin entstammt der örtlichen Herrscherfamilie), im Jahre 1901 den dänischen Sprachforscher ÅGE MEYER BENEDICTSEN als Gast beherbergt hatte. Leider jedoch betrachtete der Herrscher den westlichen Forscher mit einer „méfiance croissante" und schließlich mit einer „inimitié honeste", die BENEDICTSEN dazu veranlaßte, früher abzureisen als geplant.

Der Apfel fällt nicht weit vom Stamm! Anders als MACKENZIE, fand ich keinen Nachkommen Tahsins vor, der die Unwilligkeit seines Vorfahren hätte wiedergutmachen können. Allerdings traf ich am selben Tag in Nousūd mit Raḥmat Khāderpūr, einem sehr interessierten und fähigen Gōrānī-Informanten, der den „Ausfall" Tahsin Begs mehr als wettmachen sollte. Raḥmat ist etwa 30 Jahre alt. Er hat in Kermānšāh ein finanzwissenschaftliches Studium absolviert, dann aber beschlossen, in seine Heimatstadt Nousūd zurückzukehren und sich dort der Erforschung seiner Muttersprache zu widmen.

Seit mehreren Jahren beschäftigt er sich unter hohem persönlichem Einsatz mit dem Gōrānī und dessen Folklore. Er sammelt Geschichten, Sprichwörter, Rätsel u.a.m. und zeichnet sie auf, um, wie er sagt, ein Kulturgut festzuhalten, das langsam, aber stetig dabei ist, verloren zu gehen. Er hat Kontakt zu einem an iranischer Dialektologie interessierten Professor an der Universität Teheran

8 MACKENZIE 1966, S. 4.

aufgenommen, arbeitet aber weitgehend selbständig und autodidaktisch. Seine Sammlungen umfassen bereits mehrere hundert Seiten. Mit Raḥmat arbeitete ich den ganzen Nachmittag intensiv und konnte mit seiner Hilfe u.a. der Phonologie des Gōrānī einen bei MacKenzie (1964) noch nicht erfaßten Laut hinzufügen (s.u.).

Am 6.10. reiste ich von Pāve nach Kermānšāh zurück, unterwegs besuchte ich noch die mitten in kurdischem Sprachgebiet gelegene Gōrānī-Exklave Kandūle. Das Großdorf Kandūle stellt mit zwei Nachbardörfern die einzige größere zwölferschiitische Gōrānī-Gemeinschaft dar. In Kandūle blieb ich ca. drei Stunden lang und sammelte sprachliches Material. Wie in Pāve und den Regionen nordwestlich davon, wird auch in Kandūle das Gōrānī noch von allen Einheimischen gesprochen.

Aus obigem Reisebericht sollte ersichtlich werden, daß die Reise vor allem dem Kennenlernen einer komplizierten und komplexen Dialektlandschaft diente. Die Befragungen einzelner Sprecher dauerten in der Regel jeweils nur ca. 1–3 Stunden. Deshalb konnte die Reise naturgemäß keine substantiellen dialektalen Neuerkenntnisse liefern. Im folgenden soll versucht werden, einige Einzelbeobachtungen phonologischer, morphologischer und lexikalischer Art herauszugreifen, die erwähnenswert erscheinen.

Phonologie

Die Befragung mehrerer Gōrānī-Sprecher von Nousūd und Pāve hat die Existenz eines bislang nicht erkannten Lautes in diesen Gōranī-Dialekten ergeben. In Wörtern wie Nous. *maňňa* „Ort mit stehendem Wasser“ (Pers. *māndāb*), *fəňňe* „Bachstelze“, *kaňň-u-kō* „Bemühung“, *zīňňe* „lebend“, *kaňňey* „graben“ (Pers. *kandan*), *aňňāze* „Maß“ (Pers. *andāze*) oder *paňňe* „unzüchtiges Verhalten (von Frauen)“ liegt intervokalisch ein geminierter Nasal vor, der klar und deutlich zerebral, mit nach oben gebogener Zunge artikuliert wird. Dieser Laut ist offensichtlich aus einer Kombination von **-n-* und **-d-* hervorgegangen[9] und wird in keiner der bisherigen phonetischen Beschreibungen erwähnt. Obwohl ich noch kein Minimalpaar gefunden habe, erscheint es mir wahrscheinlich, daß dieser Laut etwa im Vergleich zu einfachem intervokalischem *-n-* distinktiv ist. Möglicherweise hängt die Entwicklung **-nd-* → *-ňň-* mit der allophonischen Artikulation des *d* als Kontinuant [ə] zusammen.[10]

Einige der oben erwähnten Wörter mit *-ňň-* finden sich bei MacKenzie (1966) und werden dort mit Doppel-*n* geschrieben (z.B. *annāza* „Maß“, *kannay*

9 Der Informant Raḥmat Khāderpūr schreibt diesen Laut in seinen Aufzeichnungen mit „-ndn-“.

10 Nach MacKenzie 1966, S. 7f., allerdings nur postvokalisch und zwischen *r* und Vokal.

„graben").[11] Hieraus ergibt sich m.E. ein Problem. Jeder, der MACKENZIE gekannt hat, weiß über die Genauigkeit und Unbestechliehkeit, die seinem Gehör eignete. Es erseheint kaum vorstellbar, daß MACKENZIE ein solcher Laut, sollte er in dem Idiolekt seines Informanten Tahsin Beg vorgekommen sein, nicht aufgefallen wäre. Deshalb sollte man die Mögliehkeit erwägen, daß entweder dieser Laut in Tahsin Begs Idiolekt nieht vorhanden war (da er im Irak aufgewaehsen war?), oder daß sieh dieser Laut in den fast 50 Jahren seit MACKENZIE's Befragungen *neu gebildet* hat. Letzterer Möglichkeit steht entgegen, daß ein zerebraler Laut *-ňň-*, der ja noch Spuren des **-d-* trägt, sich eher direkt aus **-nd-* entwickelt haben dürfte als aus einem (bei MACKENZIE notierten) zwisehenstufigen Geminat **-nn-*.

Zwisehen den einzelnen Göranī-Dialekten gibt es keine bedeutenden phonetisehen oder phonologischen Unterschiede. Erwähnenswert erseheint die Entwieklung von *-y-* aus Verschlußlauten, die im Kandūle'ī konsequenter durchgeführt wurde als in anderen Dialekten, z.B. Kand. *hīzīšey* „gestern Abend", *mānye* „Mond", *sayere* „Sehatten", *verye* „Wolf", *čirāy* „Lampe", *āyem* „Mensch", gegen Pāwe'ī *hīzīšawe*, *māŋg*, *sēwer*, *werg*, *čirāwī* und *ādam* (vereinzelt zeigen auch andere Dialekte *-y-*, z.B. Gourāğū'ī *āymī* „Mensch"). Entgegen dieser Regel hat Kand. *āwir* „Feuer", jedoch Gour. *āyir*, Nous. *eyr*.

Im Anlaut zeigen alle Göranī-Dialekte NW-iranisehes *w-* für SW **xw-*, z.B. Gour./Nous./Kand. *wer* „Sonne" (NP *xor-šīd*); Gour. *wirdī* „klein" (NP *xord*). Für gewisse etymologiseh anders geartete Fälle gilt die Gleichung SW *xw-* / NW *w-* allerdings nieht, siehe z.B. Gour./Zarde'ī *hūn*, Nous./Pā./Kand. *winī* „Blut" (< **vohunī*, vermutlich aus den beiden Akzentvarianten *vohúnī* bzw. *vóhunī*, Substrateinfluß?) oder Gour. *hunik* „kalt", Kand. *winīk*. Letzteres Wort tritt in Kandūle in der Variante *fēnik* auf.

Andere Beobaehtungen betreffen zumeist einzelne Wörter wie Gour. *pyād* „Mann",[12] mit Erhalt (wenngleich allophonischer Artikulation als [ə]) des *-d* (vgl. Nous./Kand. *pyā*) oder Pā./Nous. *težne* „durstig" gegen Gour. *tešne* „id.". Vereinzelt steht die konservative Form Kand. *šift* „Mileh" (Pā./Nous. *šūt*, vgl. Av. [in Komb.] *xšvipta-*). Bemerkenswert ist auch die Präposition Kand. *až* „von, aus" (< **háčā*, dagegen Za./Nous. *ği*, Kand. *ğa*, alle < **hačā́*), die (wie evtl. *hūn/winī* „Blut", s.o.) auf Lehn- oder Substrateinfluß seitens eines NW-iranischen, aber mit dem Göranī nieht sehr eng verwandten Dialekts hinweisen könnte.[13]

11 In den Wortlisten von MANN/HADANK 1930 und BENEDICTSEN/CHRISTENSEN 1921 findet sich nur das Wort *māniaj* „müde" (= Pers. *mānde*, s. BENEDICTSEN/CHRISTENSEN 1921, S. 124); steht hier *-ni-* für *-ňň-*?

12 Mit postvokalisch als „Kontinuant [ə]" realisiertem *d*, s. MACKENZIE 1964, S. 7f.

13 Siehe z.B. Semnānī *až* „von, aus". Kurdisch hat, wie Göranī, *ği*; dieselbe Form liegt auch dem obliquen enklitischen Pronomen Zazaki *ği* „ihm, ihn (etc.)" zugrunde, so daß Gör. *ği* nicht aus dem Kurdischen enlehnt zu sein braucht.

Morphologie

Einige wichtige morphologische Unterschiede zwischen einzelnen Gōrānī-Dialekten sind bei MANN/HADANK auf S. 70–76 aufgelistet („XII. Über das sprachliche Verhältnis der Gûrân-Mundarten zueinander"). Weitere ergeben sich direkt aus den Beschreibungen einzelner Dialekte, so z. B. die Personalpronomina 3Sg./Pl. Gahv. *ān/ānān* (Var. 3Pl. *āšān*), gegen Pā. *ād/āde*. Das Zarde'ī nimmt hier (wie auch in einigen anderen Fällen) mit *ād/āšān* eine Zwischenstellung ein.

Auch bei den Verbalendungen verlaufen die wichtigsten Isoglossen zwischen den nördlichen und südlichen Dialekten (um Pāve bzw. Gahvāre), so z. B. Präsens Indikativ Sg. Gour. *-im/-ī/-e*, Pā. *-ū/-ī/-ō*, wobei ersteres vermutlich kurdischen Einfluß zeigt.[14] Für 1Pl. zeigt Gour. *-ām* gegen Pā. *-mē*. Der Dialekt von Zarde geht hier mehr mit den nördlichen Dialekten, hat jedoch – wie das im Irak gesprochene Bāğalānī – die 1Sg.-Endung an diejenige der 2Sg. *(-ī)* angepaßt. Das Kandūle'ī geht wesentlich mit dem Pāve'ī, zeigt für 1/2Pl. jedoch leicht abweichende Endungen. Im Überblick:

Tab. 1: Präsens Indikativ: Endungen[15]

	Gour.	Zarde	Bāğ.	Pāve	Kand.
Sg. 1	*-im*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ū*	*-ü*
2	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ī*
3	*-e*	*-ü*	*-ō*	*-ō*	*-ū*
Pl. 1	*-ām*	*-mī*	*-mē*	*-mī*	*-im*
2	*-e*	*-dī*	*-ē*	*-dī*	*-īdi*
3	*-in*	*-ān*	*-ān*	*-ān*	*-ān*

Eine Besonderheit der Dialekte von Gahvāre, die von keinem anderen Gōrānī-Dialekt geteilt wird, ist die Bildung eines Passivs auf *-īs*. MANN/HADANK (1930, S. 430f.) gibt die Formen Bīwanğī *šikīse* „zerbrochen" (PPP) und *kušīsim* „ich wurde getötet" an. Dem kann ich aus meinen Aufzeichnungen hinzufügen Formen wie Gour. *wurīsī* „es wurde gegessen", *dizīsī* „es wurde gestohlen", *kolīsīām* „wir wurden gekocht", *gīrīse* „genommen" (PPP), oder der Satz: *īn érā derīsī?* „warum wurde es zerrissen?"

14 Siehe bereits MANN/HADANK 1930, S. 74, anhand anderer Einzeldialekte.

15 Der nur noch von sehr wenigen Sprechern verwendete Dialekt von Gahvāre selbst liefert für die Verbalendungen keine verläßlichen Daten mehr. Mein Informant Seyyed ʿAzīz Mehrābī gab für den Plural die ganz und gar kurdischen Endungen *-īn/-īn/-in* (vgl. aber noch Gahv. 1Pl. *-ām* bei MANN/HADANK 1930, S. 439). Später, in einem Beispielsatz, verwendete derselbe Informant 1Pl. *-īm*, d. h. die *persische* Endung. Dies ist als Zeichen eines fortgeschrittenen Sprachverfalls zu werten.

Was die Herkunft des *-īs* betrifft, so geht das *-ī* vermutlich auf das altiranische Passivformans **-ya-* zurück, das auch in anderen Gōrānī-Dialekten existiert (z.B. Zarde'ī *košyā* „er wurde getötet"). Aber woher stammt das *-s*? Das parthische intransitiv/mediale Suffix *-s* (z.B. in *bōxs-* „errettet werden") liegt zeitlich und funktional vermutlich zu fern, um hier eine Rolle zu spielen. Denkbar wäre eine Verbindung zu dem PPP-Formans *-is*, das eine Vereinfachung von **-ist* in Verben des Typs NP *dānistan* „wissen" darstellt. Bereits MANN (MANN/HADANK 1930, S. 427f.) vermutete, daß sich dieses PPP-Formans auf Verben wie Bīwanǧī *gärdisäm* (*ibid.*, S. 432) oder Gahv. *gīrdisāyim* (*ibid.*, S. 444, beide „ich ging umher"), dem NP *gardīdam* entspricht, „ausgedehnt" habe. Diese Vermutung wird unterstützt durch andere (von mir erhobene) Gour.-Formen wie *mixanisim* „ich lachte", *miraxsisim* „ich tanzte" oder *sūzis* „es verbrannte" (cf. NP *xandīdam*, *raqsīdam*, *sūxt*).

Lexikologie

Der Wortschatz des Gōranī enthält viele charakteristische Wörter, die in anderen NW-iranischen Sprachen nicht oder nur in anderen Bedeutungen oder in anderen Formen anzutreffen sind, z.B. Nous. *hermān* „Arbeit" *(*framāna-)* oder Nous./Za./Kand. *yāna* „Haus".[16] Ein interessantes Beispiel einer semantischen Entwicklung liefert das Wort für „schwanger". In den Wörterlisten und Texten von MANN/HADANK und MACKENZIE kommt es nicht vor, von Sprechern erfuhr ich zunächst nur die Formen Gour./Za./Kand. *āvis* (< Kurd.) sowie die Neubildungen Pā. *duegyān* (wörtl. „(mit) zwei Körpern") und Nous. *lemapare* („(mit) vollem Bauch"). Das aus dem Kurdischen entlehnte *āvis* geht auf **ā-puθra-* zurück und entspricht NP *ābustan* (< **ā-puθra-tanū-*). Im Zazaki lautet das Wort *āwirā*, wobei das *-r-* (< **-θr-*) die zu erwartende NW-Entsprechung von SW-iran. *-s-* darstellt. Anläßlich dieses Wortes fragte ich überall im Gōrānī-Sprachgebiet, ob es neben *āvis* (etc.) etwa noch eine Variante *āwir*, *āwirā* o.ä. gebe. Wiederholt erntete ich Kopfschütteln, außer – schließlich – in Pāve, wo ein alter Mann sagte: „Ja, wir haben das Wort *āwir* und es bedeutet auch ‚schwanger', aber nur für Tiere (d.h. ‚trächtig')!"

Das Lexikon des Gōranī steht seit langem unter tiefgreifendem – und vermutlich weiter zunehmendem – Einfluß seitens des Persischen und Kurdischen, allerdings nicht alle Gōranī-Dialekte in gleichem Maße. Manchmal finden sich Lehnworte nur in einem Dialekt, manchmal in mehreren, manchmal sogar das persische und kurdische Wort in jeweils verschiedenen Dialekten (z.B. das Wort für „Bär": Za. *wirč* [< Kurd.], Kand. *xirs* [< NP], Pā./Nous. „echt-Gōrānī" *ḫaša*).

16 Abgeleitet von dem „Zelt"-Wort **wi-dāna-*, s. BENVENISTE 1957–1958, S. 65f.

Abgesehen von den offensichtlich persischen und kurdischen Entlehnungen ist das Lexikon des Gōranī relativ homogen, mit einer geringen Zahl von Ausnahmen wie z. B. das Wort für „hier", das in einer dialektalen Vielfalt von (nicht-NP bzw. -Kurd.) Formen auftritt (Gahv. *ažīnā*, Gour. *īnāye*, Za. *čiyā*, Pā. *ēge*, Kand. *ačyā*). Interessant und lexikologisch bedeutender ist eine kleine Zahl von (nicht-NP bzw. -Kurd.) Wörtern, bei denen der Dialekt von Gourāğū von allen übrigen Dialekten abweicht, siehe z. B. die Wörter:

	Gour.	anderes Gōranī	zum Vergl.		
			Zazaki	Zentr.-Kurd.	NP
„Spiel"	*wāzī*	*key, kāy*	*kāy*	*bāzī*	*bāzī*
„Tochter"	*detá*	*kināče, (Za.) kirāče*	*keyn(ā)*	*dot*	*doxtar*
„selbst"	*īštan*	*wē, wi*	**wi*[16]	*xwe*	*xod, x^{w}īštan*
„Haus"	*key*	*yāne*	*ke(y)*	*māl*	*xāne*

Bei den Wörtern *wāzī*, *detá* und *īštan* weicht das Gourāğū'ī sowohl von den übrigen Gōrānī-Dialekten als auch von dem nahe verwandten Zazaki ab. Etymologische Anschlüsse für diese drei Wörter lassen sich in NW-iranischen Dialekten des zentral-nördlichen Hochplateaus finden, z. B. Āštiyānī *wāzī* „Spiel", *deta* „Tochter", Vafsī *īštən* (= Reflexivum). Bei dem Wort für „Haus" entspricht das Gour.-Wort *key* dem Zazaki-Wort *ke(y)* (< **kata-ka-*), hier haben außer Gourāğū'ī alle übrigen Gōrānī-Dialekte mit dem „Zelt-Wort" *yāna* (< **wi-dāna-*, s. Fn. 15) einen Sonderweg beschritten.

Insgesamt erwecken diese Worte den Eindruck, daß die südlichen Gōrānī-Dialekte (mit der Ausnahme von Zarde'ī) vor langer Zeit dem nachhaltigen Einfluß seitens eines weder mit Gōrānī noch mit dem Kurdischen nahe verwandten NW-iranischen Dialekts ausgesetzt waren; ein Eindruck, der sich durch die wichtige phonetische Isoglosse Gour. *až* „von, aus" / (andere Dial.) *ği* zu bestätigen scheint, auch wenn „von, aus" in den Dialekten des nördlichen Hochplateaus (z. B. in Āštiyān) *ği* lautet.

17 Das eigentliche Reflexivum/Emphaticum des Zazaki *xō* ist eine Entlehnung aus dem Kurdischen, das „echte" Zazaki-Wort hat sich noch erhalten in Worten wie Zaz. *wihēr* „Besitzer", dessen Beginn vermutlich auf **xwa-* zurückgeht (etwa **xwa-dāra-ya-*? Oder sogar **xwa-tāwya-*, mit unetymologischem *-r*?).

Anhang:
Zwei kurze Gōranī-Texte und mehrere Gōranī-Rätsel[18]

Gahvāre

(1) *až key ye pyāḏ kuřakášān wetáwī, bā-u-dāy kuřa garak-šān bē ara kuřášān žan buwāzin.* (2) *wəgard kuřakášān qisa-šān makárd, bāukaka wātiš, „až šun xāwunkār yawāš-yawāš nāuxwā mērīm, des žan arā-š meyrīm".* (3) *Wāt-šān, až kuřaká bipersāmi, ān ča muāy.* (4) *Kuřá wātiš: „až min bū, werğa xāwunkār"!*

(1) Im („vom") Haus eines Mannes schlief ihr (Pl.) Junge, die Eltern des Jungen wollten für ihren Jungen eine Frau suchen. (2) Sie sprachen mit ihrem Sohn, der Vater sagte, „nach *Xāwunkār* (= religiöses Fest) werde ich langsam, so Gott will, ihn verheiraten" (wörtl. „ich trage Gottes Namen, nehme die Hand einer Frau für ihn"). (3) Sie sagten, laß uns den Jungen fragen, was er sagt. (4) Der Junge sagte: „Was mich betrifft, (könnt ihr es auch) vor *Xāwunkār* (tun)!"

Ein Spruch *(Gahvāre)*

qise ka wātim winit, wātī winiš? Neyemiš, newātamiš – miwīnimiš, muām winiš.

Was ich dir gesagt habe, hast du es ihm gesagt? Ich habe ihn nicht gesehen, habe (es) ihm nicht gesagt – sehe ich ihn, (dann) sage ich (es) ihm.

Kandūle

(1) *ye xirsī čenī ye ruwāse rifāqat-šān kerd.* (2) *banā bī harče zād-u-walāt-šān hen, šarīk buān.* (3) *ba'd ruwāse har rüe ki xirs lüē qazā bārū, lue yuwe če zāruwān xirsī kušī.* (4) *ba'd az čan rüe, zāruwān xirsī-š tamām kušt.*

(1) Ein Bär schloß („machte") mit einem Fuchs Freundschaft. (2) Sie beschlossen, daß sie alles, was sie (an) Besitz haben, teilen würden. (3) Dann ging der Fuchs, jeden Tag, wenn der Bär (los)ging, um Essen zu holen, hin (und) tötete eines von den Jungen des Bären. (4) Nach einigen Tagen hatte er alle Bärenjungen getötet.

18 Aufgezeichnet von mir *in situ*.

(5) *xirs eʿterāz-eš kerd, „zāruwān aminī girš merd, zāruwān tüī giriš zine menenī“.* (6) *ruwāse wāt-eš, „fikire xirew mekere, zārū amin u tüe šarīk henme, šiš gilē tüī (/turō?) mānenī, makar(i)m-iš due kutyew.* (7) *yerī gilē-š tu bere, yerī gilē-š amin möwrü.* (8) *ğyāwe būmī, tu lüe wero šemāl, amin malü were ğenow, ī zārwāne harčī-š āme šun tü-yere, pey tü ī, harčī-š āme šun aminī-ere, pey amin ī.*

(5) Der Bär beschwerte sich, (sagend:) „meine Kinder sind alle gestorben, deine Kinder bleiben alle am Leben“. (6) Der Fuchs sagte, „denk nichts schlechtes, wir teilen uns meine und deine Kinder, sechs Stück bleiben dir (von dir?), wir machen es zwei Hälften. (7) Drei Stück davon nimm du, drei Stück davon nehme ich. (8) Lass uns uns trennen, geh du gen Norden, ich gehe gen Süden, diese Kinder, alle davon, welche hinter dir her kommen („kamen“), sind für dich, alle, die hinter mir herkommen, sind für mich.

(9) *ruwāse ğyāwe bī verou ğenūb, xirs ğyāwe bī vero šemāl.* (10) *čunge zārū ruwāse bīnī, luwāy šun ruwāsegé-yere.* (11) *xirs tenyā mene, ruwāse luā yew wuḻ yere, zāruwān-iš luāy šun ruwāsīg yere.* (12) *xirs asabānī bī, luwā šune šān ere (ki) bukušu šān, netawā-š bilu wuḻeg (y)ere.* (13) *xirsegé dāq-eš kerd, merd.*

(9) Der Fuchs trennte sich in Richtung Süden, der Bär trennte sich in Richtung Norden. (10) Da es die Kinder des Fuchses waren, gingen sie hinter dem Fuchs her. (11) Der Bär blieb allein, der Fuchs ging zu einem Loch, seine Kinder gingen hinter dem Fuchs her. (12) Der Bär ärgerte sich, er ging hin zu ihnen, um sie zu töten, er konnte nicht in das Loch hinein gehen. Der Bär erlitt einen Herzinfarkt und starb.

Nousūd (Rätsel)

ser tālān-u bin tālān, taqtaqey neyğālān – „auf und unter den *(tāl)*, das Klappern(?) der (?)*ney*-... (Auflösung: Spinnrad)

īlāš pārčīn, ewlāš pārčīn, dilē rāsekeš gulī čīnčīn – „diese Seite davon (ist) Hecke, jene Seite davon (ist) Hecke, seine Mitte ist eine schöne Rose“ (Auge)

īlāš dīwār, ewlāš dīwār, dilē rāsekeš pāḻingyī hār' – „diese Seite eine Mauer, jene Seite eine Mauer, seine Mitte ist eine wilde Raubkatze“ (Mühle)

āne čēšā čēš ḻey čēšā, mizānī henū mazānī čēšā – „was ist es, was ist die Sache(?), du weißt, daß es ist, du weißt nicht, was es ist“ (Embryo: Junge oder Mädchen?)

gilēmē vēmā hene, yerī gōšī pārane biẓḻe pošī – „wir haben einen Kelim, (seine) drei Ecken sind voll (von) gefleckten Zicklein“ (Himmel und Sterne)

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A Son of the Manichaean Living Spirit

Elio Provasi, Pisa

vītataṇho anādāno niruttipadakovido
akkharānaṃ sannipātaṃ jaññā pubbāparāni ca
sa ve antimasārīro mahāpaññο mahāpuriso ti vuccati
Dhp. 24.19 (352)

1. The five Sons of the Living Spirit are prominent figures of the Manichaean myth. They play a significant part as helpers of the Demiurge, their father, in the organization of the Universe and in their task as watchers of the various layers of heavens and earths against the onslaughts of Darkness.[1] Their names, well known from Greek, Latin and Syriac polemical texts,[2] as well as from the Coptic Manichaean tradition,[3] are also listed a few times in Eastern Manichaean texts.

The Middle Persian names *(mānbed, wisbed, zandbed, dahybed, pāhr(ag)-bed)*[4], on which I shall not dwell here, have been satisfactorily explained as

1 On the Living Spirit and his five Sons see, among others: Flügel 1862, pp. 35–36, 220–223, 234; Cumont 1908, pp. 21–23, 26, 28–29, 31–32, 38, 69–75; Schaeder 1927, pp. 78–79, 119–120, 125; Jackson 1932, pp. 296–313; Polotsky 1935, col. 253; Puech 1949, pp. 78–79.

2 For the Greek, Latin and Syriac names see the references in Jackson 1932, pp. 296–297, n. 3–7.

3 For the Coptic names, cf. in particular van Lindt 1992, pp. 90–108.

4 This is the order in which they are usually listed, e.g. in M 472 /I/r/13–14/ (MacKenzie 1979, p. 512, ll. 205–206). For a list of the occurrences cf. Sundermann 1979b, p. 127, n. 163, 164, 167, 170, p. 131, n. 224. For the alternative names *wādahrām yazad* "wind-raising god" = *zandbed* and *parmānagēn yazad* "god Thought" = *mānbed* cf., respectively, Jackson 1932, p. 309, MacKenzie 1979, p. 529 on 179 (on the former) and *ibid.*, p. 528 on 178, Sundermann 1979b, p. 121, n. 85, 86 (on the latter). The MPers. names in the *Šābuhragān* and related texts (Š) correspond to the Western ones (W) in the order Š1 = W5, Š2 = W3, Š3 = W4, Š4 = W1, Š5 = W2. A list of five Turkish titles (of which the fourth is unknown, due to a lacuna), related to the MPers. designations, occurs in the headline of a Turkish fragment of the Treatise on the Light Nous (Ot.Ry. 2266 /v–r/h/ twtwq 'wyk' xswn[ ] / [ ] 'wyk'sy (1) *totok*, (2) *ögä*, (3) *xšwny*, (4) *[...]*, (5) *[el] ögäsi* [ed. Zieme 1995, pp. 256–257]). The third one is Sogdian for "king, ruler", in the "short" spelling (*(')xšwn°* for *(')xšywn°*) found in Chr. texts (cf. Gershevitch 1954, §132), but also once in a Man. text in Man. script (M 767 /II/v/6/: Haloun/Henning 1952, p. 203). Zieme (1995, p. 257) has convincingly identified these Turkish titles, associated with the social-administrative sphere, with the MPers. ones, in the same order of occurrence.

adaptations of Iranian, specifically Zoroastrian, socio-religious functional designations.[5] In the other Central Asian traditions, the names of these five divinities occur in Chinese, Sogdian and Turkish.

In the corpus of Chinese Manichaica, the sons of the Living Spirit (淨(活)風 *jìng (huó)fēng*) are listed in two passages, one in the Hymnscroll[6], and another in the Treatise on the Light Nous[7]. In the two passages a few of them appear with slight differences, but they are listed both times in the same order:

(1) 持世主 *chíshì zhǔ* "the world-bearing Lord" (HS 130a) / 持世明使 *chíshì míngshǐ* "the world-bearing Light Envoy" (*Cánjīng* 1282.c15.6–9)
(2) 十天王 *shítiān wáng* "the king of the ten heavens" (HS 130b) / 十天大王 *shí tiān dàwáng* "the great king of the ten heavens" (*Cánjīng* 1282.c15.14–17)
(3) 降魔使 *xiángmó shǐ* "the demon-conquering Envoy" (HS 130c) / 降魔勝使 *xiángmó shèng shǐ* "the demon-conquering victorious Envoy" (*Cánjīng* 1282.c16.5–8)
(4) 地藏 *dìzàng* "Earth-womb" (HS 130d) / 地藏明使 *dìzàng míngshǐ* "the earth-womb Light Envoy" (*Cánjīng* 1282.c16.13–16)
(5) 催明 *cuīmíng* "(the one) who hastens/urges the light" (HS 130d) / 催光明使 *cuīguāng míngshǐ* "the Light Envoy who hastens the splendour" (*Cánjīng* 1282.c17.4–7).

Different opinions have been expressed regarding the identification of the Chinese designations with the names transmitted by the western tradition. In the latter, the names are usually listed according to their collocation, from the highest to the lowest, in the various layers of heavens and earths: (1) Splenditenens (Φεγγοκάτοχος), (2) King of Honour (Rex Honoris), (3) Adamas of Light, (4) King of Glory (Gloriosus Rex), (5) Atlas (Ὠμοφόρος). Thus, CHAVANNES and PELLIOT identified the first three Chin. names with the first three of the Western list, in the same order, while suggesting that the order of the third and fourth ones had been exchanged, so that 催光明使 *cuīguāng míngshǐ* should correspond to the Gloriosus Rex and 地藏明使 *dìzàng míngshǐ* to Atlas.[8] WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ, for their part, identified the second, third and fourth members of the Chinese list with the corresponding western names, while they considered

5 A first hint to their origin as *termini technici* pertaining to Iranian social organization was given by ANDREAS *apud* MÜLLER 1904, p. 110. The MPers. terms are discussed in relation to this framework in SCHAEDER 1926, pp. 282–283, JACKSON 1932, p. 307ff., WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 508ff. SUNDERMANN 1979a has demonstrated that the MPers. designations are connected with Avestan attributes of Mithra, identified in the Man. MPers. tradition (as *Mihr yazad*) with the Living Spirit; cf. also SUNDERMANN 1979b, pp. 126–127, n. 162. On the *pāhragbed* cf. now also DE BLOIS 2003.

6 Verse 130: T 54.1273.b13–14; WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 486; TSUI CHI 1943, p. 187; SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987b, p. 27.

7 T 54.1282.c15–17; CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1911, p. 549–550; SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1987b, p. 85.

8 CHAVANNES/PELLIOT 1911, pp. 549, n. 2–5, 550, n. 1.

the first and the fifth names to be exehanged, regarding 持世主 *chíshì zhǔ* as an equivalent of Atlas and 催明 *cuīmíng* as the Splenditenens.[9]

Henee, the only point of agreement between Chavannes/Pelliot on the one side and Waldschmidt/Lentz on the other was on the seeond and third members of the lists. A moot point, among various others, was the meaning of 催明 *cuīmíng*/ 催光 *cuīguāng*, translated respeetively by Waldschmidt and Lentz as "der unruhig Leuchtende" and "der unruhig glänzende (Lichtgesandte)", thus unnecessarily emending Chavannes and Pelliot's correct translation as "qui accelère la elarté".[10] Bryder, mainly on the basis of the identification of 地藏 *dìzàng* with Sogd. *z'y spnd'rmṯ*,[11] suggested that the Chinese and Western lists are eongruent.[12]

2. Leaving aside for the moment the question of the eorrespondenee between the Chinese and the Western list, I would like to examine briefly the names of the sons of the Living Spirit as they are attested in other Central Asian sources.

The Sogdian names are attested in the fragment M 583, a list of gods of the three evoeations edited by Waldschmidt and Lentz.[13] Two of them (*xšyš/pṭ βγw* (acc.) and *sm'nxšyδ*) are mentioned also in the double folio M 178 (respeetively in /II/r/10/ and /II/v/10/),[14] and the first one *(['x]š'yšpt βγy)* occurs also in Sogd. script in Ch/U 6827 = T II 2090 /i/2/.[15]

The order in which they appear in M 583 /I/r/ is: (1) <'xšyš/pṭ βγyy> *Xšēšpat vayi*, (2) <sm'n xšyδ> *Smān-xšēδ*, (3) <wšγnyy βγyy> *Wšaγni vaγi*[16], (4) <z'yy/ spnd'rmṭ> *Zāy Spandārmat*[17], (5) <pδf'ry/βγyy> *Pθfārī/ē vayi*.[18] The order of the names in the Sogdian list is usually eonsidered congruent with the order of the corresponding names in the Western sources.[19]

9 Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, pp. 510–511.

10 Tsui Chi 1943, p. 187, translated the first as "Press-for-Light"; Schmidt-Glintzer 1987b, pp. 27 and 85, has respectively "Glanz besteigend" and "der den Glanz besteigt", allowing thus for a meaning "besteigen" of 催 *cuī*. Bryder 1985, p. 102, translates "the One who presses (or represses) the Light". The basic meaning of 催 *cuī* seems, however, to be "urge, hasten, press, impel, spur" (cf. HDZ, I, p. 211: 催促; 迫促; 促使).

11 Cf. below.

12 Bryder 1985, p. 103. His conclusions have been cited approvingly by van Lindt 1992, p. 93, n. 15.

13 Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 545.

14 Ed. Henning 1948, p. 311ff.

15 Sundermann 1994, p. 453; cf. also Sundermann 1979b, p. 131, n. 233.

16 Perhaps, according to Henning 1937, p. 137b, also in M 583 /II/r/16/ *w[šγnyy]* (cited after *'spnd['rmṭ]*, cf. the following note).

17 Also in M 583 /II/r/15/, to be restored as *'spnd['rmṭ]* (cf. Henning 1937, p. 134b.)

18 Resp. M 583 /I/r/6–7, 7, 8, 8–9, 9–10/.

19 Cf. Sundermann 1979b, p. 101, no. 3/9.3, 3/9.4, p. 102, no. 4/9.1, 4/9.2, 4/9.5. Lentz, too, implicitly admitted the agreement (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, pp. 510–511), while postulating an exchange of the first and the last name only in Chinese (持世主 *chíshì zhǔ* [Ch1] = Atlas [W5] = *pδf'ry βγyy* [So5] and 催明 *cuīmíng* [Ch5] = Splenditenens [W1] = *'xšyšpṭ βγyy* [So1]) (cf. also above).

Four of the five Sogdian designations of the five sons of *Wēšparkar*[20] have been satisfactorily explained. Two of them bear the names of Zoroastrian deities: no. 3 *Wšayni Vayi* as the warlike *Vərəθrayna*[21] and no. 4 *Zāy Spandārm(a)t* as *Spənta Ārmaiti*[22]. No. 2 *Smān-xšēδ* "King of Heaven" is a descriptive name, which makes reference to his function[23], while no. 1 *Xšēšpat Vayi*[24] has been correctly interpreted by SKJÆRVØ as "Lord of the Ruling Power", a hierarchical title comparable to the set of MPers. names of the sons of *Mihr Yazad*.[25]

The last one, *pδf'ry βγyy*,[26] was interpreted by WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ as "Träger-Gott", on the basis of the identification with Syr. *sbl'*. They did not give an etymology, but were evidently thinking of a form of Sogd. *βr-* "to bring, carry".[27] In 1936 HENNING[28] proposed questioningly to link this designation with the Sogd. verb *(')pδβyr-* "to hasten (tr.)" and with the noun *pδβ'r* "haste", a connection to which I shall return presently.

In 1979 SUNDERMANN proposed an alternative explanation of *pδf'ry βγyy* as an adaptation of a MPers. expression **pd pry(y)g yzd* "god (bearing-)on-the-shoulder".[29] One difficulty of this explanation, however, is the presence of <'> (aleph) in Sog. *pδf'ry*. If this were a rendering of MPers. *frēg*[30] (even allowing for

20 Cf. SUNDERMANN 1979b, p. 126, n. 161.

21 Cf. WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 510 on 130c; HENNING 1937, p. 86 on 724 and p. 137b with n. 1; GERSHEVITCH 1954, §§147, 211, 299; SUNDERMANN 1979b, p. 127, n. 166.

22 Cf. WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, pp. 510–511 on 130d; HENNING 1937, pp. 134b and 140a (where *z'yy* is interpreted as an obl. *zāyī*); SUNDERMANN 1979b, p. 127, n. 169 (with lit.).

23 Cf. HENNING 1937, p. 134b, and esp. HENNING 1948, p. 313, n. 6; cf. also SUNDERMANN 1979b, p. 131, n. 225. The Sogd. name is in agreement with Chin. (十)天王 *(shí)tiān wáng*.

24 HENNING 1937, p. 121b, had already expressed doubts on LENTZ's translation "Glanzherr-gott", which was founded only on the agreement between Gr. φεγγο- in φεγγοκάτοχος, Syr. *zyw'* in *ṣpt zyw'*, and Chin. 明 *míng* in 催明 *cuīmíng* (WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 511 on 130d).

25 It corresponds neatly, as shown by SKJÆRVØ, to *dahybed*, the MPers. designation of the Splenditenens (SKJÆRVØ 1983, 3.2, p. 100). The first part, *xšēš-*, has been explained by SIMS-WILLIAMS as deriving from a substandard form **xšaiθra-* for *xšaθra-* (*apud* BOYCE 1990, pp. 7–8, n. 7). Cf. also SUNDERMANN 1994, pp. 453–454.

26 So spelled, not **pδf'rβyyy*, as in GERSHEVITCH 1954, §294, and GHARIB 1995, p. 273.

27 WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 510 on 130a. Cf. REICHELT's etymology of *'pδβyr't* cited in n. 47 below.

28 HENNING 1937, p. 60 on 506.

29 SUNDERMANN 1979b, p. 131, n. 227, with a reference to the expression *xwr pd fryg bwd* "die Sonne war im Untergehen" M 47 /II/r/5/ (SUNDERMANN 1973, p. 87); MACKENZIE 1975, p. 456, has interpreted it as "the sun was at the shoulder (of the world)", and this could be the right explanation (notwithstanding the objections in HUTTER 1992, p. 21). If such is the case, this is at any rate a figurative expression (referring to the horizon?), different from the phrases cited below n. 31.

30 MPers. *frēg* (Zor. MPers. *plyk'*, MACKENZIE 1971, p. 34) is etymologically connected with Sogd. °*frēč* in *'psβr(')yc* "sheep's shoulderblade" (P3.273, 275, 288) (both < **frayikā-*, cf. HENNING 1943–1946b, p. 729 on P3.273) and more distantly with Sogd. B. *βyk'*, Chr. *fyq* /fēk/ (< **fayaka-*; on the connections with Skr. *sphyá-* "shoulder-blade" and other Iranian forms, cf. EWAIa 2, p. 779.). On the usage of Sogd. *fēk*, cf. the following note.

a late pronunciation *frē*), one would rather expect a spelling **pδfryy*. Besides, a construction with **upari* rather than **pati* would be more in accordance with the usage of the word for "shoulder" as it is found in the texts, where MPers. *frēg* is usually constructed with *abar*, just as Sogd. *fēk* is governed by *par*.[31]

Let us now return to HENNING's etymology. Sogdian has a noun /pθfār/ "haste". This occurs a few times in Chr.Sogd. in the phrase /par tə^{r}γu pθfār/ "precipitately" (lit. "in swift haste")[32], e.g. in C2.12 /r/7/ *(pr t(rγ)w p(θ)f'r)*[33], C6 /v/13/ *(p(r) trγw pθf'r)*[34], and (as *pθb'r*)[35] in C17 /r/22/ *(pr trγγ pθb'r)*[36]. It also occurs once in Man.Sogd. in the similar phrase *pr pδβ'r* "in haste, hastily" in So 18224 (= TM 389d)/v/39/.[37]

The noun *pθfār* is obviously related to a verb "to hasten", of which an intransitive form is attested only once as the 3 sg. imperfect *p'δβ'r* in the Rustam fragment.[38] This is the only instance of the simplex verb "to hasten" (intransitive). The present stem could have been either **pδβ'r* or **pδβr-*, but the second hypothesis seems more likely. The <'> (aleph) in the second syllable of the imperfect *p'δβ'r* can stand for a short /ă/, cf. the spelling *p'r'xs* in Sogdian script in the Manichaean Parable Book /160/[39], as against *p'rxs* both in Manichaean script in M 135 /B/I/v/9/[40] and in Christian Sogdian in C2.87/v/9/[41], all of which

31 Both MPers. *frēg* and Sogd. *fēk* usually occur after prepositions which are the outcomes of **upari* (resp. MP *abar*, Sogd. *par*). Cf. MPers. M 99 /I/r/23–24/ *'br pryyg (')[y] / m'nbydyzd* "upon the shoulder of Mānbed Yazad" (HUTTER 1992, p. 15), which refers precisely to Atlas (cf. also JACKSON 1932, p. 58, n. 70), and Buddh. Sogd. *pr βyk'* "on the shoulder" (*VJ*.e.55–56), Chr. Sogd. *pr wyšnty s'ptw fyq* "on their left shoulder", *prw f(yq)t* "on the shoulders" C2.57/r/27, 29/ (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 114).

32 This expression corresponds fairly closely to Parth. *rg pd nydf'r* and MPers. *zwd pd nyxw'r*, cited below (cf. nn. 50 and 54).

33 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 37; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 55 and SIMS-WILLIAMS 1981, p. 195b.

34 SUNDERMANN 2002, p. 313.

35 Sic, with <b>, cf. SUNDERMANN 1981a, p. 202, n. 371; this could represent an alternative pronunciation **pθvār*. For a similar alternation of <f> and <b> after a dental in Chr. Sogd. cf., for the stem /θfēž-/ "to gain, acquire" (= Buddhist Sogd. *δβ'yz-* [*SCE*.461, MACKENZIE 1970, p. 26], from **θwājaya-*, cf. HENNING 1940, p. 32 on 4), the spellings *tbyž-* in T II B 17 (C5.18 [cf. SUNDERMANN 1975, pp. 75–78], new sign. n164) /r/15/ (MÜLLER 1912, p. 14) and *tfyž-* in T II B 66 /v/7/ (MÜLLER 1934, p. 537, l. 31) (both probably with initial /t/, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §296 and n. 1), as against *θfyž-* regularly in C2 (e.g. *θfyžt* 31/v/3/, 61/r/25, *θfyžnt* 51/r/25 [SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, pp. 71, 129, 90]).

36 T II S 25 + T III D (B?) 61 (new signature n190): SUNDERMANN 1981a, p. 199.

37 SUNDERMANN 1981b, p. 49, l. 596 (cited in HENNING 1937, p. 60, top as TM 389a).

38 Line /28/, in the phrase *p'δβ'r kw δywt s'r* "he hastened towards the demons" (transl. according to SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, p. 57) P13 /28/ (BENVENISTE 1940, p. 135, new ed. [joined with Or. 8212/81 = Ch. 00349] in SIMS-WILLIAMS 1976, p. 55). In the light of the noun discussed above, the meaning is "to hasten" rather than "s'élancer, charger contre" (BENVENISTE 1940, p. 228) or "s'élancer à cheval" (*ibid.*, p. 263).

39 SUNDERMANN 1985a, p. 29. Cf. also 2 pl. impf. *p'r'xsδ* in So 18248 (= TM 393) /I/r/5/: HENNING 1944, p. 138.

40 HENNING 1945, p. 467, l. 57. Cf. also GERSHEVITCH 1954, §616.

41 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 161.

represent /pāraxs/, 3 sg. impf. of *prxs-* "to be left, remain".[42] Hence, the written form *p'δβ'r* probably represents /pāθfar/, from a present stem */pθfar-/.

The causative of the preceding, *pθfēr* (or *pθvēr*)[43] "to hurry (tr.), urge on" (from **upa-θwāraya-*), occurs as a stem *(')pδβ(')yr*[44] in Man. Sogd. in Sogd. script *pδβ'yrt* 3. sg. pres. (So 13940 (= T II K) /A/3/)[45] and *pδβyry* 2. sg. pres. (Ch-So 13401 (= T II D) /v/12/)[46], and in the Ancient Letters as the 3. sg. subj. *'pδβyr't* (A.L.I /6/).[47]

The same Old Ir. root **θwar-*, is attested with the preverb **ni-* in Parthian and Middle Persian. In the former, the verb stem occurs as inscriptional Parth. *nytpr-*[48], as well as Man. Parth. *nydf'r-*, past stem *nydfwrd* (verb) "to hasten".[49] To this must be added the noun *nydf'r*, the latter attested twice in the phrase

42 To be read /p(a)raxs-/ (cf. Yaγnābī *piraxs-*), from **apa-rixsa-*, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §825, and WEBER 1970, pp. 177–179. With a different preverb (respectively **pari-* and **fra-*) there are Khotanese *pars-* "to escape" (e.g. OKh. 3 sg. pres. *parśtä*, EMMERICK 1968, p. 76) and *hars-* "to be left, remain" (e.g. 3 sg. pres. OKh. *harśtä*, EMMERICK 1968, p. 150).

43 The spellings with <δβ> in Sogd. script are ambiguous. The normal development of OIr. **θw* in Sogd. is /θv/ or perhaps /δv/, as in some forms from a root **δβ̂(')y-* "to spread, scatter", connected by HENNING with Av. *θβaiia-* and read by GERSHEVITCH with /θv/ (1954, §293): B *'nδβytt* 3 sg. pres. (P2.361 [BENVENISTE 1940, p. 19; cf. also HENNING 1946, p. 734) "to extend" < **ham-θwaya-*; B *wyδβ'y't* 3 sg. pres. subj. (*Dhy.* 92 [MACKENZIE 1976, p. 58]) "to extend" < **wi-θwaya-*, with the adjective *wδβ'yt* (*VJ.*187, 637, 686), *wδβyt* (*VJ.*578), *wyδβyt* (*VJ.*458 (-h), 739, e28) "distant"; S *(p)rδβ'y'-t* pret. stem (So 18220 (= TM 389α) /r/35/ [SUNDERMANN 1981b, p. 39]) "to extend, expand" < **para/i-θwaya-*; S *βrδβ'y-t k'm* 3. sg. fut. (So 13491 [= T II K] + So 14285 [= T II D 36] /r/10/ [SUNDERMANN 1981b, p. 35]) "to extend, expand" < **fra-θwaya-*; M *δyβtyy* past partc. "scattered" (M 134 /I/v/12/ [HENNING 1944, p. 144, n. 3], with /θiv/ from /θvi/ [cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §431]) < **θwita-ka-*; and the noun B *δβ''n* "scattering" (L93 [= SI-O/106, Inv. 4229 = O²] /32/ [ROSENBERG 1920, p. 405; RAGOZA 1980, p. 63]). The Chr. spelling of the latter, viz. *db'n* (C5.11 /v/18/ [= T II B 12, MÜLLER 1912, pp. 74, 75]), points however to initial /δv/, as was remarked by SUNDERMANN 1975, p. 56. The stop /t/ in Man. *ctf'r, ctf'r*, Buddh. *ctβ'r* is probably due to the contact with the preceding /č/ without an intervening vowel (/čtfār/, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §295); the absence of the vowel is confirmed by the further evolution to /št/ in Chr. Sogd. *štf'r* (C2.17 /r/1 [SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 41]).

44 Cf. SUNDERMANN 1981b, p. 186b.

45 SUNDERMANN 1981b, p. 54, l. 633: *r'm'nt pry-wy-δ pδβ'yrt* "he always urges him about this".

46 In: *rtšn c'm'k / pyδ'r pδβyryy ZYšn 'ntwxs kwny* Ch-So 13401 /v/11–12/, a literal translation (apart from the respective position of the two verbs) of MPers *['w]šn mn r'y twxšynyy 'wd nyxw'rynyy* M 85 /v/2/ "and for me you make them strive and you urge them on", a verse from the *Gōwišn ī Grīw Zīndag* cited by HENNING 1937, p. 59 on 506. Cf. BOYCE 1960, p. 8, and SUNDERMANN 1985b, p. 641.

47 REICHELT 1931, p. 8. The right interpretation of this form has been given by HENNING 1937, p. 59 on 506, against REICHELT's etymology as a causative of an unattested **'p-δβr-* from *δβr-* "to give" (REICHELT 1931, p. 9, n. 9 and p. 44).

48 In the form *nytprywt* in the inscription of Paikuli (21d1,03 [§45], SKJÆRVØ 1983, 3.1, p. 49; see also *ibid.* (Glossary), p. 115.

49 For the occurrences see DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 252b.

pd nydf'r /pad niδfār/ "hastily, in haste".[50] Man. MPers. has the verb *nyxw'r-* "to hasten, hurry" (intr.)[51], with a causative *nyxw'ryn-* "to incite, urge"[52], and *nyxw'r* (noun) "hurry".[53] The noun is attested twice in the phrase /pad nixwār/ "in haste".[54] With regard to the latter, we should in particular consider the specific correspondence in idiom between MPers. *zwd pd nyxw'r*, Parth. *rg pd nydf'r* and Sogd. *pr tryw pθf'r*.[55]

Both Parthian /niδfār-/ and Middle Persian /nixwār-/ can be derived from a causative stem **θwāraya-* with the preverb **ni-*[56]. The derivation of Parth. *nydf'r-* (together with MPers. *dw'r-*) from Av. *duuar-*, proposed by Kellens,[57] cannot be accepted. This connection should also be rejected on the ground that Av. *duuar-* is a typical daēvic word,[58] and it has retained this connotation both in Zoroastrian MPers. and, from the latter, in Man. Middle Persian.[59]

50 In one of the hymns of M 4b /I/v/7–8/: *'gd rg pd nydf'r / 'ng'wg cy mn jywhr* "it has come quickly, in haste, the end of my life" (Müller 1904, p. 55; Boyce 1975, p. 161 [as M 4a]; quoted also in Skjærvø 1983 3.2, p. 80 [as M 4c]) and in M 18 /v/11–12/: *pṯ nydf'r šwyd 'w glyl'ḫ / 'wt 'zd qryd 'w šymwn 'wt [...]* "go in haste to Galilee and inform Simon and ..." (Müller 1904, pp. 35–36; Boyce 1975, p. 127). Also as a verb, Parth. *nydf'r-* is sometimes modified by *rg* "quickly", e.g. M 5815 /II/r/i/4/ *jm'n rg nydf'ryyd* "time hastens quickly" (Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 857); similarly, MPers. *nyxw'r-* may be preceded by *zwd*, e.g. M 28 /II/v/i/8–9/ *zwd nyxw'r 'wd / bzqr'n w'n* "hasten quickly and vanquish the evil-doers" (Andreas/Henning 1933, p. 316).

51 For the occurrences see Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 256. The verb also occurs in Zor. MPers., with a derivation *nixwārišn* "haste" (cf. MacKenzie 1971, p. 60).

52 The causative occurs in the 2. sg. pres. *nyxw'rynyy* in the passage from M 85 quoted above (n. 46), translated in Sogd. as *pδβyryy*.

53 Once also the derivative *nyxw'ry* in the Bēma hymn M 263 /v/16–18/ *'wḫ nyxw'r'g ʿy nyxw'ry / 'wd prwz'g ʿy prnpt 'w / pdyšt* "o hastener of haste and flyer, who proceeds to home (Paradise)" (Reck 2004, p. 173).

54 In M 805a + M 2070 + M 270b /v/4–5/ *pd nyxw'r [.....] / wrd'nd* "in haste [.....] they will return" (Sundermann 1981b, p. 97) and in M 819 + M 2154 /r/10–11/ *z(w)[d pd] / nyxw'r prwd 'wxyst* "quickly, in haste He descended downwards" (about *Xwandag* = Parth. *Xrōštag* "the Call") (Sundermann 1973, p. 44).

55 Cf. n. 50 and 54 above.

56 This was explicitly stated for MPers. *nyxw'r* by Henning (*apud* Ghilain 1937, p. 382a). For present stems with long grade, many of which from old **-aya-* causatives, see for Zor. Mpers. Salemann 1895, pp. 298–300, for Man. MPers. Henning 1933, pp. 186–194 and for Parth. Ghilain 1939, pp. 67–78.

57 Kellens 1984, p. 114. Already in 1934 Henning (Andreas/Henning 1934, p. 904a) explicitly rejected the derivation of Parth. *nydf'r-* from **ni-dwar-*, connecting it rather with MPers. *nyxw'r-* (*ibid.*, p. 904a). Cf. also the observations in Sims-Williams 1989, p. 257.

58 Cf. Bartholomae 1904, col. 765. See also Mayrhofer 1992–2001, I, pp. 755–756.

59 Zor. MPers. *dwār-*, pret. st. *dwārīd*, *dwārist* (<dwb'l-ytn', -stn'>), with the derivative *dwārišn* "abode (of demons), hell" (MacKenzie 1971, p. 29) (also *dwārišnīh*, cf. *IBd.* X, 36: *pad dar ī dušox kē-š hamwār dēwān dwārišnīh ānōh kunēnd* "at hell's entrance, where the demons are always scurrying" [*Bondahešn-e hendī*, ed. by R. Behzādī, Tehrān 1368, p. 21.13–14]); Man. MPers. *dw'r-* /dwār-/ "to run, move (in the manner of demons)", with the derivative *dwārišn* "restless state (of evil creatures)" (Henning 1933, p. 193, Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 144a); the latter (M 7984 /v/ii/5/, translated as

Such an overtone is entirely absent from Parth. *nydf'r-* and MPers. *nyxw'r-*.[60]

Similarly, Sogdian /pθfēr-/ goes back to the same causative stem[61] **θwāraya-*[62] with the preverb **upa-*.[63]

The close relationship of Parth. *nydf'r-* and MPers. *nyxw'r-* was stated by HENNING in 1934.[64] Two years later he added the connection of Sogd. *pδβ'r-* with Parth. *nydf'r-*, while expressing doubts about their relationship with MPers. *nyxw'r-*[65], but in 1937 he posited the derivation of the latter from **ni-θvāraya-*, comparing Skr. *tvárate*.[66] In 1939 he again upheld the relationship of the Sogdian form with the Western Middle Iranian ones, comparing them to Av. *θβāṣa-*.[67]

"Aufenthaltsort" by HENNING (ANDREAS/HENNING 1932, p. 194) and as "Wohnung" by HUTTER 1992, p. 84, clearly conveys the same meaning as the ἄτακτος κίνησις of Alexander of Lycopolis (cf. POLOTSKY 1935, col. 250).

60 Parth. *nydf'r-* is often used of deities. E.g. in a hymn to the Third Messenger in his solar aspect it is said that *cyd cymyd 'ž 'b'xtr / 'w hwr's'n 'c / hwr's'n 'w nymrwc / 'wṯ 'c nymrwc 'w / hwrnyfr'n •• nydfwrd / pṯ 'brnng* "he always moves from north to east, from east to south and from south to sunset, he runs with fervour" (M 67 /v/ii/27–32/, ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 890), and in a hymn to the Living Soul the Mother of Life welcomes Primal Man with the words *'gd / 'yy z'dg 'zdyḥ • / nydf'r' 'dyh' / 'w rwšn cyd / twxmg'n nyw / pdbwsynd* "you have returned, o exiled son; hurry, approach the Light, since your relatives are deeply longing for you" (M 33 /II/v/i/9–14/, ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 877).

61 On causatives in Sogdian see GERSHEVITCH 1954, §542ff.; cf. also TEDESCO 1923, pp. 282–283. For Sogdian present stems with long grade **-ā-* of the root, distinguished (as in Khotanese class Id, cf. EMMERICK 1968, p. 180) from causatives in **-aya-* by the absence of palatalization cf. SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989, p. 257.

62 Sogd. /pθfar-/ and /pθfēr-/ stand in the same relationship to each other as, e.g., Sogd. *sn-* /san-/ "to rise" vs. *syn-* /sēn-/ (**sana-* : **sānaya-*, cf. Khot. *sata-* ppp. "to rise" [to suppl. pres. st. *sarb-*] vs. *sāñ-*, 2 sg. imperat. OKh. *sāña* [EMMERICK 1968, pp. 131–132] and Parth. *sn-* "to rise" vs. *s'n-*, rarely *syn-* [GHILAIN 1939, p. 90, "un thème causatif à la manière sogdienne"] "to raise" [GHILAIN 1939, pp. 55, 71]) or Sogd. *'nwz-* /aṃwaz-/ "to assemble" (intr.) vs. *'nwyj-* /aṃwēž-/ "to collect" (tr.) (**ham-waza-* : **ham-wāzaya-*, cf. Khot. *oys-* "to be angry", 3 sg. pres. mid. OKh. *oysde*, vs. *auś-* "to anger", 3 sg. pres. OKh. *ośātä* [EMMERICK 1968, p. 20] [**ā-waz-* : **ā-wāzaya-*] and Parth. *frwz-* "to fly" [DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 158b] vs. *prw'z-* "to make (it) fly" [GHILAIN 1939, p. 70] [**fra-waza-* : **fra-wāzaya-*]).

63 Or, less probably, **apa-*. Another possibility is **pa-*; on this OIr. preverb (> Oss. *fæ-*, Khot. *pa-*) cf. BENVENISTE 1959, pp. 98–102 and EMMERICK 1968, p. 235. A preverb **pati-* (as posited, in alternative to **upa-*, by GHARIB 1995, p. 272, nos. 6786 and 6788), which is possible, a priori, for the present stems *pδβ(')yr-* and **pδβ(')r-* (if one assumes an assimilation /tθ/ > /θ/), is ruled out by the imperfect *p'δβ'r*, which can only go back to **(a/u)pa-ā-θwā/ăra-*, while a hypothetical form such as **pati-θwā/ăra(ya)-* should have an outcome **ptyδβ(')/yr-* (cf., on imperfects with the preverb **pati-*, GERSHEVITCH 1954, §622).

64 ANDREAS/HENNING 1934, p. 904a.

65 HENNING 1937, p. 60.

66 HENNING *apud* GHILAIN 1937, p. 382a.

67 HENNING 1940–1942, p. 105, n. 3; for a derivation of Parth. *nydf'r-* from the root **θvar* cf. also GHILAIN 1939, p. 74. The connection is accepted by NYBERG 1974, p. 139 (sub

The only certain Iranian cognate is Av. *θβāša-*[68] "the one who hurries" > "firmament"[69] from PIr. **θwárta-*, PIIr. **tu̯ár(H)ta-*.[70] There is apparently no other sure cognate within Iranian. Ossetic *tœltœg* "gorjačij po nravu; pylkij; retivyj; temperamentnyj"[71] seems too removed semantically, and, if from **θwartaka-*, its /l/ is difficult to explain. The root *tvar*, on the other hand, is well attested in Sanskrit, with a pres. *tvárate*, (also °*ti*) "to hurry, make haste, move with speed", a causative *tvarayati* and other derivatives.[72] It occurs with preverbs *ati-*, *abhi-*, *pra-*, *saṃ-*, with slight variations in meaning.[73] The IIr. forms go back to an IE root **tu̯er-*; the present formation **tu̯ér-e-* is attested, outside IIr., also in Germanic.[74]

The Sogd. form *pδf'ry* in *pδf'ry βγyy* could be the oblique (used as genitive) /pθfārī/ of the noun /pθfār/. Thus, seemingly, it was interpreted by Henning,

nihvārišn) and Mayrhofer 1992–2001, I, p. 685. For a rather ad hoc explanation of the spelling <nswb'l-> in Zor. MPers. see Gershevitch 1964 [1965], p. 14, n. 2.

68 Bartholomae 1904, cols. 797–798; cf. also Bartholomae 1895, p. 171. Av. *θβāša-* was probably borrowed into Zor. MPers. as <sp'hl> (*spāhr* or *spāhl*) "the vault of heaven" (cf. Hoffmann 1986, pp. 177), to be distinguished from the similarly written <sp'hl> *spaxr* "merrymaking" (MacKenzie 1971, p. 76), Man. MPers. *'spxr* (Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 87b; see also Salemann 1912, pp. 45–46). Cf. the passages from the *Dēnkard* quoted by Zaehner 1955, p. 372.19–20 *(ud *spāhr-iz nām, pad āwāz ī mardōhm spihriz xwānd)* and 375.32 *(xwad ast spihr ud *spāhr-iz xwānīhēd)*, where <sp'hl> is clearly connotated as a learned word, in contrast with the common *(pad āwāz ī mardōhm)* word *spihr*, Man. MPers. *'spyr* (once *'spyh[r]* in M 1667 /B/2b/, cf. Sundermann 1985b, p. 638, n. 48) "(celestial) sphere". The latter, in its turn, is a probable borrowing from Gr. σφαῖρα (Henning 1937–1939, p. 81, and Henning 1942, pp. 239–240, *pace* Nyberg 1974, p. 178). In Sogdian the word *δβ(r)[ty]* "firmament", corresponding to Av. *θβāša-*, occurs once in a fragmentary context in the Christian frg. So 15490 /r/4/ (= Psalm 19.r.2, cf. M. Schwartz 1982, p. 185, and 1974, p. 260).

69 As a noun, e.g. in the *Mihr Yašt* (Yt. 10.66: *θβāšəm xᵛaδātəm*); on the semantic development cf. Zaehner 1955, p. 89 (with further references), Gershevitch 1967, p. 215, n. 66[3], Hoffmann 1986, pp. 176–177 and 182, n. 35.

70 So Beekes 1998, pp. 59, 67, as a (nominal) formation different from Skr. *tūrtá-*. Hoffmann (1986, pp. 172–173) hesitated between **tu̯ṛ̥H-ta-* and **tu̯árH-ta-*, while Mayrhofer 1992–2001, I, p. 685, preferred a derivation from PIE **tu̯ṛ̥H-to-* for **tu̯ṛ̥(H)-tó-* (cf. Skr. *tūrtá-*). The seṭ character of the root, however, is far from certain (cf. Mayrhofer 1992–2001, loc. cit., and Rix 2001, p. 655); the Av. form could thus rather have *-āṣ-* from PIE **-é/órt-*, like other forms cited in Hoffmann, loc. cit.

71 Abaev 1958–1995, III, pp. 258–259.

72 Monier-Williams 1899, pp. 463–464. The caus. *tvarayati* could be a seṭ form (< IE **tu̯orH-éye-*); but. cf. n. 70 above.

73 Monier-Williams 1899, pp. 14, 62, 678, 1143. Cf., in particular, the present with lengthened grade *saṃ-tvārate* "to be in a great hurry, hasten" (*ibid.*, p. 1143) and the adj. *prátūrta-* (< **tu̯ṛHtó-*) (*ibid.*, p. 678).

74 OEngl. *ðweran* "to move", OHG *dweran* "to move, stir"; cf. Seebold 1970, p. 528, and Rix 2001, p. 655. Further IE connections can be found in Pokorny 1959, p. 1100. For the root, Werba 1997, p. 463, gives a protoform PIA **(H)tu̯ar-ta-* from PIE **(h₃)tu̯er-*, presumably on the basis of Gr. ὀτρύνω, but the initial ὀ- of the latter can probably be accounted for otherwise (cf. Rix 2001, loc. cit.).

who tentatively translated *pδf'ry βγyy* as "Gott der Eile". A slightly different alternative explication is however possible. If the Sogd. simplex verb was /pθfar-/ with short /ă/, the final *-y* in *pδf'ry* could be explained as the **-aka-* ending of an agent-noun with long root-vowel /pθfārē/, from **(u)pa-θwāraka-*, which could be translated as "hastener".[75] In this case it corresponds in all probability to the meaning of the puzzling Chinese appellative 催明 *cuīmíng* / 催光 *cuīguāng* "Light- (Splendour-)hastener".

3. Some light is thrown on the Chinese and Sogdian names of this god by an Uigur text where the names of the five sons of the Living Spirit *(Wešparkar)* are listed. This is a Turkish version of the well-known hymn "Primeval Voice".[76] This hymn, or rather doxological litany, contains 22 invocations to as many primeval (Parth. *hsyng*, Sogd. *pyrnmcyk*, Uig. *ašnukı*) "Greatnesses". It has been known for a long time in a Chinese phonetic transcription from Parthian in the Hymnscroll[77], as well as from fragments in Parthian and Sogdian.[78] The three versions were investigated in 1926 by WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ, and again, with many new insights, in 1982 by MORANO.[79] A Parthian fragment in Sogd. script from the Ōtani collection, published by YOSHIDA in 1985, confirms a few of the preceding readings and conjectures.[80]

75 Cf. Sogd. *spāsē* "servant" (M. *'sp'syḫ*, B. *'sp's(')yt* pl., HENNING 1937, p. 97 on b92; GERSHEVITCH 1954, §965) from **spāsaka-*, as against *spiš-* "to serve" < **spasya-* (GERSHEVITCH 1954, §192), or Sogd. *βārē* "riding, rider" < **bāraka-* (Man. *β'ryḫ*, B. *β'r'k Vim.*83 [cf. HENNING 1937, p. 54 on 489; GERSHEVITCH 1954, §902], Chr. *b'ryt* pl., C2.60 /v/28/ [SIMS-WILLIAMS 1985, p. 128]) with Khot. *bar-* (mid.) "to ride" (3 sg. pres. mid. OKh. *baḍe* [EMMERICK 1968, p. 93]).

76 "Primeval Voice" is the name under which the hymn is commonly known, from its first invoeation and from the Chinese title 初聲 *chū shēng*. MORANO 1982, p. 32, eonvineingly suggests that the title could be instead the phrase whieh appears after the 22nd invocation, viz. **cyhr 'spwryft*, translated by him as "Recital of Aspeets", and glossed in Chinese as 惣與前同, which WALDSCHMIDT and LENTZ (1926, p. 92) translate as "faßt alles Vorhergehende zusammen". The Turkish version has here *kamagan tükälliglär ol* (P. Ch. 3049 /46/; for the edition cf. below, n. 82), which HAMILTON (1986, p. 43) translates "ils sont tous au complet". It seems to me that this could mean rather "this is the totality of Perfections" (or "of the Perfect Ones"). For the use of the colleetive (see CLAUSON 1972, p. 627) *kamagan / kamagun / kamıgun* "each and every, the whole of", ef. e.g. *olar kamagu<n>* "all of these" (MÜLLER 1910, p. 65, l. 27); *seni kamagun tapladı* "they were all pleased with you" (BANG/GABAIN 1929, p. 248, l. 90); *olar barča kamıgun* "they all together" (BANG/GABAIN 1930, p. 196, l. 125). The extant Iranian versions, together with the Turkish one, have been reeently studied by MA 2003; the latter (p. 104) translates the eoneluding phrase as 具足圓滿, following HAMILTON's translation.

77 HS 176–183 = T 54.1274.b11–23.

78 M 259e + M 453e /r/10/–/v/1/ (invocations 2–11, [21–22]), M 529 /v/1–5/ (invocations 18–22), So 18120 (= TM 351) /r/9/–/v/12/ (invocations 1–19).

79 WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, pp. 84–93; MORANO 1982, pp. 10–34.

80 Ot. 7117 + Ot 7522, first published in YOSHIDA 1985, pp. 54–57, and again in KUDARA/SUNDERMANN/YOSHIDA 1997, p. 118. The fragment eontains the invoeations 15–21, and

Three copies of the Turkish version are known. One is the fragment Ch/U 6818 in the Turfanforschung collection, which contains only the beginning of the hymn.[81] Two other copies are among the manuscripts brought by P. Pelliot from Dunhuang to Paris, P.Ch. 3049 (ll. 27–46) and P.Ch. 3407.[82] P.Ch. 3049 begins (ll. 1–3) with an invocation to Mani and to the Apostles of Light *(yarok frištilar)*. This is followed (ll. 4–16) by an enumeration of the twelve good hours of the Day of Light *(yarok kün ekki yegirmi ädgü öd)*, i.e. the twelve Light Dominions, each one accompanied by the corresponding divinity, as in similar lists in Iranian languages and Chinese.[83]

confirms in particular Morano's conjecture for no. 21 with *pômwcn [rwšn]* (this is also confirmed by the Turkish text discussed below, which has as invocation no. 21 *yarok ton* "luminous garment" [P.Ch. 3049 /44/]). Another fragment in the Turfanforschung collection (M 2402 /1–7/ [invocations 8–18], ed. Sundermann 1997, p. 98) confirms some of the previously suggested readings (esp. no. 8 *w'w(ryf)t* "Faith" and no. 16 *d'hw('n)* "Gift").

81 This was edited in Zieme 1975, p. 33; it contains only the invocations from 1 (*ün* "voice") to 7 (*amranmak* "love"). In the surviving part of the text, the only significant difference from the manuscript edited by Hamilton is the use of the more common Parth. name *wadžiwanta* (Ch/U 6818 /v/3/) for the Living Spirit, as against Sogd. *wešparkar* in P.Ch. 3049 /29/.

82 Ed. Hamilton 1986, pp. 37–53 and 55–56; the former contains, among other texts, the complete hymn (ll. 27–46), while the latter ends with the invocation no. 19.

83 In Iranian languages, lists of the twelve Light Dominions with the corresponding deities are so far attested only in Middle Persian (MIK III 4974, M 798a, M 501c, M 738 [Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, pp. 558–562]). Less elaborated lists without correspondences are found in Parthian (M 259c + M 453c /r/1–7/ [Sundermann 1997, pp. 55, 72], M 529 /r/ [Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 552], M 501b [Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 553], M 14 [Parth. names in a Sogd. text, Müller 1904, p. 44; Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 548]) and Sogdian (So 18221 [= TM 389b] /r/4–7/ and So 10202 [= T I α, Part.-Sogd. bilingual] [Sundermann 1981b, p. 50]). As Sundermann remarks (1997, p. 96), although such a list is so far unattested in Western Manichaean sources, the fact that it is quoted in Syriac by Theodor bar Kōnay (ed. Scher 1960, p. 316.3–8; cf. also Jackson 1932, pp. 241–242) points to its origin in the original Manichaean community. In the Chinese Manichaica, the list occurs with the corresponding deities in HS 169–171 and, partially, in HS 174–175 (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, pp. 490–491; Tsui Chi 1943, p. 191; Schmidt-Glintzer 1987b, p. 32) and without correspondences in HS 165–167 (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 490; Tsui Chi 1943, p. 190; Schmidt-Glintzer 1987b, p. 31). In Turkish the list has so far been attested only in U 45 (= T II D 119) /v/9–15/ (von Le Coq 1922, pp. 16–17; Klimkeit/Schmidt-Glintzer 1984, pp. 86–87 and 108–109). This is the description of the second Light Day, which corresponds to *Cánjīng* 1282. b4 (Chavannes/Pelliot 1911, p. 543; Schmidt-Glintzer 1987b, p. 83). In the latter, however, the "twelve Great Kings" (十二大王 *shí'èr dàwáng*) are mentioned collectively but not enumerated, except for the first. The divinities associated with each Dominion in P.Ch. 3049 correspond closely to those enumerated in HS 169–171 and in the other texts mentioned above, apart from n. 12 *išugma burhanlar* "the Shining Messengers", where we should expect *Nom Kutı*, or some similar designation. M 738 /v/17–18/ and M 798a /v/ii/7/ have here *whmn rwšn* "the Light Nous", and in HS 171d we find 莊嚴佛 *zhuāngyán fó*, lit. "the Adorned God" (Schmidt-Glintzer 1987b, p. 32, "Schmuck-Gottheit"), which Waldschmidt and Lentz translate "Majestät-Gottheit" and explain

Then in lines /27–46/, we have the litany of the 22 "primal" invocations.[84] The remarkable thing is that, unlike the previously known versions, in the Turkish text each "primeval" invocation is accompanied by the identification with a Manichaean deity. At first, two divinities of the first evocation are mentioned (*ög täŋri* "Mother of the Living" [1] and *hormuzta täŋri* "Primal Man" [2]), then one of the second evocation (*wešparkar täŋri* "Living Spirit" [3]), and next three gods of the third evocation (*kün täŋri* "Sun-god (Tertius Legatus)" [4], *ay täŋri* "Moon-god (Jesus)" [5], *kanirošan täŋri* "Maiden of Light" [6]). Subsequently, the five sons of Primal Man are listed (*tıntura täŋri* "Zephyr" [7], *yel täŋri* "Wind" [8], *yaroq täŋri* "Light" [9], *suv täŋri* "Water" [10], *ot täŋri* "Fire" [11]), followed by two other gods from the second evocation (*frirošan täŋri* "the Friend of the Lights" [12], *vam täŋri* "the Builder" [13]. Next comes the list of the five sons of the Living Spirit (14–18, to which I shall return presently), followed by the Call and the Answer (*hroštag täŋri* [19], *padvahtag täŋri* [20]). The invocations conclude with two divinities of the third evocation (*küčlüg täŋri* "the Powerful god (= the Column of Glory)" [21], *ulug nom kutı* "the Great Glory of Religion (Light Nous)" [22]).

In lines /38–42/, the names of the five sons of the Living Spirit are associated with the invocations n. 14–18:

> 14. *suysuz yazoksuzda ašnukı 'XŠYŠPT täŋri* "being without sin – primeval god *Xšēšpat*" (/38–39/)
>
> 15. *tükäl urunčaklıg ašnukı kök täŋri hanı* "total pledge – primeval king god of the sky" (/39–40/)
>
> 16. *ögdir ašnukı WŠQNY täŋri* "prize – primeval god *Wšayni*" (/40–41/)
>
> 17. *bulunč ašnukı T'/RKL'TKWCY täŋri* "acquisition – primeval *T'/RKL'TKWCY* god" (/41–42/)
>
> 18. *alkıš ašnukı yer täŋri hanı* "praise – primeval king earth-god" (/42/).

P.Ch. 3407 (ll. 11–14), a less accurate manuscript than P.Ch. 3049, has a few variants: in no. 16 it substitutes *Wšayni* with WYŠPRKR "Wēšparkar, the Living Spirit" (/13/), in no. 17 it has the wrong spelling TKL'CKWTY (/14/), and in no. 18 it omits the epithet *ašnukı* (/14/).

as "Glorie des Gesetzes" (WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1933, p. 543). The attribute 莊嚴 is frequently used in the Hymnscroll in various contexts; in one specific case Jesus is called 莊嚴夷數佛 *zhuāngyán Yíshù fó* (HS 29a). On the other hand, 莊嚴 *zhuāngyán* = *alaṃkāra* (but also = *vyūha*, cf. 妙莊嚴王 *Miàozhuāngyán wáng* = Śubhavyūharāja, the king converted by his sons in chap. 28 of the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra* [妙法蓮華經 *Miàofǎ liánhuā jīng*, transl. KUMĀRAJĪVA, T 9, no. 262, 59.b28–61.a4]) is a common Buddhist technical term (cf. SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, p. 363b).

84 It is remarkable that in this manuscript too, as in the Hymnscroll and in the Parthian fragments M 259c + M 453c and M 529, the Primeval Invocations are preceded by a list of the twelve Dominions (cf. MORANO 1982, p. 12).

The correspondences for the first three are straightforward. The first and the third sons are called with their Sogdian names *Xšēšpat* and *Wšayni* respectively. The designation of the second one, *kök täŋri hanı*, matches Sogd. *Smān-xšēδ* and Chin. 十天王 *shítiān wáng*. Hamilton's convincing identification of *kök täŋri hanı* with Rex Honoris[85] is fully supported by the occurrence of this name in a Turkish fragment of the Book of the Giants edited by Wilkens.[86] As the editor of the last mentioned fragment notes,[87] against the background of the Book of the Giants the citation of the Rex Honoris as the deity who admonishes the four archangels is fully justified; in fact, as was remarked by Skjærvø,[88] it is from the watch-district of the Rex Honoris that, as related in chapter XXXVIII of the Kephalaia, the Egrēgoroi descended to the earth.

The fifth designation, *yer täŋri hanı*, seems to fit closely Sogd. *Zāy Spandārmat*, as well as Chin. 地藏 *dìzàng*, which however occupy the fourth place in the respective lists.

The name of the fourth son in the Turkish list was read T'KL'TKWCY *täglätgüči* by Hamilton, who interpreted it as a nomen agentis in *-güči* from a causative **täglät-* of *tägil-*, passive of *täg-* "to reach".[89] He based his translation "celui qui fait tourner" on the existence of derivatives of a base **tägir-* with a basic meaning "turn",[90] and on the consideration that this designation should correspond to the Gloriosus Rex.[91] However, as was shown by Erdal,[92] the second character of the name of this god is <R>, not aleph, and the resulting form TRKL'TKWCY *tärklätgüči* is already attested in a Manichaean fragment published by Zieme.[93] The latter

85 Hamilton 1986, p. 48 on 5.40.

86 U 217 (= T I α) /r/5–6/ K(W)[ ]K / TNKRY Q'NY (Wilkens 2000, p. 161).

87 Wilkens 2000, p. 146.

88 Skjærvø 1995, pp. 196 and 204.

89 Hamilton 1986, p. 49 (Ma 2003, p. 99, misprints Hamilton's reading as *tätgüti* / *tätlätgüti* and translates invocation n. 17 as 初获得是转轮神 *chū huòdé shì zhuǎnlún shén* "the primeval acquisition is the god of the turning wheels"). The passive *tägil-* is attested in the hendiadys *ag- tägil-* in U 169 (= T II D 173b) /II/v/13–14/ *ymä özüt anharwazangaru agmak tägilmäk* "the soul's ascent to the Zodiac" (von Le Coq 1922, p. 12; cf. also Clauson 1972, p. 481a, and Röhrborn 1977–1997, pp. 61b [s.v. *ag-*], 139b [s.v. *anh(a)rw(a)z(a)n*]).

90 From **tägir-* (Clauson 1972, p. 485b) cf. e.g. *tägrä* "all around" (*ibid.*, p. 485b), *tägirmä* "circular", *tägirmän* "rotary mill" (*ibid.*, p. 486b). But, as pointed out by Erdal 1988, p. 254, **täglät-* does not exist, and the causative of the passive of *täg-* should be **tägilt-*.

91 Jackson 1932, pp. 311–312, saw an allusion to the Gloriosus Rex in the phrase *üč tilgän yel suv ot täŋri* in a Turkish cosmogonical text (U 70 [= TM 140 + TM 147] /B/v/6–7/, ed. von Le Coq 1922, p. 6). This obviously alludes to the Three Wheels *(tilgän)*, but, if Jackson's translation is right ("The God of the Three Wheels, (namely) the Wind, Water, and Fire"), the construction of the Turkish phrase is odd. Lentz understood *täŋri* as a collective attribute of *yel suv ot* (Waldschmidt/Lentz 1933, p. 515), perhaps rightly so.

92 Erdal 1988, p. 254.

93 U 241a (= T I α) /r/2/ in Zieme 1975, p. 40, in a fragmentary context. It is perhaps not without significance that in /v/3/ of the same fragment the Spiritus Vivens *(wadžiwanta täŋri)* is mentioned.

translates the word as "beschleunigend", explainig this form as a derivative in *-güči* from a verb **tärklät-* "to accelerate", a causative of *tärklä-* "to hurry".[94]

The name *tärklätgüči täŋri* "the hastener god", "the god who accelerates", fully agrees then with the first part of Chin. 催明 *cuīmíng* and confirms the meaning of Sogd. *pδf'ry βγyy* discussed above.

4. That the Chinese term is based on an Iranian (or possibly Turkish) form, and not the other way round, is beyond doubt.

There is a general agreement on the fact that the Chinese Manichaean texts were translated in all probability from Iranian prototypes, from Parthian in the first instance, but perhaps also from Sogdian. As SUNDERMANN surmises,[95] the Chinese version of the Treatise on the Light Nous shows some features which point to a Parthian original, even if the latter was probably different from the text which has survived. KLIMKEIT and SCHMIDT-GLINTZER point out that the Chinese text cannot derive from the Turkish version either, and that the latter stands closer to the Parthian text.[96] Also according to BRYDER, both the Hymnscroll and the Traité are rather faithful translations from Iranian originals,[97] and

94 ZIEME 1975, p. 42, n. 300. The verb *tärklä-* (a derivative in *-lä-* from the adverb *tärk* "quickly", cf. CLAUSON 1972, p. 542b) is frequently attested in the converb *tärkläyü* "hurriedly, in haste" (cf. ZIEME 1975, loc.cit., and CLAUSON 1972, p. 545b). A form *tärklät-* actually occurs in a 14th century Kıpčak glossary, where it corresponds to Arabic *'aǧǧala* (HOUTSMA 1894, p. 67 and ar. 42; cf. also CLAUSON 1972, loc.cit.; for the date of the manuscript cf. CLAUSON 1972, p. XXV).

95 SUNDERMANN 1992, p. 21.

96 KLIMKEIT/SCHMIDT-GLINTZER 1984, p. 84. LIEU 1998, p. 65, on the contrary, suggests that the possibility of a translation of the Chinese version from Turkish cannot be excluded, on the basis of a number of verbal similarities between the two.

97 BRYDER 1992, p. 337. At the end of the Hymnscroll, it is explicitly stated that more than twenty items out of three thousand Sanskrit (i.e. Iranian) texts (梵本 *fànběn*) were translated (梵本三千之條所譯二十餘, T 54.1279.b29–c1]), and again that Dao Ming's translations are based wholly on the Sanskrit (Iranian) text (道明所翻譯者一依梵本, T 54.1279.c2]) (in Buddhist parlance, 梵本 *fànběn* means "sūtras in the Indian languages" and 梵音 *fànyīn* "singing in praise of Buddha" [SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, pp. 354b, 355a]; cf. also 梵字 *fànzì*, 梵書 *fànshū* "Sanskrit" [SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, p. 354a]). Before the second and the third of the phonetically transcribed hymns there is the instruction 宜從依梵 *yí zòng (= cóng) yī fàn* "the congregation should follow the sacred language (梵)" (HS 154 and 176 [T 54.1274.a3. 1274.b11]); in the first case this refers to a mixed text in Parthian, Middle Persian and Aramaic (cf. YOSHIDA 1983 and BRYDER 1985, pp. 57–62), and in the second case to Parthian. Cf. also the liturgical instruction 梵音唄響 *fànyīn bài xiǎng* (HS 402, T 54.1279.b8) "according to the chanting (唄 *bài*) in the sound of the sacred language (梵音 *fànyīn*)" (cf. the Buddhist terms 梵音 *fànyīn* "singing in praise of Buddha" [SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, p. 355a] and 梵唄 *fànbài* "Buddhist hymn" [SOOTHILL/HODOUS 1937, p. 353b]). In the Compendium (T 54.1279.c20) the transcription of *frēštag-* (*frēštag-*)*rōšan* (佛夷瑟德烏盧詵 *fóyísèdé wūlúshēn* [LMC **fĥ(j)yt-ji-ʂət-təǧk *ʔuǧ-luǧ-ʂən*], cf. HALOUN/HENNING 1952, p. 189, n. 6) is accompanied by the gloss 本國梵音也 *běnguó fàn yīn yě* "this is the sound (音) of the sacred language (梵) of (the author's) native country (本國)".

Schmidt-Glintzer remarks that the Compendium was translated from Middle Persian.[98]

This is not the place to examine the grounds for the disagreement as to the position of this deity in the listings (5th vs. 4th) between Chinese and Sogdian on the one side and Turkish on the other.[99] We can however observe that it is very unlikely that the Turkish term *tärklätgüči täŋri* was translated from Chinese, all the more so as the names of the four other sons of the Living Spirit in the Turkish list are either Sogdian or faithful translations of the Sogdian ones. Both the Chinese name (催明 *cuīmíng* / 催光 *cuīguāng*) and the Turkish one must be based on Sogdian *pδf'ryy βγyy*, or another Iranian prototype with the same meaning, thus lending support to Henning's etymology of the Sogdian name.

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98 Schmidt-Glintzer 1987a, p. 83. Lieu 2004, p. 170, on the other hand, maintains that the Compendium was originally composed in Chinese.

99 This will be discussed in a forthcoming article of mine ("The Names and Attributes of the Five Sons of the Manichaean Living Spirit").

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Tage der Barmherzigkeit

Nachträge zu den mitteliranischen manichäischen Montags- und Bemahymnen[1]

Christiane Reck, Berlin

Das Singen von Hymnen ist ein wesentlicher Bestandteil des manichäischen Kultus. Unter den mitteliranischen manichäischen Textfunden aus Turfan befinden sich zahlreiche Fragmente mit Hymnen. Man unterscheidet umfangreiche Hymnenzyklen, mehrstrophige Hymnen und einstrophige Kurzhymnen. Reste von Inhaltsverzeichnissen und Hymnenanfangsverzeichnissen weisen thematische Gruppierungen nach. Neben Hymnen auf spezielle Gottheiten, Größen des manichäischen Mythos und Persönlichkeiten der manichäischen Kirche gibt es auch solche auf die Festtage des manichäischen Ritus. Dies sind z. B. die Bemahymnen, die dem großen Jahresfest, das am Anfang des manichäischen Kirchenjahres gefeiert wurde, gewidmet sind. Eine andere besondere Gruppe sind die parthischen Preishymnen ('frydgyg b'š'). Sie konnten als Montagshymnen, d. h. Loblieder auf den wöchentlichen Versammlungstag identifiziert werden.[2] In mittelpersischer Sprache sind einzelne Hymnen auf den Montag (mhr ʿy dwšmbtyg) und auf den Sonntag (mhr ʿy ykš[mbtyg])[3] erhalten. In den Bemahymnen herrscht der Lobpreis Manis und des Bemathrones vor. Es wird erwartet, daß Mani zum Bemafest herabkommt und die Jahresbeichte abnimmt. In den Montagshymnen stehen das gegenseitige Sündenbekenntnis und die Vergebung im Mittelpunkt. Die barmherzige Sündenvergebung verbindet beide Festtage.

In der Reihe Berliner Turfantexte (BTT) erschien als Band XXII die Edition der mitteliranischen manichäischen Montags- und Bemahymnen. Darin wurden ca. 50 Fragmente mit mitteliranischen Festtagshymnen publiziert. Eine Reihe von Fragmenten blieb aber aus verschiedenen Gründen unediert.[4] Um einige davon nun doch vorzulegen, nutze ich die Gelegenheit dieser Gedenkschrift für Ronald E. Emmerick. Seine freundliche Aufmerksamkeit begleitete

1 Mein Dank gilt Werner Sundermann, Götz König und Desmond Durkin-Meisterernst für ihre wichtigen Hinweise, letzterem besonders auch für die Hilfe bei der Erstellung der Wortliste.

2 Vgl. Reck 2004, S. 15.

3 Vgl. Reck 2004, S. 14.

4 Reck 2004, S. 210.

die Drucklegung des Manuskriptes, aueh wenn er leider die Vollendung nieht mehr erleben durfte.

Die Fragmente So 14152/II/, So 14152a, So 14154, So 14155/II/, So 14157 und So 14158/II/ wurden erst im Zusammenhang mit der Arbeit am Katalog mitteliraniseher Turfanhandschriften als Transliterationen von mittelpersisehen und parthisehen Bemahymnen in soghdiseher Sehrift erkannt und konnten daher nieht mehr in das Textkorpus aufgenommen werden. Sie sind jedoeh in die Auswertung der Kurzhymnen und Parallelstellen mit einbezogen. Da damals der Prosatext der anderen Doppelblatthälften noch nieht identifiziert war, wurden sie als erste Blätter (/I/) bezeiehnet. Nun konnte der Prosatext sehr wahrseheinlich als soghdisehe Übersetzung von Manis Siegelbrief identifiziert werden. Es ist davon auszugehen, daß wie im BBB der ausgiebige Hymnengesang der Siegelbrieflesung folgt. Daher sollten sie nun als zweite Blätter (/II/) bezeichnet werden.

So 13505, das einen Montagshymnus enthält, konnte ebenfalls nieht mehr in das Textkorpus der Edition aufgenommen werden. Der Paralleltext zu So 13505/r/ ist auf M 61/r/11–16/ bewahrt. Deshalb wird dieser Teil hier mit ediert. Die Fragmente M 377, M 746Ib und M 503g waren nieht in den o. g. BTT-Band einbezogen worden, da sie nieht sieher als Teile hymnischer Dichtungen bezeichnet werden konnten.

Bemahymnen in soghdischer Schrift

Die Praxis des Transliterierens von westmitteliranisehen manichäischen Texten in die soghdische Sehrift ist nieht ungewöhnlieh. Es sind vornehmlich Hymnen, die so für jemanden, dem die manichäische Schrift nicht geläufig war, lesbar wurden. Offenbar war die Benutzung der maniehäisehen Schrift auf einen bestimmten Personenkreis begrenzt oder ist ab einem bestimmten Zeitpunkt nicht mehr selbstverständlieh gewesen. Da in der soghdisehen Schrift nieht alle benötigten Buchstaben zur Verfügung stehen, hat sich eine spezielle Orthographie für die Zwecke der Umschrift herausgebildet, die N. SIMS-WILLIAMS folgendermaßen zusammengefaßt hat: p = [p, f, b], β = [f, β], t = [t, d], k = [k, g], x/γ = [x, γ, h], c = [č,ǰ], z = [z, ž].[5]

Die hier publizierten Fragmente mit Bemahymnen gehören zu einer Handsehrift, die die Fragmente So 14150 bis So 14159 umfaßt. Es sind dureh Wurmfraß sehr stark zerstörte Bruehstücke von Kodexdoppelblättern. So 14152, So 14155 und So 14158 bewahren sehwaehe Spuren der Mittelfalz und kleine Reste des zweiten Blattes. So 14150, So 14151 und So 14153 weisen Ähnliehkeiten in den Konturen auf und werden also zum Zeitpunkt der Zerstörung nahe beieinander gelegen haben. Andere, aber ihrerseits ähnliche Konturen lassen die anderen größeren Bruehstüeke erkennen. So 14158 weist dieselben Um-

5 SIMS-WILLIAMS 1989, S. 322.

risse wie die obere Ecke von So 14152 auf und könnte so den kleinen Rest des zweiten Blattes von So 14154 gebildet haben. (Abb. 1) Anhand der Umrisse von So 14152 (Abb. 3) ließen sich die Fragmente So 14152a, So 14155 und So 14157 als zu einem Blatt zusammengehörig vermuten.[6] (Abb. 2) So 14159 ist nach den Konturen den unteren Teilen von So 14150 und So 14153 zuzuordnen und kann so an So 14151 angefügt werden. Es weist somit So 14156 eine Position am unteren Ende von So 14150 oder So 14153 zu, da es dem unteren Zipfel von So 14159 ähnlich ist. Aus dem Kontext ergibt sich, daß So 14156 höchstwahrscheinlich zu So 14150 gehört. So 14156 und So 14159 bewahren Reste des unteren Randes.[7] Es ergeben sich damit Reste von vermutlich drei Doppelblättern, von denen jeweils das eine Blatt westmitteliranische Bemahymnen in soghdischer Schrift enthält und das andere Teile des Siegelbriefes Manis in soghdischer Übersetzung. Die Edition dieses Textes befindet sich in Druck.[8] Es ist bemerkenswert, daß im BBB und in der vorliegenden Handschrift Siegelbrief und Bemahymnen zusammenstehen. Beide Bücher unterscheiden sich jedoch darin, daß erstens das BBB nur den Anfang des Siegelbriefes bewahrt, während er im vorliegenden Text fortgesetzt vorliegt, daß zweitens das BBB Beichttexte bewahrt, die hier vielleicht auch enthalten waren, aber jetzt verloren sind, und drittens in der Kombination der Hymnen. Bisher konnten nur die Hymnen 10 und 11 des BBB[9] in den hier vorliegenden Bemahymnen nachgewiesen werden. Allerdings stehen die beiden Hymnen hier nicht hintereinander, s.u. Aus dem Vergleich mit dem Text des Siegelbriefes in BBB[10] ergibt sich, daß vermutlich zwei Zeilen oberhalb der größeren Blattfragmente fehlen. Eine Seite hätte somit 18 Zeilen gehabt. Diese Zeilenzahl wird auch der Edition zugrunde gelegt. Die Schriftspiegelhöhe betrug so rekonstruiert vermutlich ca. 12,5 cm. Im Zuge der Beschäftigung mit den Siegelbrieffragmenten konnte eine wahrscheinliche Variante ermittelt werden, welche Doppelblatthälften vermutlich zusammengehören. Dies war schwierig, da zwischen den kleinen Resten, die an den Fragmenten der ersten Doppelblatthälfte erhalten sind, und den größeren zweiten Doppelblatthälften ein kleiner Streifen fehlt. Außerdem haben sich die Fragmente zum Teil im Laufe der Zeit verzogen. Die Rekonstruktion anhand der Konturen ist dadurch immer nur eine Annäherung. Der Unterschied zwischen

6 Leider kann dieser Zusammenhang nicht durch entsprechende Paralleltexte nachgewiesen werden. Der Zusammenhang des Textes selbst ist nicht zwingend.

7 Vgl. Digitales Archiv des Vorhabens „Turfanforschung" der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissensehaften (BBAW): www.bbaw.de/forsehung/turfanforschung/dta/so/images/so14150_14159_total.html.

8 „The Sogdian version of Mani's Letter of the Seal." In: *VI International Meeting of the International Association of Manichaean Studies, 1–5 August 2005, Flagstaff* [im Druck]; gekürzte Version in: „The seed on the field: The Sogdian version of Mani's Letter of the Seal." In: *2nd International Conference on Turfan Studies, 25–28 August 2005, Turfan* [im Druck].

9 BBB, S. 20.

10 BBB, S. 18.

den Siegelbrief- und den Hymnenfragmente hinsichtlich der Zeilenbreite und auch in den Zeilenabständen erlaubt keine zu weitgehenden Schlußfolgerungen. Hilfreich aber waren dabei erstens die Tatsache, daß So 14152a auf So 14152 auflag und erst bei der Restaurierung der Fragmente abgelöst wurde. Damit konnte eine gewisse Reihenfolge der mit Bemahymnen beschriebenen Blatthälften angenommen werden. So ist zu vermuten, daß So 14155 + So 14157 + So 14152a vor So 14152 lag. Zweitens beinhaltet So 14150 + So 14156 den Beginn des Siegelbriefes. Die anderen Fragmente folgen. Im Zusammenhang mit der Edition des Siegelbriefes erörterte Details im Text ergänzen die Anhaltspunkte zur Rekonstruktion. Die vermutliche Reihenfolge der Doppelblätter ist folgende:

1. Doppelblatt	So 14150 + So 14156 ~ So 14152
2. Doppelblatt	So 14151 + So 14159 ~ So 14155 + So 14157 + So 14152a
3. Doppelblatt	So 14153 ~ So 14154 ~ So 14158

Die Reihenfolge der einzelnen Blätter ist:

Siegelbrief	1. Blatt	So 14150 + So 14156 ~ So 14152/I/
	2. Blatt	So 14151 + So 14159 ~ So 14155/I/
	3. Blatt	So 14153 ~ So 14158/I/
Bemahymnen	4. Blatt	So 14154 ~ So 14158/II/
	5. Blatt	So 14155/II/ + So 14157 + So 14152a
	6. Blatt	So 14152/II/

An dieser Stelle beschränke ich mich auf die Bearbeitung der Blätter 4 bis 6.

Die Maße der Fragmente der hier vorgelegten Doppelblatthälften sind folgende: So 14152: 9,1 × 6,9 cm, So 14152a: 2,8 × 1,4 cm, So 14154: 10,4 × 5,0 cm, So 14155: 3,5 × 6,0 cm, So 14157: 5,0 × 2,2 cm, So 14158: 3,5 × 2,8 cm. Die vermutlich zusammengehörigen Fragmente haben folgende Ausmaße: So 14155 + So 14157 + So 14152a: 8,5 × 6,0 cm und So 14154 + So 14158: 10,4 × 5,7 cm. Die Fragmente berühren sich nicht, da durch den Wurmfraß zu große Zerstörungen angerichtet worden sind. Keines der Fragmente trägt ein Fundsigel. Auf der Glasplatte ist aber T II D 91 vermerkt. Das bedeutet, daß die Fragmente zu den Funden der 2. Expedition in Qočo gehören. Die Schrift ist eher klein und eine sehr sorgfältige Kursive. Die Breite des Schriftspiegels läßt sich aufgrund der unten genannten Paralleltexte annähernd auf 4 cm bestimmen.

Die Hymnen sind zum Teil bereits auf anderen Fragmenten belegt und können dadurch in einigen Fällen ergänzt werden. Die Parallelen sind folgende: So 14152/II/v/1–6/ = BBB 74–80 (J)[11], So 14154 + /v/3–5/ = M 1874/2. S./1–3/(?) (AH),[12]

11 Bezeichnung der einzelnen Hymnen bei RECK 2004, S. 45–48.

12 RECK 2004, S. 151–152.

So 14154 + /v/6–8/ = M 1874/2.S./3–6/[13] und M 449/2.S./3–6/[14] (Z), So 14155 + /II/v/1–5/ = BBB 81–85 (K).[15] Der Text, für den bisher keine Parallelstellen gefunden werden konnten, ist sehr schwer, zumeist gar nicht rekonstruierbar. Eine Publikation scheint dennoch sinnvoll, da so möglicherweise anhand anderer Fragmente vielleicht die eine oder andere Parallele erkannt und der Text ergänzt werden könnte.

Die Sprache der Textbruchstücke ist mittelpersisch bis auf So 14155 + /v/1/ mit einem parthischen Wort (dyẓw'ryft), das am Ende eines ansonsten nicht erhaltenen Hymnus steht, und So 14152/II/v/6–12/, das vermutlich sprachlich gemischt ist. Da der Text an dieser Stelle sehr fragmentarisch ist, kann die Gliederung der Kurzhymnen nicht nachvollzogen werden. Auf den Zeilen /8–11/ sind auf jeden Fall parthische Wörter nachgewiesen.

Die sogenannten Ruf-Alefs, die an Substantive, aber auch an Verben angehängt werden, treten auch in den Hymnen in soghdischer Schrift auf, z. B.: So 14152/II/r/4/ ”mδ', So 14152/II/v/6/ (x)wδ'wn'.

Der Lobpreis Manis, der vom Paradies zu den Gläubigen herabkommt, um die Jahresbeichte abzunehmen, beherrscht die hier vorliegenden Bemahymnen.

Im folgenden sind die Transliteration, kursiv als rechte Spalte eine Rekonstruktion, wie der Text in manichäischer Schrift aussehen würde, und die Übersetzung angegeben:

Der rekonstruierte Text gibt nur weitestgehend sichere Lesungen wieder. Problematische Textstellen bleiben ausgespart. Es ist mit einem Sternchen gekennzeichnet, wenn das in soghdischer Schrift vermutlich fehlerhaft vorgegebene Wort in der Rekonstruktion verbessert wurde. Die Stellen, an denen ein Fragment an ein anderes ansetzt, sind fett gedruckt.

Transliteration und Übersetzung von So 14154 + So 14158/II/ (Abb. 1):

Vermutlich fehlen oben eine und unten zwei Zeilen.

r/1/	[ ]	
2/	(.)[6](.)[7]	*[ ]*
3/	[4]pwy xwš(.)[1–2]y-(.)	*[ ]bwy xwš[ ]*
4/	[2]w ○○ ○○ (k)[2]t'n(.)[1]	*[ ] ○ [ ]*
5/	[m'r]m'ny xwδ'y ”yδ ○[○]	*[m'r] m'ny xwd'y ”yd ○*
6/	[1](.)'smn pδ p'n [1–2]	*… pd b'n [ ]*
7/	[1]šwmn (m/š/s)r'y prknty-(y○○)	*… (.)r'y prgnd 'yy ○*
8/	'y'β (k/r)[3–4](y-δ) p(.)[1]	*'y'b [ ][ ]*
9/	(.yw.r.β'n) ky-šty-y ○○	*… kyšt 'yy ○*
10/	[5](….)'mδ m('ny)	*[ ]'md m('ny)*
11/	[3–4](..)k ”mδ[1](.)[1]	*[ ] ”md [ ]*

13 Reck 2004, S. 151–152.
14 Reck 2004, S. 147–148.
15 Vgl. auch Reck 2004, S. 151.

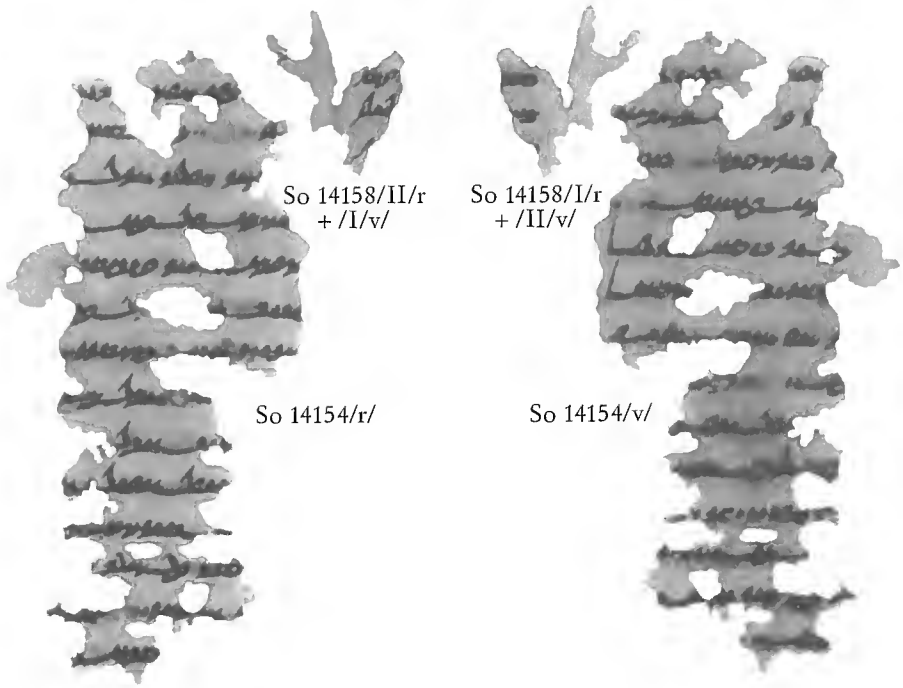

Abb. 1: So 14154 + So 14158[16]

12/	[3–4](t)rwδ ''wrδ '(w)	*[ ]. . drwd ''wrd '(w)*
13/	[3–4](. .) try-st('wr)[17]	*[ ] dryst('wr)*
14/	[3–4]twr pδ š'δy (.)[2]	*[ ]dwr pd š'dyḇ [ ]*
15/	[hylw](m) ''st'r ○○ ○○ (. . . .)	*[hylw]m 'st'r ○ (. . .)*
16/	[9]tk'n (.)[1]	*[ ]dg'n [ ]*
17/	[ ]	
18/	[ ]	
r/1/	[ ]	
2/	[ ]	
3/	[ ]geruch gut[ ]	
4/	[ ]. [ ]	

16 Fotos: Fotostelle der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Scan vom Farbdia. Für die Hilfe bei der digitalen Bearbeitung der Scans danke ich KATI BRAUCHMANN. Die Entfernung der Schatten an den Rändern führte bei aller Sorgfalt zu kleinen Abweichungen vom Original. Die Einzelfotos können im Digitalen Archiv des Akademienvorhabens Turfanforschung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften angesehen werden: http://www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta/index.html

17 Die Lesung der letzten Buchstaben auf der Zeile ist sehr unsicher.

5/ [Mar] Mani, der Herr kommt.
6/ ... in der Götter [ ]
7/ ... ... verstreut bist du.[18]
8/ Oder ... ...
9/ ... gesät bist du.
10/ [ ]kam M(ani)
11/ [ ] kam [ ]
12/ [ ] Heil gebracht zu
13/ [ ] Willkommen
14/ [ ]... mit Freude [ ]
15/ [Erlasse meine] Sünde. ...
16/ [ ]...
17/ [ ]
18/ [ ]

v/1/ [ ]
2/ [8](.)[5](○) *[ ](○)*
3/ [2](x)wn[2] pwt'[3] *[ ]h/xwn[ ] bwt/d'[ ]*
4/ [2]w p(w)[4] m'r m'ny *[ ]w bw[ ] m'r m'ny*
5/ ['](w)βry-stk'(n)[19] wnt['m] *'w frystg'n wynd['m]*
6/ [kw]m'n p'y'nt ○○ ○○ *[kw]m'n p'y'nd ○*
7/ k' 'y yz-t'n [c](y)-δ' *g'ẖ 'y yzd'n cyd'*
8/ ['s]t'y-'m[βr](y)-st'k *['s]t'y'm [fr]ystg*
9/ [']y nyw nš(st) 'w nw *[']y nyw nšst 'w nwg*
10/ (k') ○○ ○○ (p'.)[4] *(g'ẖ) ○ b'[ ]*
11/ [2](.)[1]'wδ nyw (..)[3] *[ ]'wd nyw [ ]*
12/ (p)w'nδy k' (xrx)[šyδ] *bw'nd 'y g'(ẖ) *xwrx[šyd]*
13/ [1](..) xwz-yr ○ cy(..)[2–3] *[ ] hwcyhr ○ cy[ ]*
14/ [3] k' nš(st)[3] *[ ] g'ẖ nšst[ ]*
15/ (..) (m'r) m'ny '(...) (k)['] *(..) m'r m'ny '(w..) g['ẖ]*
16/ [nš](s)t ○○ [ ] *[nš](s)t ○ [ ]*
17/ [ ]
18/ [ ]

v/1/ [ ]
2/ [ ](.)
3/ [ ]...[ ] ...[ ]

18 Vgl. SUNDERMANN 1981, S. 23 (Text 2.2, Z. 115). prgnd „zerstreut" (in parth. Kontext). Die Lesung der stark versehrten beiden y basiert auf Analogieschluß zu r/8/.

19 In M 1874 ist dieser Hymnus wegen fryštg'n als parthisch ausgewiesen. Die soghdische Schrift unterscheidet nicht klar zwischen s und š. Da ich aber eher s lese, ist der Text hier als mittelpersisch anzusehen. Die wenigen erhaltenen Wortreste differieren an einigen Stellen: 2.S./4/ hat wnt[, M 1874/2.S./2/ hat wy[an dieser Stelle. 2.S./5/ hat p'y'nt und M 1874/2.S./3/ hat p'ynd.

4/ [ ]... ...[ ] Mar Mani,
5/ zu den Gesandten/Engeln [laßt uns] be[ten,]
6/ daß sie uns schützen.
7/ Thron der Götter, dich
8/ wollen wir preisen, edler
9/ Apostel, der sich auf
10/ den neuen Thron setzte. ...[ ]
11/ ... tapfer ...[ ]
12/ ... Thron Son[ne?]
13/ ... schön. ...[ ]
14/ [ ] Thron setzte[ ]
15/ ... Mar Mani... (Thron)
16/ setzte. [ ]
17/ [ ]
18/ [ ]

Transliteration und Übersetzung von So 14155/II/ + So 14157 + So 14152a (Abb. 2):

Vermutlich ist /1/ tatsächlich die erste Zeile gewesen und es fehlen unten sechs Zeilen.

r/1/	[2](y pδ k' 'y ny)[w]	*(pd g'ḫ ʿy nyw)*
2/	[2](.z '... δ..) (w)r'z-y(t)	*(...) wyr'zyd*
3/	βrw(x)[3](k/p...'w) tw	*frwx[ ] ('w) tw*
4/	[1](..)py' β(rw)x	*(...) frwx*
5/	(')š(m)['](.δ)[1](.)[1–2]	*'šm'ḫ (...)*
6/	oo (βr)w[x](..)w nm(')[z]	o *(frwx ...) nm'c*
7/	(.....)[ ](.)'	*(...)[ ](...)*
8/	(...w/p)[ ](...)t o(o)	*(...)[ ](...)*o
9/	[ ](y)z-δ'[n]	*[ ]yzd'[n]*
10/	[ ](.m. .t.)[ ]	*[ ]*
11/	[ ](.)št w(.)[ ]	*[ ]*
12/	[ ](..k'n s)[ ]	*[ ](g'n) [ ]*

Zeilen /13–18/ fehlen.

r/1/ [2](auf dem schönen Thron)
2/ [2]... (bereitet)
3/ glüc[klich]... dich
4/ ... glücklich
5/ (ihr) ...
6/ glücklich ... Anbetung
7/ ...[ ]...
8/ ...[ ]... .
9/ [ ]Götte[r]

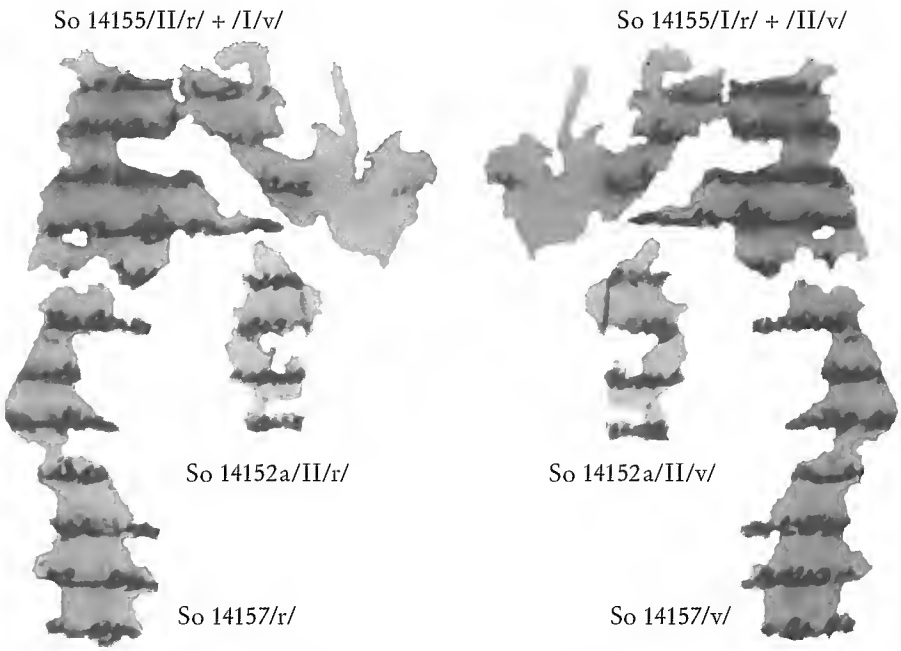

Abb. 2: So 14155 + So 14157 + So 14152a/II/

10/ [ ]...[ ]
11/ [ ]...[ ]
12/ [ ]...[ ]
Zeilen /13–18/ fehlen.

v/1/	[dy]ẓ-wʾry(ft) ○○ [○○]	*dyjwʾryft* ○
2/	[ʾ](w) tw ʾʾβw(r)[ʾm](x)wδ(ʾy)	*ʾw tw ʾʾfwrʾm xwdʾy*
3/	(mʾnyʾ yyšw k)[nyg ʾ](w)δ	*mʾny yyšw knyg ʾwd*
4/	wxmn ʾwδ (kʾ) xw[z-yr]	*whmn ʾwd gʾẖ hwcyhr*
5/	[ʾw](δ) (pr)[ystkʾn ○](○) ○○	*ʾwd prystgʾn* ○[20]
6/	[2](ẓ)[21] ʾʾ(βwrʾm)[ʾw](**m**ʾx)	*[ ] ʾʾfwrʾm [ʾw]mʾẖ*
7/	(**s**)rʾyʾ(ʾ)[m](**w**) nš(st)	*srʾyʾ[m]nšst*
8/	(ʾʾy prʾ/n)[ ](.)wδ(...)[22]	*(ʾy)[ ](...)*

20 = BBB 81–85.

21 Die beiden diakritischen Striche sind deutlich erhalten. Komplementär zu m'x „Mond" hätte man sonst hier schön xwr „Sonne" ergänzen können. Die Schreibung rwẓ für rwc „Tag", was möglicherweise ergänzbar wäre, ist ungewöhnlich in einem mittelpersischen Text.

22 Die Lesungen sind sehr unsicher und gestatten keine Rekonstruktion eines schlüssigen Textes.

9/	[1](.)’ ○○[ ]	*(…). [ ](…)*
10/	[2](’)st’y-’(m)[ ]	*[ ](‘)st’y-’(m)[ ]*
11/	[1–2]○○ wnt’m[ ]	*[ ] ○ wynd’m[ ]*
12/	[1–2](..) ’w (.)[ ]	*[ ] ’w [ ]*

Zeilen /13–18/ fehlen.

v/1/ (Not).
2/ Dich wollen wir preisen, Herr
3/ (Mani, Jesus, Jungfrau und)
4/ Nous und (das schöne Bema
5/ und die Engel).
6/ (… laßt uns preisen), [ ] (den Mond)[23]
7/ laßt uns besin[gen]… gesetzt
8/ (bist du …)[ ]…
9/ … . [ ]
10/ … laßt uns loben[ ].
11/ Laßt uns preisen[ ]
12/ … den [ ]

Zeilen /13–18/ fehlen.

Transliteration und Übersetzung von So 14152/II/ (Abb. 3):

Vermutlich fehlen oben eine und unten fünf Zeilen.

r/1/	[ ]	
2/	[4–5 w](xy)-št (.)[2]	*[w]hyšt [ ]*
3/	(…)y m(nβ/y.)[1]w[24] w(xy)-št	*(… …) whyšt*
4/	wny-r (..)wm[1](.) c’(y)	*wnyr (…) j’y*
5/	[δ]’n ○○ ○○ ’’mδ’	*d’n ○ ’’md’*
6/	(pr)’sp’n[25] wz-’r(k)[2](’n)(.)	**(p’s)b’n wzrg (…)*
7/	wxy-št [mr](m’n)y xwδ’y ○ ’(.)[1]	*whyšt [m’r] m’ny xwd’y ○ [ ]*
8/	mn t(.)[4–5 xw’](š)tyh	*mn [xw’]štyḫ*
9/	(š’)δy (δ)[3–4](py)rwz-y-y	*(š’dyḫ) [ ]pyrwzyy*
10/	[7](..) x(.)[2–3]	*[ ]*
11/	[m’r] m(’n)y xwδ’(y) (.)[4]	*[m’r] m’ny xwd’y [ ]*
12/	[5](.) sr n(š)’(n)[3]	*[ ] sr nyš’n[ ]*
13/	[6](.)t’m ’(w/t..)[3]	*[ ]… …[ ]*

Zeilen /14–18/ fehlen.

23 Die Lesungen sind sehr unsicher. Eine Rekonstruktion sinnvollen Textes wird dadurch sehr erschwert.
24 Merkwürdig ist, daß vor dem finalen w keine Buchstabenreste zu sehen sind.
25 Man erwartet hier p’sp’n für *p’sb’n* „Hüter“. Doch es ist deutlich, daß ein Buchstaben zwischen p und ’ steht, und dieser ist mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit ein r.

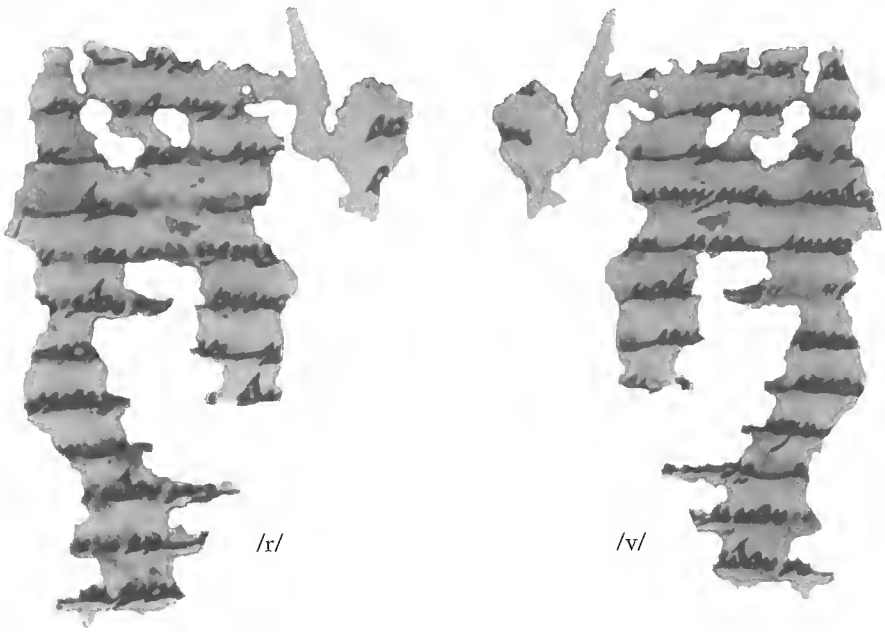

Abb. 3: So 14152/II/

r/1/ [ ]
2/ [P]aradies [ ]
3/ … … Paradies
4/ bleibe … (ewig).
5/ Er kam
6/ der …-en groß …
7/ Paradies, [Mar] Mani, der Herr.
8/ mich … Frie]den
9/ Freude [ ]Sieg
10/ [ ] …
11/ [ ] Herr [Mar] Mani [ ]
12/ [ ] Kopf (Zeichen)[ ]
13/ [ ]… …[ ]
Zeilen /14–18/ fehlen.

v/1/ [ ]
2/ [ʾw] (tw) [ʾ](s)t(ʾy)-ʾm(ʾ)[rwš](n) *ʾw tw ʿstʾyʾmʾ rwšn*
3/ [š](x)ryʾr (š)xryʾrʾn (p)[wsʾ] *šhryʾr šhryʾrʾn pwsʾ*
4/ (m)[ʾ](ny) xw[δʾwn] mʾny *mʾny xwdʾwn mʾny*
5/ (x)wδʾwnʾ rwšn šxryʾr *xwdʾwnʾ rwšn šhryʾr*

Abb. 4:
So 13505

6/	['s]t'yšn 'rz'n ''(y)	*'st'yšn 'rz'n 'y*
7/	[t]w oo oo (m'n)[y] (x)wδ'wn'	*tw o m'ny xwd'wn'*
8/	[z](y)ntkr[' 3 'z](w)'r'	*zyndkr ['z]w'r'g*
9/	[ẓ]ywnt'[4](.) ('w)	*jywnd'/g[ ] 'w*
10/	[rw]šn t(.)[7]	*[rw]šn [ ]*
11/	[3–4](.) ẓ-m('n..)[3]	*[ ](jm'n)[ ]*
12/	[3]oo xw'ẓ-'m(.)[4]	*[ ] o *wx'z'm[ ]*
13/	[2](.)[1](ty) xwδ'(w)[n 4]	*[ ] xwd'w[n]*

Zeilen /14–18/ fehlen.

v/1/	[ ]
2/	(Dich preisen wir, lichter
3/	König), S[ohn] von Königen,
4/	(Mani), o He[rr], Mani
5/	o Herr, lichter Herrscher,
6/	des Lobes würdig bist
7/	du. (Mani), Herr,
8/	(Beleber)[Er]kenner
9/	(lebendig)[ ] den
10/	(lichten) [ ]
11/	[ ] (Zeit)[ ]
12/	[ ]. Wir wollen[ ]
13/	[ ] Herr[ ]

Zeilen /14–18/ fehlen.

Ein Montagshymnus in soghdischer und in manichäischer Schrift

So 13505

Das Fragment (Abb. 4) stellt eine kleine, untere Ecke eines Kodexblattes dar. Es ist 2,9 × 4,1 cm groß und bewahrt einen inneren Rand von 0,6 cm und einen unteren Rand von 0,9 cm. Das Fundsigel T II D ordnet das Fragment den Funden der 2. Expedition in Dakianussahr, Qočo, zu. Der Text der Recto-Seite kann durch

die folgenden Parallelstellen ergänzt werden, wodurch auch erwiesen ist, daß es sich um einen parthischen, rückläufig alphabetischen Montagshymnus handelt: r/2/ = M 1, 387[26] und r/2–4/ = M 61/r/11–13/[27]. Dadurch kann die ursprüngliche Schriftspiegelbreite von ca. 3,5 cm erschlossen werden. R/1/ ist der Anfang einer braunen Zwischenüberschrift erhalten. Vermutlich war sie ursprünglich rot. Der Text der Versoseite kann bisher nicht identifiziert werden.

r/1/	*p'š[yk*[28]]	
2/	**n**ywšm'n [pδwx](n)	*ngwšm'n [pdwhn]*
3/	**t**(w)[r](w)ẓ "βry-δ'k	*tw rwc 'frydg*
4/	(š')δkr βrmnyw ○ **r**x[1]	*š'dgr frmn[ywg] rh/x[ ]*

r/1/ *Hym[nus]*
2/ Höre unsere [Anrufung],
3/ (du) gesegneter (Tag),
4/ (beglückende) Hoffnung! …

v/1/	[7] yz-t'n	*[ ] yzd'n*
2/	(k/pw)m(')[4] (t')wk'n[29]	*… [ ] t'wg'n*
3/	[3](.) ○ xwy(δ)[1–2](.)[30]	*[ ] ○ hwydg*
4/	[3]x'n ○ 'yw (.r'/n)yw	*[ ]h'n ○ 'yw …*

v/1/] Götter
2/]… [ ] die starken
3/]. (Glücklich)
4/]en. Ein …

M 61[31]

Das 12,4 × 6,7 cm große Fragment (Abb. 5) gehört zu einer umfangreicheren Handschrift mit kantillierten Hymnen.[32] Hier wird der Teil /r/11–16/ vorgestellt, der So 13505/r/2–4/ entspricht. Voran geht eine rot geschriebene, sprachlich

26 Müller 1913, S. 27.
27 Vgl. Reck 2004, S. 17. Die Fortsetzung des Textes weicht offenbar von M 61 ab.
28 p'š[kann sowohl als parthisches Wort in soghdischer Schrift zu b'š' ergänzt werden, als auch als soghdisches Wort aufgefaßt werden und wäre dann zu p'šyk zu ergänzen. Da die Zwischenüberschriften oft in soghdischer Sprache verfaßt sind, halte ich diese Ergänzung für wahrscheinlicher.
29 Der Finalstrich dieses n ist ungewöhnlicherweise hochgezogen, wie sonst bei k üblich. Möglicherweise wurde diese Form gewählt, um nicht den selben Abstrich wie auf der Zeile darüber zu benutzen.
30 Dieser Finalstrich könnte zu einem h gehören. Bisher ist h aber bei parthischen Texte in soghdischer Schrift nicht verwendet worden. Vermutlich dient es als Zeilenfüller.
31 Boyce 1960, S. 6.
32 Vgl. Reck 2004, S. 14 Fn. 6.

Abb. 5: M 61

mp. und parth. gemischte Zwischenüberschrift: ʿyn I nm'c 'wd ʿst̲'wyšn sr pt̲ sr "Dieses eine Gebet und Lobpreis ..."[33], die sich vermutlich auf den folgenden Hymnus bezieht.

33 Die Formulierung sr pt̲ sr, bzw. sr pt̲sr, kommt mehrmals in den Zwischenüberschriften kantillierter Hymnen vor, z. B. auch in M 59/II/r/8/. Es ist nicht klar, was sie bedeutet. Man könnte eine liturgische Anweisung vermuten. Geht man von sr „Kopf, Beginn" (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 308 s.v. sr 1) aus, so könnte es ausdrücken, daß es sich um eine Anfangsstrophe eines mehrstrophigen Hymnus handelt. Nimmt man aber die Bedeutung „Gemeinschaft" (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 308 s.v. sr 2) an, dann könnte es so verstanden werden, daß alle zusammen singen sollen. W. SUNDERMANN wies mich darauf hin, daß es auch gleichbedeutend mit sr 'w sr „von Anfang bis Ende,

11/ ngwšm'n pdwhn tw (r)[w](c)
12/ 'frydg š'dgr prm(n)[ywg]
13/ ['w]m dh'h š'd(y)[ft]
14/ [']](r)j'n 'st'wyšn fry(š)[tg]
15/ [w](y)[s](pwyh) bwdys(d)[f]
16/ [6](m)ry m'n(y)[oo]

11/ Höre unsere Anrufung, du
12/ gesegneter (Tag), beglückende Hoff[nung]!
13/ Du gebest mir Freude,
14/ des Lobpreis würdiger Apostel,
15/ (allerbester) Bodhisattva,
16/ [ ]Mar Mani.

Andere Texte zum Montag

Die folgenden Texte gehören zu einer Sammelhandschrift, deren größtes Bruchstück M 86 ist.[34] Sie sind nicht mit den Montagshymnen dieser Handschrift ediert worden, da die auf diesen Fragmenten bewahrten Textreste offensichtlich keiner alphabetischen Ordnung unterliegen und daher nicht den alphabetischen Hymnen der o.g. Handschrift zuzuordnen waren. Allerdings sind die Fragmente zu klein, um anderweitige Merkmale zu generalisieren.

Sie werden hier vorgestellt, da sie sich ganz offensichtlich auf den Montag beziehen. Eventuell gehörten einzelne der kleinen Bruchstücke zu ein und demselben Kodexblatt, ohne daß man das bisher wegen des Fehlens von Paralleltexten nachweisen kann. Alle Fragmente sind in parthischer Sprache.

vollständig" betrachtet werden könnte, vgl. np. *sar basar* „equal, equally, totally" STEINGASS 1973, S. 670. In M 64 ist diese Formulierung Teil einer als soghdisch bezeichneten Zwischenüberschrift. Ch. J. BRUNNER übersetzt sie als „in response", BRUNNER 1980, S. 362. sr pt sr oder auch sr ptsr kann aber kaum soghdisch sein, da das leichtstämmige sr in jedem Fall eine Endung hätte. Es handelt sich um eine westmitteliranische, vermutlich mp. liturgische Anweisung, die ganz speziell auf kantillierte Hymnen angewendet wurde. D. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST wies mich freundlicherweise darauf hin, daß mehrmals, so z.B. in M 807e/v/3/ und M 2091/r/8/ ein rot geschriebenes sr am Zeilenanfang steht. Möglicherweise kennzeichnet es hier den Beginn eines Refrains o.ä. Leider sind diese Texte so fragmentarisch, daß sie wenig zur Klärung des Problems beitragen können.

Die von BRUNNER untersuchten Hymnen von M 64 (MÜLLER 1904, S. 92–93, SALEMANN 1908, S. 14) können auch als Bemahymnen eingeordnet werden, da sie Manis Herabkunft aus dem Paradies beschreiben.

34 RECK 2004, S. 98.

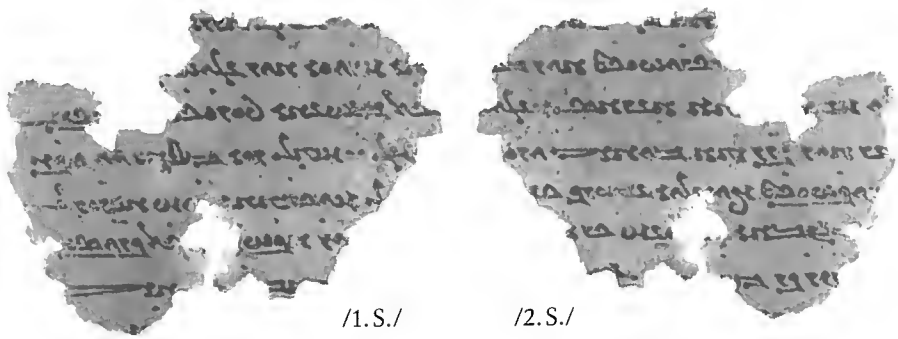

Abb. 6: M 377

M 377[35]

Das Fragment (Abb. 6) ist 6,2 cm × 8,7 cm groß und durch Wurmfraß stark beschädigt. Von dem auf M 86 11,5 cm breiten Schriftspiegel sind 8,4 cm (1.S./3/) von der linken Seite erhalten. Am linken Rand des Fragmentes ist das Zeilenende zu erwarten, da viele Buchstaben ausgedehnte Finalformen aufweisen. Die Betrachtung der anderen Seite erweist aber, daß noch ein oder zwei Buchstaben oder mehr am Zeilenanfang ergänzt werden können. Die Finalstriche können sehr langgezogen sein, wie man bei M 86 sieht. Die Bestimmung, wieviel Text jeweils fehlt, ist also sehr unsicher. Die Zahlenangaben sind daher nur eine ungefähre Orientierung, die sich verschieben kann. Ganz schwach sind Reste der roten Zeilenliniierung zu erkennen.

Wie schwierig es ist, eine Reihenfolge der Seiten festzustellen, wird durch die Zitate in den Fn. 42 und 43 belegt, wo dieselbe Zeile einmal als V 5 und ein andermal als R 5 bezeichnet wird. Auf der hier willkürlich als 1. Seite festgelegten Seite beginnen zwei Abschnitte mit demselben Wort hmg. Daher muß eine alphabetische Anordnung der Strophen ausgeschlossen werden. Der Stil des erhaltenen Bruchstückes deutet eher auf eine Anrufung am Ende eines Hymnus. Eine Bitte um Sündenvergebung beschließt auch den Hymnus auf M 86/v/23–25/.

Auf der zweiten Seite läßt sich auch keine alphabetische Anordnung nachweisen, da nur ein Beginn (ngwš[) zu erkennen ist. Auf M 86 sind die Wörter, die die alphabetische Ordnung repräsentieren, allerdings auch nicht immer durch Interpunktion hervorgehoben. Doch ist dort mehr Kontext erhalten, aus dem die Sinnabschnitte rekonstruiert werden konnten.

Der Inhalt dieser Texte bezieht sich aber ganz sicher auf den Montag, ohne daß er ausdrücklich genannt, bzw. seine Nennung erhalten wäre. Die 1. Seite

35 Vgl. BOYCE 1960, S. 25. Der Text wird hier auch als Prosa bezeichnet.

weist auf eine Versammlung der gesamten Gemeinde am gepriesenen Tag und Sündenvergebung hin und die 2. Seite bewahrt Anweisungen zu Wohlverhalten. Dies entspricht den Inhalten nachgewiesener Montagshymnen.[36]

1.S.
1/ [9](.. oo hmg 'rd')[wyft 7]
2/ [2 wjydg]'n hrwyn[37] 'wd ngwš['g'n 5]
3/ [7]ft bšn'n jyryf(t) (x)[rw](s')[m][38]
4/ [4 wyš']](h)g oo hmg dyn ql'n tw wxd [?]
5/ [9](g) hwprm'n (rw)c 'prydg
6/ [10]wr 'xš(d)[g](yf)t xrws(')[m][39]
7/ [4 'bxš'ẖ]('br ')[m]'ẖ
8/ [> ½ Z. 'st'r hy](r)[z](')[][40]

1.S.
1/ [ ]. Die ganze [Gemeinde der] Gerecht[en]
2/ [ ]alle [Erwählt]en und Hör[er]
3/ [ ]heit, der Glieder[41] Weisheit (rufen wir an,)
4/ [Erlös]er. Die ganze reine Kirche, du/dir/dich selbst [ ]
5/ [ ] gnädiger[42] [ ], gesegneter Tag
6/ [ ] Barmherzigkeit rufen wir an.
7/ [Erbarme dich](über uns!)
8/ [Die Sünde] (vergib!)

2.S.
1/ [10]('brng m')[4]
2/ [10]srwšyfṯ 'wd b[3]
3/ (ṯ)w hm[yw](m)' 'nd's [o]o ngw(š)[3]
4/ (p)nd 'wd xrd m' bw'ẖ wdy[šn's]
5/ [2](.) wxšyfṯ cw('g)wn nmydk pd [6]
6/ [4–5]'zb'n (..)[1](y/w)nc[43] pd (')[7]
7/ [4–5](.z)r kd q(r)[2](.)[1–2] '(.)[8]

36 Vgl. Reck 2004, S. 19–21.
37 Das Nachstellen von hrwyn könnte ein poetisches Stilmittel sein. Es wird auch in M 94+ verwendet. Zu den Publikationen dieses Textes s. Weber 2000, S. 14.
38 Die Ergänzung erfolgt in Analogie zu /6/ und ist sehr unsicher.
39 Es ist nicht erkennbar, ob noch ein Buchstabe folgt.
40 Es ist nicht erkennbar, ob noch ein Buchstabe auf dieser Zeile stand.
41 bšn'n ist sehr vieldeutig. Hier sind alle Bedeutungen möglich: „Glieder, Teile; Statue; Statur; Höhe", vgl. auch Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, S. 111.
42 hwprm'n ist belegt als Epitheton Manis in M 6232/v/3/, vgl. Reck 2004, S. 169–170.
43 Vielleicht kann man hier hngwnc „genauso wie" annehmen?

2.S.

1/ [ ]Eifer nicht[ ]
2/ [ ]Gehorsam und [ ]
3/ du (nie) verlasse! Höre[ ]
4/ (Rat) und Mahnung[44]! Sei nicht (unwisse)[nd[45]]
5/ [ ] Wohlgeschmack[46], wie das Salz[47] in/auf [ ]
6/ [ ]Zunge ... in [ ]
7/ [ ]..., wenn mach-/Form[ ] ... [ ]

M 746b[48]

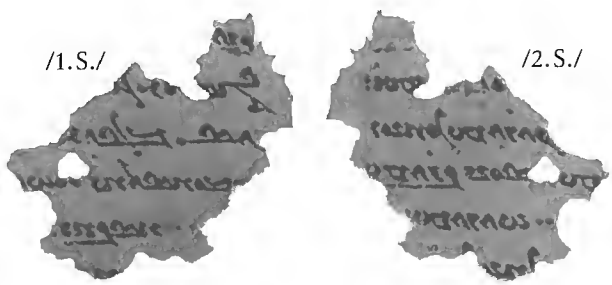

Abb. 7: M 746b

Das Fragment (Abb. 7) ist 5,0×5,2 cm groß und durch Wurmfraß stark beschädigt. Es bewahrt Zeilenanfänge bzw. -enden. /1.S./2/ deutet ein übergroß geschriebenes ʾ darauf hin, daß hier ein neuer Hymnus beginnen könnte. Dieser Hymnus könnte auch mit einem im *Mahrnāmag* verzeichneten Anfang identifiziert werden: M 1, 333, dessen Fortsetzung sich in M 137/I/v/14–15/ findet: ʾfrydg rwc ʿym rwc kw rmynd ws bgpwhrʾn.[49] Damit wäre dann auch eine Zugehörigkeit zu den Montagshymnen bewiesen, was aber aufgrund des geringen Kontextes nicht sicher genug ist. Merkwürdig ist, daß vor diesem Hymnenanfang keine Zeilen frei gelassen wurden wie bei M 86, M 502a und M 1610.

1.S.

1/ kdw[m < Z.]
2/ ʾ(f)[r]ydg[13]
3/ ws bgpw(h)[rʾn 13]
4/ ʾbyʾstʾr (y)yš(w)[14]

44 xrd ist bisher nur Mp. als „Rat, Mahnung“ bezeugt. Es wird hier in diesem Sinne in parthischem Kontext verwendet.
45 Vgl. DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, S. 340 (Hinweis SUNDERMANN). wdy[könnte aber auch zu einer Form von wdyft- „Trug“ oder wdys-, wdysgʾr „zweifelnd, schwankend“ ergänzt werden. Vgl. SUNDERMANN 1981, S. 173, bzw. 1992, S. 115, Anm. 70,1.
46 Vgl. SUNDERMANN 2004, S. 528 Fn. 51. Diese Stelle wird bei WALDSCHMIDT/LENTZ 1926, S. 88 noch im Sinne von „Schönheit“ zitiert. Dabei wird sie als M 377 V 5 bezeichnet.
47 Zit. bei HENNING 1947, S. 55 als M 377 R 5.
48 BOYCE 1960, S. 50.
49 Vgl. RECK 2004, S. 94 (30–31).

5/ [1–2](m) oo 'sk'd(r)[14]
6/ [5](').[15]

1/ wenn (ich)[ ]
2/ Gepriesen[ ]
3/ viele Gottessö[hne]
4/ sündloser Jesus[ ]
5/ [ ]. Meh[r[50]]
6/ [ ]

2.S.
1/ [< Z.](..)
2/ [13]y(...)[1](.)m'[51] oo
3/ [14 b']zwrwm gy'nyn
4/ [15]m (')synd krwm
5/ [14]oo šwdwm (.)[1]
6/ [14 b]g'n(yg) (..)[52][2–3]

1/ [ ]
2/ [ ]...
3/ [ ]meine geistigen (Flügel)
4/ [ ] sie kommen. Mache mich/mein
5/ [ ]. Es ging mein [ ]
6/ [g]öttlich [ ]

M 503g[53]

Das Fragment (Abb. 8) ist ein stark zerstörtes Bruchstück von der oberen Ecke eines Kodexblattes. Es ist 6,0×7,9 cm groß und bewahrt zwei Zeilenanfänge bzw. -enden. Die wenigen erhaltenen Wörter sind in verschiedenen Hymnen belegt und können nicht ausschließlich auf Montagshymnen bezogen werden.

1.S.
1/ [½Z.](y)h̲ oo 'skrfy[š]n
2/ [½Z.]wng p[1](.)n r(wm)b ('wd)
3/ [½Z.]('š)[5](ft̲) [4]

1/ [ ]. Straucheln
2/ [ ]artig ... Mund und
3/ [ ]...[ ](heit) [ ]

50 Vgl. Sundermann 2004, S. 152 unter Berufung auf Henning 1937a, S. 80.
51 Vielleicht könnte man 'šm' ergänzen.
52 Es sind zwei diakritische Punkte zu erkennen. Möglicherweise von (fr)[.
53 Boyce 1960, S. 36.

Abb. 8: M 503g

2.S.

1/	(b')mstwn[54] w'd'(g)[	½Z.	]
2/	'[3] (z)['w](r) b('md')[d	½Z.	]
3/	(.)[10](d')[	½Z.	]

1/	(Säule der Herrlichkeit), Führer [	]
2/	... (Kraft, Morgendämmerung)[	]
3/	[	]

54 Verkürzte Schreibung für b'mystwn „Säule des Glanzes" entspr. *Srōš*. Der Punkt am Zeilenanfang steht etwas vom Beginn des vermutlichen b entfernt. Es ist unklar, ob er zu dem versehrten Buchstaben gehört. Wenn ja, dann wäre die Lesung b nicht zutreffend.

Wortliste mit Belegstellen[55]

-’	(m’ny’) *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/3/
	”mδ’ *MS*	So 14152/II/r/5/
	[’](s)t(’y)-’m(’) *MS*	So 14152/II/v/2/
	(p)[ws’] *MS*	So 14152/II/v/3/
	(x)wδ’wn’ *MS*	So 14152/II/v/5/, /v/7/
	[z](y)ntkr[’ *MS*	So 14152/II/v/8/
	[c](y)-δ’ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/7/
-e	(..)[1](y/w)nc *Pa*	M 377/2.S./6/ (hngwnc?)
”wr-	”wrδ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/12/
”y-	”yδ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/5/
”md	”mδ[*MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/11/
	”mδ’ *MS*	So 14152/II/r/5/
’br	](’)b(r)[*Pa*	M 377/1.S./7/
’brng	(’brng) *Pa*	M 377/2.S./1/
’bxš’ẖ	[’bxš’ẖ] *Pa*	M 377/1.S./7/
’by’st’r	’by’st’r *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./4/
’frydg	”βry-δ’k *PS*	So 13505/r/3/
	’frydg *Pa*	M 61/r/12/; (M 746b/1.S./2/)
	’prydg *Pa*	M 377/1.S./5/
’fwr-	”βwr’m *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/v/2/), (/6/)
’m’ẖ	(’)[m]’ẖ *Pa*	M 377/1.S./7/
’md	’mδ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/10/
’nd’s-	’nd’s *Pa*	M 377/2.S./3/
’rd’wyft	(’rd’)[wyft *Pa*	M 377/1.S./1/
’rj’n	[’](r)j’n *Pa*	M 61/r/14/
’rz’n	’rz’n *MS*	So 14152/II/v/6/
’s-	(’)synd *Pa*	M 746b/2.S./4/
’sk’dr	’sk’d(r)[*Pa*	M 746b/1.S./5/
’st’r	”st’r *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/15/
	[’st’r] *Pa*	M 377/1.S./8/
’šm’ẖ	(’)š(m)[’ *MS*	So 14155 + /II/r/5/
’w	’w *MS*	[So 14152/II/v/2/]; (So 14155 + /II/r/3/), (/v/2/), /6/, /12/; (So 14154 + /II/r/12/), (/v/5/), /v/9/;
	’w *PS*	So 14152/II/v/9/

55 Fett gedruckt ist das Lemma angegeben, dem die verschiedenen Wortformen und Schreibvarianten zugeordnet werden können, es folgt die belegte Form mit der Angabe von Sprache und Schrift, s. Abkürzungen. Danach folgt die Belegstelle. Wenn das Wort nur defektiv erhalten ist, bzw. teilweise ergänzt wurde, steht die Belegstellenangabe in runden Klammern. Ist es vollständig ergänzt, steht die Belegstelle in eckigen Klammern. Bei einmaligem Beleg ist das Wort mit allen Einschränkungen der Lesung angegeben. Abkürzungen: *MP* = Mittelpersisch in manichäischer Schrift; *Pa* = Parthisch in manichäischer Schrift; *MS* = Mittelpersisch in soghdischer Schrift; *PS* = Parthisch in soghdischer Schrift; *SS* = Soghdisch in soghdischer Schrift.

ʾwd	ʾwd *Pa*	M 61/1.S./9/; M 377/1.S./2/,/2.S./2/, /4/; (M 503g/1.S./2/
	ʾwδ *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/v/3/), /4/, (/5/);
	[ʾw]m *Pa*	M 61/1.S./13/
ʾxšd'gyft	ʾxš(d)[ʾg](yf)t *Pa*	M 377/1.S./6/
ʾy'b	ʾy'β *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/8/
ʿskrfyšn	ʿskrfy(š)n *Pa*	M 503g/1.S./1/
ʿstʾwyšn	ʿstʾwyšn *Pa*	M 61/1.S./14/
	ʿst̲ʾwyšn *Pa*	M 61/1.S./10/
ʿstʾy-	ʾstʾy-ʾm *MS*	(So 14154 + /II/v/8/); (So 14155 + /II/v/10/)
	[ʾ](s)t(ʾy)-ʾm(ʾ)[*MS*	So 14152/II/v/2/
ʿstʾyšn	[ʾs]tʾyšn *MS*	So 14152/II/v/6/
ʿy	ʾy *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/r/1/); So 14154 + /II/v/7/; (So14154 + /II/v/9/)
ʿyn	ʿyn *MP*	M 61/1.S./9/
ʿyw, I	I *MP*	M 61/1.S./9/
	ʾyw *PS*	So 13505/v/4/
ʿzb'n	ʿzb'n *Pa*	M 377/2.S./6/
ʿzw'rg	ʾz](w)'r' *MS*	So 14152/II/v/8/
b'md'd	b('md')[d *Pa*	M 503g/2.S./2/
b'mstwn	(b')mstwn *Pa*	M 503g/2.S./1/
b'n	p'n *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/6/
b'zwr	b']zwrwm *Pa*	M 746b/2.S./3/
bg'nyg	b]g'n(yg) *Pa*	M 746b/2.S./6/
bgpwhr	bgpw(h)[r'n *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./3/
bšn'n	bšn'n *Pa*	M 377/1.S./3/
bw-	bw'l̲ *Pa*	M 377/2.S./4/
	(p)w'nδ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/12/
bwdysdf	bwdys(d)[f] *Pa*	M 61/1.S./15/
bwy	]pwy *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/3/
cw'gwn	cw(')gwn *Pa*	M 377/2.S./5/
cy	cy *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/13/
	[c](y)-δ' *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/7/
dh-	dh'l̲ *Pa*	M 61/1.S./13/
drwd	](t)rwδ *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/12/
dryst'wr	try-st('wr) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/13/
dyjw'ryft	[dy]z̲-w'ry(ft) *PS*	So 14155 + /II/v/1/
dyn	dyn *Pa*	M 377/1.S./4/
frmnywg	frm(n)[ywg] *Pa*	M 61/1.S./12/
	βrmnyw *PS*	So 13505/r/4/
frwx	βrwx *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/r/3/), (/4/), (/6/)
frystg	[βr](y)-st'k *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/8/
	(pr)[ystk'n *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/5/
	βry-stk'(n) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/5/
fryštg	fry(š)[tg] *Pa*	M 61/1.S./14/
g'l̲	k' *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/r/1/), (/v/4/); So 14154 + /II/v/7/, (v/10/), /v/11/, /v/13/, (v/14)

gy'nyn	gy'nyn *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./3/
h-	''y *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/v/8/); (So 14152/II/v/6/)
	-y *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/7/, /9/
hmg	hmg *Pa*	(M 377/1.S./1/), /4/
hmyw	hm[yw] *Pa*	M 377/2.S./3/
hrw	hrwyn *Pa*	M 377/1.S./2/
hwcyhr	xwz-yr *MS*	(So 14155 + /II/v/4/); So 14154 + /II/v/13/
hwprm'n	hwprm'n *Pa*	M 377/1.S./5/
hwydg	xwy(δ)[k *PS*	So 13505/v/3/
hyl-	[hylw](m) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/15/
hyrz-	[hy](r)[z](')[h̲] *Pa*	M 377/1.S./8/
j'yd'n	c'y[δ]'n *MS*	So 14152/II/r/4–5/
jm'n	ẓ-m('n) *PS*	So 14152/II/v/11/
jyryft	jyryf(t) *Pa*	M 377/1.S./3/
jywndg	[ẓ]ywnt' *PS*	So 14152/II/v/9/
kd	kd *Pa*	M 377/2.S./7/
	kdw[m] *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./1/
ql'n	ql'n *Pa*	M 377/1.S./4/
knyg	(k)[nyg] *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/3/
kr-	krwm *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./4/
kw	[kw]m'n *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/6/
kyšty	ky-šty *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/9/
m'	m' *Pa*	(M 377/2.S./1/), (/3/), /4/
m'h̲	(m'x) *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/6/
-m'n	ngwšm'n *Pa*	M 61/1.S./11/
	[kw]m'n *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/6/
	nγwšm'n *PS*	So 13505/r/2/
m'ny	m'ny *MS*	(So 14152/II/r/7/), (/11/), (/v/4/), /4/, (/7/); So 14154 + /II/r/5/, (/10/), /v/4/, /15/
	(m'ny') *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/3/
	(m)ry m'n(y) *Pa*	M 61/1.S./16/
mn	mn *MS*	So 14152/II/r/8/
mry, m'r(-)	m'r *MS*	[So 14152/II/r/7/], [/11/]; [So 14154 + /II/r/5/]; /v/4/, (v/15/)
	](m)ry m'n(y)[*Pa*	M 61/1.S./16/
ngwš-	ngw(š)[*Pa*	M 377/1.S./3/
	ngwšm'n *Pa*	M 61/1.S./11/
	nγwšm'n *PS*	So 13505/r/2/
ngwš'g	ngwš['g'n *Pa*	M 377/1.S./2/
nm'c	nm'c *Pa*	M 61/1.S./9/
	nm(')[z] *MS*	So 14155 + /II/r/6/
nmydk	nmydk *Pa*	M 377/2.S./5/
nšst	nšst *MS*	(So 14154 + /II/v/9/), (/14/), (/16/), (/v/14); (So 14155 + /II/v/7/)
nwg	nw *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/9/
nyš'n	n(š)'(n)[*MS*	So 14152/II/r/12/
nyw	nyw *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/9/, /11/; (So 14155 + /II/r/1/)

p'sb'n	(pr)'sp'n *MS*	So 14152/II/r/6/
p'šyk	p'š[yk *SS*	So 13505/r/1/
p'y-	p'y'nt *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/6/
pd, pδ	pd *Pa*	M 377/2.S./5/, /6/
	(pδ) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/6/, /14/; So 14155 + /II/r/1/
	sr pṯ sr *MP*	M 61/1.S./10/
pdwhn	pdwhn *Pa*	M 61/1.S./11/
	[pδwx](n) *PS*	So 13505/r/2/
pnd	(p)nd *Pa*	M 377/2.S./4/
prgn-	prknty-(y) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/7/
pws	(p)[ws'] *MS*	So 14152/II/v/3/
pyrwzyḫ	(py)rwz-y-y *MS*	So 14152/II/r/9/
rwc	rwc *Pa*	(M 61/1.S./11/); (M 377/1.S./5/)
	[r](w)ẓ *PS*	So 13505/r/3/
rwmb	r(wm)b *Pa*	M 503g/1.S./2/
rwšn	rwšn *PS*	(So 14152/II/v/10/)
	rwšn *MS*	[So 14152/II/v/2/], /5/
sr	sr pṯ sr *MP*	M 61/1.S./10/
	sr *MS*	So 14152/II/r/12/
sr'y-	(s)r'y(')[m] *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/7/
srwšyft	srwšyfṯ *Pa*	M 377/2.S./2/
š'dgr	š'dgr *Pa*	M 61/1.S./12/
	(š')δkr *PS*	So 13505/r/4/
š'dyft	š'd(y)[ft] *Pa*	M 61/1.S./13/
š'dyḫ	š'δy *MS*	(So 14152/II/r/9/); So 14154 + /II/r/14/
šhry'r	šxry'r *MS*	(So 14152/II/v/3/), /5/
	(š)xry'r'n *MS*	So 14152/II/v/3/
šw-	šwdwm *Pa*	M 746b/2.S./5/
t'wg	(t')wk'n *PS*	So 13505/v/2/
tw, ṯw	tw *Pa*	M 61/1.S./11/; M 377/1.S./4/
	(ṯ)w *Pa*	M 377/2.S./3/
	tw *MS*	(So 14152/II/v/2/), (/v/7/); So 14155 + /II/R/3/, /v/2/
	t(w) *PS*	So 13505/r/3/
	[c](y)-δ' *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/7/
-wm	[hylw](m) *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/15/
	šwdwm *Pa*	M 746b/2.S./5/
w'd'g	w'd'(g) *Pa*	M 503g/2.S./1/
wcydg	[wjydg]'n *Pa*	M 377/1.S./2/
wdyšn's	wdy[šn's] *Pa*	M 377/2.S./4/
whmn	wxmn *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/4/
whyšt	wxy-št *MS*	(So 14152/II/r/2/), (/3/), /7/
wnyr-	wny-r *MS*	So 14152/II/r/4/
ws	ws *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./3/
wx'z-	xw'ẓ-'m *PS*	So 14152/II/v/12/
wxd	wxd *Pa*	M 377/1.S./4/
wxšyft	[wxšyft] *Pa*	M 377/2.S./5/
	wxšyfṯ *Pa*	M 377/2.S./5/

wynd-	wnt'm *MS*	(So 14154 + /II/v/5/); So 14155 + /II/v/11/
wyr'z-	(w)r'z-y(t) *MS*	So 14155 + /II/r/2/
wyspwyẖ	[w](y)[s](pwyẖ) *Pa*	M 61/1.S./15/
wyš'hg	[wyš'](h)g *Pa*	M 377/1.S./4/
wzrg	wz-'r(k) *MS*	So 14152/II/r/6/
xrd	xrd *Pa*	M 377/2.S./4/
xrws-	xrws'm *Pa*	(M 377/1.S./3/), (/6/)
xw'štyẖ	[xw'](š)tyh *MS*	So 14152/II/r/8/
xwd'wn	xw[δ'wn] *MS*	So 14152/II/v/4/
	(x)wδ'wn' *MS*	So 14152/II/v/5/, /7/
	xwδ'(w)[n] *PS*	So 14152/II/v/13/
xwd'y	xwδ'y *MS*	So 14152/II/r/7/, (/11/); So 14154 + /II/r/5/; (So 14155 + /II/v/2/)
xwrxšyd	(xrx)[šyδ] *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/12/
xwš	xwš *MS*	So 14154 + /II/r/3/
yyšw	(y)yš(w) *Pa*	M 746b/1.S./4/
	yyšw *MS*	So 14155 + /II/v/3/
yzd	yz-t'n *PS*	So 13505/v/1/
	yz-t'n *MS*	So 14154 + /II/v/7/
	](y)z-δ'[n *MS*	So 14155 + /II/r/9/
z'wr	(z)['w](r) *Pa*	M 503g/2.S./2/
zyndkr	[z](y)ntkr[' *MS*	So 14152/II/v/8/

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More Khotanese Colours

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R. E. Emmerick's activity in tracing Khotanese ghostwords is too well known to be recalled here, as is his masterly knowledge of the Khotanese language itself. As a small token of gratitude from the Iranian scholars at "L'Orientale" University of Naples, where Khotanese studies are represented at so high a level thanks to him, I am glad to offer the following remarks on a Khotanese word which was the object of Emmerick's attention some time ago.[1]

R. E. Emmerick dedicates a page and a half of his *Studies*[2] to the chromatic adjective *gvā(ṃ)-ysirūṃ*, treated in an entry of the *Dictionary of Khotan Saka* whose lexicological section reads as follows:

> *gvā-* 'yellow, green', as first component, Sid. 107v1 *gvā-ysirūṃ āchai* 'yellow disease' [...] Sid. 107v2 *cha gvā-ysirūna hame u śī āṣana, dilakä ysīca* 'skin become green and white-blue, a little yellow' [...] Sid. 107v4 *gvā-ysiruṃ āchai halīmakä* 'the green disease halīmaka' [...][3]

For the semantics, besides contexts and correspondences (Tibetan *ljaṅ-gu*, *ljaṅ-gu kha*, Sanskrit *harita-*, *pāṇḍu-*) Bailey goes by on the attribution of the word to an etymological family: "*gau-* : *gu-* 'yellow, green' ".[4] This appears as an *ad hoc*[5] construction to explain: (1) Khot. *gvā-ysirūṃ*; (2) the Av. name of the *gaokərəna*-tree, connected with the *hōm i spēd*;[6] (3) the name of sulphur, MMP <gwgyrd>, Phl. <gwklt'>, NP *gugerd* (also Sogd. <γwky> and some NWIr.[7]);

1 This article contains preliminary results from research by me carried out at the "L'Orientale" University, Naples, and funded by the Ministry of Education (COFIN 1997, 2000, 2002), now embodied in the *Balochi Etymological Dictionary Archive*. Thanks are due to M. Maggi and G. Orofino for advice and assistance in different phases of the work.

2 Emmerick 1987.

3 Bailey 1979, p. 96.

4 *Ibid.*

5 Emmerick 1992, p. 11: "Caution must be exercised [...] when using the *Dict.* in connection with hitherto untranslated texts as the excerpts quoted in the *Dict.* pay little regard to the context and often present a meaning based entirely on etymological speculation".

6 On this cf. Eilers 1974, p. 322, who envisages a reference to sulphur. Bailey 1974, p. 371 (also Bailey 1979, p. 54, s.v. *karāśśa-*) interprets *gao-* as a colour-word and *-kərəna* as the name of the 'branch' (IE **kel-*).

7 Reconstructed as **gauḳṛta-* by Henning 1940 (cf. Gershevitch 1954, p. 9, § 76, p. 21 § 148; Gharib 1995, p. 174, no. 4370, etc.; cf. also Eilers 1974, p. 322); cf. Laufer 1919,

(4) NP *yuk* 'frog' ("if called the 'greenish animal' "[8]); and, through an asserted "adjective suffix–*ra*-" formation,[9] (5) the name of the wild ass (cf. NP *gur*, Psht. *γyara*[10] etc.) and (6) the IIr. cognates of OIA *gaura*- 'reddish, yellowish, whitish', Bal. *gorag* 'grey, white'.[11]

Even if BAILEY's reconstruction could be accepted from the semantic point of view, one would be confronted with such unaccountable thematic formations as NP *yuk*[12] and the alleged -*ra*-formation from a hypothetical 'chromatic root'. Not being in a position to discuss the matter in greater detail here, I would accept MAYRHOFER's latest standing,[13] and maintain the link of the name of the wild ass (NP *gur* etc.) with OIA *gaura*- 'reddish, yellowish, whitish'; this colour-word is widely represented in late forms of IA[14] with prevailing semantics 'white, of fair complexion', matching well with modern Ir. as documented through Zaza *gaurik* 'weiß',[15] Kurmanji Kurd. *gewr* 'light grey, whitish',[16] Bal. *gorag* 'white, of complexion'.[17] One should of course keep away from these **gaura*-derivatives Khot. *gvā*-[18] and (2) – (4) above, on which nothing certain can be stated at the moment.

p. 575, no. 15, and lastly CABOLOV 2001, p. 554. Modern Ir. materials corroborate a route through Turkish for NWIr., but the whole etym. history remains unclear ("von unsicherer Herkunft" acc. to BARTHOLOMAE 1925, p. 58, no. 18, where "volksetymologische Umgestaltung" is suggested). Note that Bal. has both "*gokhurd*" and "*gokirt*" (MAYER 1910, p. 24): the changing vocalisms of the second syllable of this word in modern Iranian languages make it impossible to reason in terms of "exceptions to Hübschmann's rule" as KORN 2003, p. 66, does.

8 BAILEY 1979, p. 96 (also BAILEY 1974, p. 371); there is no recent treatment of the word (cf. HENNING 1937–1939, p. 95).

9 BAILEY 1979, p. 96; cf. also BAILEY 1974, p. 371.

10 On this cf. MORGENSTIERNE 2003, p. 34, where a palatalization < **γwari* < * *gaurī*- is hypothesised.

11 BAILEY 1979, p. 96; cf. also BAILEY 1974, p. 371; on 'grey' see below. MAYRHOFER 1992, p. 503, quotes in his entry "*gaurá*- Adj. weißlich, gelblich, rötlich (RV +)" Khot. *gvā*- 'yellow, green' (from BAILEY 1979, p. 96) to support the IIr. antiquity of Vedic *gaurá*- 'weißlich, gelblich, rötlich', Bal. *gorag* 'grau, weiß' (written *gōraγ* by MAYRHOFER) and MP *gōr*, NP *gur* etc. 'Wildesel', and adds in the final comment in small type: "Zu *gáv*-? Nicht sicher, vgl. Ablautstufe (AiGr III 219, mit Lit.) und Semantik (*g*° 'Bos gaurus' primär? AiGr II, 2, 852); anders Bai[ley], a. a. O., der von einer „Farbwurzel" **gau*- ausgeht."

12 Cf. also SZEMERÉNYI 1980, p. 44.

13 MAYRHOFER 1992, p. 503; differently MAYRHOFER 1956, p. 350.

14 Cf. TURNER 1966, p. 233, no. 4345; 1985, p. 30, no. 4345.

15 HADANK 1932, p. 286.

16 RIZGAR 1993, p. 84.

17 Bal. *gorag* means 'white, fair' (as in nos 2–3 in the relevant entry of ELFENBEIN 1990, p. 53). I do not know of any occurrence of Bal. *gorag* 'grey', which I suspect to have reached MAYRHOFER 1992 through DAMES 1891, iv, p. 88 ("Goragh, grey"); MAYER 1910, p. 85, s.v. 'grey' states correctly that *gorag* only means 'whiteman'. 'grey' reappears in ELFENBEIN 1990, p. 53.

18 CABOLOV 2001, p. 374, s.v. [1]*gawr* accepts BAILEY's derivation of Bal. *gōrag*, NP *gur* and Khot. *gvā*- from **gau*- : *gu*-.

Commenting on the entry in question, Ronald Emmerick annotated:

> Since *gvā(ṃ)* is apparently superfluous Bailey has suggested that it means the same as *ysirūṃ* and explains it as belonging 'to base *gau-* : *gu-* "yellow, green"'. However, there is no other evidence that *gvā(ṃ)* means 'yellow, green'.[19]

Emmerick's explanation runs as follows:

> *gvā(ṃ)* may be a reduced form of *gvāna-* like *jū(ṃ)* 'time' from *jūna-* [...] *gvāna-* itself may represent OKh. *ggūna-* 'colour', cf. *abvātta-* for *abhūtta-* [...] *gvā(ṃ)-ysirūṃ* would then correspond precisely to Tibetan *ljaṅ-gu kha* 'green-coloured' since *kha* stands for *kha-dog* 'colour'.[20]

At this point, Emmerick enumerates three possible objections. Out of the three, the phonetic argument seems to be that which mostly worries him, since the relevant paragraph contains the longest treatment; but I find his explanation fully convincing: an occlusive in a C*ā*-syllable can develop a labial glide C*vā*- also in OKhot.[21] So I shall not come back to this point.

The second 'difficulty' is introduced in the following way:

> *ysirūna* itself is thought to contain *gūna-* 'colour'.

I am not really certain that I understand Emmerick's rejoinder to his own objection:

> that *ysarūna-* was not felt by the speakers of Khotanese to contain *gūna-* 'colour' is indicated by the fact that Late Khotanese has a compound *ysara-gūna-* 'yellow-coloured'.

At this point I would like to introduce a theoretical distinction, viz. that one should not confuse the descriptive level with the etymological one. From the synchronic point of view *ysarūna-* is a Khot. colour-word corresponding to a different taxon of the colour continuum from that indicated by *ysara-gūna-*; as far as the morphology is concerned, one should analyse *ysarūna* and *ysara-gūna-* as results of two separate composition processes (and/or external linguistic influences) dating back to different phases.

If we want to trace the historical development of Khot. *ysarūna-*, we have to refer to Av. *zairi.gaona-* 'gelb-, goldfarbig' (Bartholomae, said of *haoma-*, cf. *Yasna* 9.16; 10.12[22]); but, a few lines below, also 'grünlich, gelbgrün'[23] (of *haoma* as *urvara zairi.gaona-*[24]).

19 Emmerick 1987.
20 Emmerick 1987, p. 39.
21 Details in Emmerick 1981, p. 206; 1987, p. 39. Similar (LKhot.) phonetic environments are mentioned in Emmerick 1982, p. 16, Skjærvø 1982, p. 130.
22 Josephson 1997, pp. 57, 93, maintains Bartholomae's 'golden(-colored)'.
23 Cf. Bartholomae 1904, cols. 1680–1681.
24 Cf. e.g. *Yt.* 7.4; reference to green is suggested by Flattery/Schwartz 1989, p. 120 ("The picture of a chlorophyll-producing plant is further borne out by Avestan *zairi.gaona-*,

The following MIr. cognates are known:

1) Sogdian:
   a) *zrγwn* 'plant, vegetable'[25]
   b) *zrγwn'k* 'green'[26]
   c) *zrγwnč* 'green';[27]

2) Khwarazmian:
   – *zrγwnyk* (also °*zrγwnk* in compounds) 'Grün, Gras';[28]

3) Middle Persian:
   – Phl. *zargōn* 'green', even if MACKENZIE (1971, p. 98) places 'golden' before 'green, fresh' among his semantic equivalents (but *zargōn* translates *zairi.gaona-* in *Yašt* 7.4 etc.; Phl. *zargōnīh* means 'greenness' everywhere [MACKENZIE, ibid.]);[29]
   – MMP *hwzrgwn* (/huzargōn/)[30] is translated 'green, golden yellow' by DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 195: but while 'green' is justified by M97 V ii 10, (plur.) M11 V 5, 'golden yellow'[31] seems exclusively[32] due to M309a R 4 *'bysr hwzrgwn* ('goldfarbige Krone' MÜLLER 1904, p. 47, but different interpretations are possible);

4) Manichaean Parthian:
   – *hwzrgwn* (/huzarγōn/) 'green', DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 195, and BOYCE 1977, p. 49;
   – *zrgwng* (/zarγōnag/) 'golden, green' DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 384,[33] where three occurrences are quoted: H. I /22a/ M93 I R 1 (*pwsg*

to which correspond Aramaic *zargōn* 'vine', Middle Persian and Parthian *zargōn*, Sogdian *zaryōn* 'greenish, vegetable'"). A different explanation (with reference to the multichromatism of honey) is in LEHMANN 2000, pp. 301–302.

25 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11400.

26 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11401.

27 GHARIB 1995, p. 465, no. 11402.

28 Cf. BENZING 1983, p. 717, with a reference to EMMERICK (1970, p. 68) where Sogd. *zrγwn* 'grass' is listed among the many Khot. words "identical, even in spelling, with Sogdian counterparts"; EMMERICK comments: "Some borrowing must of course be expected".

29 Cf. in *Bundahišn*, ZAEHNER 1955, p. 476, s.v. *zarrγōn* (but ZAEHNER's /rr/ is phonemically impossible); also NYBERG 1931, pp. 253–254, s.v. *zar-γōnīh* where a direct derivation from Av. *zairi.gaona-* is envisaged; on *zargōnīh* cf. also ZAEHNER 1955, p. 311.

30 Presence or absence of *hw°* has not been commented upon, barring the implicit explanation in ANDREAS/HENNING '(schön)grün' (1934, p. 901); in my view there should be an underlying contrast as assumed by DEGENER 1987, p. 55 (§4.2.3), for the Khot. chromatic adjectives such as *hu-śśīya* 'sehr weiß'.

31 BOYCE 1977, p. 49, *sub* '**hwzrgwn**' offers only 'green'.

32 The context of RH (1078) M181 V 5, made available to DURKIN-MEISTERERNST by CHR. RECK before the appearance of RECK 2004, p. 171, confirms 'green'; RH (1082) M181 V 9 (ibid.) is fragmentary (I am indebted to WERNER SUNDERMANN for his personal communication on these passages).

33 In BOYCE 1977 the entry is missing.

zrgwng 'verdant garlands'), M171 1 V 10 (*'b[wrs] ... ky hmyw zrgwng* 'juniper ... ever green'), H. V /5b/ M6220 V 8. The last, whieh I suspect to be the only ground for 'golden' in Durkin-Meisterernst, refers to the wording *sršk zrgwng* translated by Boyce (under the influence of Henning) "No golden drop (of water) is ever (found)";[34] but this is a foreed interpretation deriving from a literary eonnexion with gold: a translation reckoning with both the desolated panorama deseribed in the foregoing lines and the Phl. gloss *zargōnēn kū tarr* (see below) would fit the context better;[35]

5) Khotanese:
   - *ysarūna-* 'green' (not 'yellow, red',[36] as stated bizarrely in the *Dictionary*, where the meaning 'green' is the only possible one[37]); some doubts eould concern KT III 41.29 *ysairūṃ gūräṇai mau* 'red (or yellow) grape wine'[38]: but it is easy to reeall the notations of χλωρὸν αἷμα by Sophoeles (*Tr.* 1055) and Euripides (*Hec.* 27) or the loeutions ἐνί ὄἰνοπι πόντω in *Iliad* (23.316 etc.) and *Odyssey* (5.132 etc.), just to show how one has to be prudent when interpreting the 'colours of wine' and the vitality attributed to liquids: they can be represented by the most diverse eolour-words, easily misinterpreted if one fails to reconstruct the underlying metaphorical mappings.

The relationship between the Av. text and its Phl. versions merits a separate diseourse. The additional notes to Bartholomae's entry *zairi.gaona-* eontain a bulk of information: (1) the Av. adjeetive must be put into connexion with NP *zaryūn/zaryun*; (2) its Phl. renderings are (Bartholomae's transeription) "*zart gōn, zarrēn gōn*"; (3) the gloss appended by the ancient commentators to *Vd.* 2.26 is *zargōnēn kū tarr* i.e. '*zargōnēn* means *tarr* [= 'moist, fresh']';[39] (4) the NP rendering is *sabz rang* 'of green colour'. Bartholomae had probably realised that the Zoroastrians associated the meaning of 'verdant' with one of the most typical adjeetives of the *haoma*, but paying homage to the IIr. tradition

34 Boyce 1954, p. 87, fn. 2: "Probably a reference to the best kind of Persian water, the *water called golden*, which no one was allowed to drink, on pain of death, except the Persian king", followed by an (H.).

35 Cf. Klimkeit 1989, p. 146: "ein frischer Tropfen".

36 This is perhaps an echo from Bailey 1974, pp. 370–371, where the following statement on *zar-* is printed: "The evidence is that in Iranian this range was from red through reddish, orange-red, to yellow and green."

37 Cf. Bailey 1979, p. 347; repeated in Degener 1989, p. 171 (and translated 'grün, goldig').

38 Bailey 1979, p. 87; also Bailey 1974, p. 371, 1979, pp. 340, 347. The persistence of the meaning 'wine' in Arabic *zarǧūn* and Aramaic *zrgwn* (Mashkour 1978, p. 327, s.v. زرجون) could be of some interest. On the words for 'wine' cf. also Eilers 1975, p. 590, fn. 19: "[arab.] *az-zarqā'* (Fem. von *azraq* 'blau'!) 'der sc. *rote* Wein' "; but here I do not agree with Eilers' idea that the analogy derives from the "schillern" of colours.

39 Zaehner 1955, p. 311, *ad* l. 238. NP *tar* (=*tar-o tâze*) still means 'green' (= 'not dried').

(according to which the *soma/haoma* is *hari*-coloured[40]) he maintained a reference to the 'yellow', to his eyes justified because of the 'etymological cogency' of IIr. **źhar-*. An indication of further trouble could be seen in the entry زرین-گون *zarîn-gûn* in KAPADIA's *Glossary*: there the author, not understanding why the verdant banks (*Vd.* 2.26; 2.34) and the luxuriant plants (*Vd.* 18.63) should be connoted with the colour of gold *(zarrēn gōn)*, comments "lit. of golden colour, i.e. fresh, refreshing, delicious".[41] As to "*zart gōn*" (which I have not found anywhere), it may be a real variant or represent a confusion by BARTHOLOMAE with similar compounds (such as Av. *zairi.dōiθrō*[42]).

At this point a chain of historical developments seems firmly established. We have a clear meaning 'green, verdant' proceeding from Av. *zairi.gaona-* to (archaic, *Borhān* etc.[43]) NP *zaryūn* 'sabz-o xorram rā guyand' and to Psht. *zaryūn* 'green, verdant' (MORGENSTIERNE 2003).

Here we are not confronted with different bahuvrīhis originated by some descendent of OIr. **zar-* 'yellow' + OIr. **gauna-*, but with a common inheritance, OIr. **zairigauna-* 'verdant, fresh, green'. From this point of view, the attribution of a productive morpheme **-gauna-* to dead Ir. languages[44] is as inexact as the attribution of its descendents to NIr. languages;[45] at the Av. stage (when both the autonomous usage of *gaona-* 'colour' and its presence in bahuvrīhis

40 BROUGH 1971, pp. 349–353.

41 KAPADIA 1953, p. 367.

42 Even about the 'yellowness' of this epithet some doubts could be raised, considering the gloss to its Phl. counterpart: *ku-š časm taranag* 'whose eyes are *taranag*' (= '(the colour of) fresh (shoots)' according to KREYENBROEK 1985, p. 47, and note 7 at p. 87).

43 DEHXODĀ 1960 (1339), pp. 373–374; not in LAZARD 1990; RUBINČIK 1970, I, p. 761, is the only bilingual dictionary marking *zaryun* as 'ust.[arevšee]'.

44 For Sogd. cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, p. 170, §§1113–1115 ("**-γōne**. Adjectives meaning 'in the manner of, similar to, like', cf. NPers. *-yūn, čigūne*, HORN 1895–1901, p. 192. Originally *-aka-* bahuvrīhis with OIr. *gaona-* 'colour' [...] from Av. *zairi.gaona(ka-)*"; for Khot. DEGENER 1989, pp. 169–171 ("*-ūna-* stammt aus AIr **gauna-* 'Farbe, Art', vgl. **gauna-* in Sogd. *-γwn* [...] Khot. *ggūna-* [...] bedeutet immer 'Farbe', das Suffix *-ūna-* hingegen entkonkretisiert '-(art)ig'") and GERCENBERG 1981, p. 306, where *ysargūna* 'zolotogo cveta' and *ysarūna* 'zolotistyj' are quoted ("Složnye slova v chotanosakskom ne vsegda poddajutsja odnoznačnoj ocenke s točki zrenija togo, vosprinimalis' li oni kak živye kompozity v period zapisi i perepisyvanija tekstov").

45 Cf. HORN 1895–1901, p. 192, §105: "*-yūn* "-farbig, -artig""; cf. on p. 172 the title: "Im Np. noch lebendige Suffixe". PEJSIKOV 1973, pp. 111–114, recalls that in NP (till XVI c. AD) *gun* is lexically autonomous (also LAZARD 1963, p. 201, §164) and considers NP *-gun* as a 'poluaffiks' or 'slovomorfema' ("o produktivnosti obščej modeli 'imja suščestvitel'noe pljus *-gun*' govorit' ne prichoditsja", PEJSIKOV 1973, p. 113). For Psht. cf. ASLANOV 1966, p. 621: "**-γúnaj** upotrebljaetsja kak vtoraja čast' slovosloženij so značeniem podobija, napr.: ژېرغونی željtovatyj"; p. 742: "**-gún** suffiks, obrazujuščij imena prilagatel'nye so značeniem podobija, kratnosti, napr.: دوه ګون dvojnoj"; but no recent description of the language confirms it (cf. GRJUNBERG/ÉDEL'MAN 1987, pp. 141–153). As far as Oss. is concerned, some descriptions present this formation as productive: cf. ISAEV 1987, p. 639, no. 16 (Iron *-žyn/-gin, -gun*); TAKAZOV 2003, p. 719, §167 (Digor *-gon*).

containing the same semantic feature[46] are attested) the adjective **zairigauna-* was probably no longer analysable.[47]

A series of factors would soon have exerted an influence on this lexical chain[48]: (1) phonetic proximity to **°gauna-*adjectives denoting 'golden' colours[49] (such as Sogd. *zyrnγwn, zyrnγwnč* 'gold-coloured',[50] Khot. *ysara-gūna-* (passim), *ysīra-gū-* (hapax KT II 60.21) 'gold-coloured',[51] NP *zargun* (also *zarqun*) 'doré';[52] possibly Psht. *žaṛaγunay* 'želtovatyj'[53]); (2) prominent position in the Zoroastrian vocabulary of this epithet of *haoma*, soon reinterpreted after the preciousness of gold; (3) disappearance of descendents of OIr. **-gauna-* from the productive morphemes of the modern Ir. languages.

The زریون lemma in the *Borhān-e Qāteᶜ* displays a lexicographical convergence, but also proves the extinct productivity of **°yun*: *"sabz-o xorram rā guyand va be ma'ni-e zardrang ham āmade ast če yun be ma'ni-e rang va lown bašad"*;[54] after the *Borhān* the meaning 'golden, yellow' appears to prevail in NP.[55]

LKhot. *ysara-gūna-* should therefore be interpreted either as an autonomous formation in Khot., or as a descendant of (or a borrowing from) the same family of NP *zargun/zarqun* (Sogd. *zyrnγwn*, Khot. *ysīra-gū-* display a different, palatalised trend). As for Emmerick's scruple quoted at the beginning of § 3, an appropriate reply could be represented by the words with which Gershevitch comments on our semantic field:

46 Cf. Szemerényi 1980, p. 34.

47 Cf. Gershevitch 1974, p. 59: "as soma is called *hari* and the Avestan haoma is called *zairi.gaona* (lit. '*zari*-coloured'), and *hari* and *zairi-* are etymologically the same word, the Vedic and the Avestan poets were repeating the colour definition, inherited from their common, Indo-Iranian ancestors, of the prehistoric *sauma itself. [...] the meaning of Av. *zairi.gaona* is incontrovertibly 'green' or 'yellowish green'."

48 But we do not know when: *Zarqūn* (and variants) among the toponyms of Iran (Eilers 1964, p. 230, fn. 147) points to an old presence of NP *zaryūn/ zaryūn* 'green' there; the same is for Arab. *zariqa* 'to be blue' (Eilers 1975, p. 590 and fn. 19); *zaryun* in Psht. *sra-u- zaryuna* 'iris' also points to some antiquity, because all Ir. 'green-red' patterns for the iris (Eilers 1967, p. 141, fn. 82) are remnants of old denominations.

49 Derived from Av. *zaranya-*; Sogd., NP etc. forms are so explained by Gershevitch 1954, p. 25, § 164: "the fact that Av. *zaranya-* did not become **zrin-*, suggests that it had lost its second *a*".

50 Gharib 1995, p. 472, nos. 11570, 11571, in Gharib's transcription *zirn-γōn, zirn-γōnč*, but probably [zirγo:n] or [zərγo:n] in many phases of Sogd.

51 Cf. Bailey 1979, p. 347, s.v., p. 352, s.v.: the contexts there seem to point to 'gold' better than to 'yellow-coloured' as Emmerick 1987, p. 39. Cf. also Degener 1989, p. 169.

52 Lazard 1990, p. 218.

53 So translated in Aslanov 1966, p. 621 (cf. fn. 44 above); 'close to the tears, weepy' in Morgenstierne 2003, p. 31, s.v. *y'una*; probably a different etymology.

54 Moin 1963, I, p. 639, s.v.

55 Hübschmann's comment on item no. 661 originates from Vullers: "Np. *zaryūn* bedeutet auch 2) viridis et amoenus = afgh. *zaryūn* 'green, verdant, fresh' " (Hübschmann 1895, p. 69; cf. Horn 1893, p. 147; Vullers 1864, p. 133, s.v.).

> It should be noted that any Middle or New Iranian colour-words of the *zar*-family other than direct descendants of OIran. *zari-gauna*, could not reliably affect the definition of Ved. *hari* by any divergence they might show from greenness or yellowness. This is because only Av. *zairi-*, on account of its being an *i*-stem and an epithet of haoma, is sure to be the exact counterpart of Ved. *hari* which is an *i*-stem and an epithet of soma. Of any other Iranian *zar-* plus vowel, one could not be sure that its exact Vedic counterpart would not have been *hir-* (as it is, e.g., in *hiranya* "gold", corresponding to Av. *zaranya-*). A *hir-* would be under no obligation to have the same meaning as *har-*.

Only the last of the obstacles encountered by EMMERICK remains to be overcome:

> the compound is inverted: we might expect rather **ysirūna-gvāna*.

Here EMMERICK's explanation is as follows:

> As for the inversion of the compound, it is to be noted that 'inverted bahuvrīhis' are found in Iranian: cf. I. Gershevitch, *TPS*, 1945, 147. Of the examples quoted there the type represented by Persian *rō-safēδ* 'happy' (lit. 'face-white') comes closest to 'colour-yellow'.

In my opinion, EMMERICK proposed an ingenious solution hinting at an analogy with a determinative compound whose first component is a part of the human body, the second a chromatic adjective. While DEGENER has shown some scepticism on 'inverted bahuvrīhi',[56] I do not see any valid reason to cancel from Khot. a well attested pattern, used to depict emotions attributed to particular gestures, positions, moods and colours:

- Sogd. *βr'n βstk* '(a patient) whose breath has stopped'[57]
- Khot. *pāys-vīra-* 'počtitel'nyj' ('s licom, obraščënnym vniz')[58]
- NP *ru-sefid* 'acquitté, reconnu innocent'[59]
- Psht. *məx-toran* 'beschämt' ('Gesicht-geschwärzt')[60]
- Kurd. *gon-gel* 'muy-ferferi'[61]
- Oss. *quynt'yz* 'vz"erošennyj'.[62]

What EMMERICK did not consider is that in these compounds the first element is a body part denomination: and since the semantics of the **gauna*-descendents vary from 'colour' to 'complexion' to 'hair'[63], it is easy to conclude that our *gvā-*

56 DEGENER 1987, pp. 36–38.
57 Cf. GERSHEVITCH 1945 [1946], p. 147; why not *βr'n-βstk*?
58 GERCENBERG 1981, p. 311; cf. BAILEY 1979, pp. 229–230.
59 LAZARD 1990, p. 210, s.v.
60 ZYĀR 1974, p. 53, no. 219.
61 HAZHAR 1991, p. 720, s.v.
62 ABAEV 1970, p. 503, s.v., if °*t'yz* is analysed differently from ABAEV 1973, p. 329, s.v. Oss. *quynaxærd* 'zaplesnevelyj' (ABAEV 1970, p. 503, s.v.) seems connected with Khot. *gūṇā* 'worm' (BAILEY 1979, p. 86, s.v.).
63 SZEMERÉNYI 1980, p. 41, where no compound with initial **gauna-* is mentioned.

ysirūṃ- is a compound depicting a characterisation of the 'complexion'. We are not confronted with a descendant of OIr. **gauna-* 'colour', but of **gauna-* 'complexion': this meaning is missing in Av.[64], but also Khot. has so far documented only 'colour' and 'hair'.[65] Moreover, while OP compounds of the pattern Ἀλογούνη, Ροδογούνη, Φραταγούνη mostly refer to permanent qualities, those on the pattern *ru-sefid* often refer to temporary moods: this seems particularly true in Psht.,[66] while in NP the meaning of the compound seems to depend to a high degree on the semantics of the determinant.[67]

In conclusion, *gvā-ysirūṃ-* means 'having a *ysirūṃ- gvā-*', 'of a *ysirūṃ-*complexion', i.e. 'of green complexion'.[68]

Emmerick was absolutely right: "none of the difficulties enumerated above is insuperable".

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64 Previously Benveniste 1966, p. 122.

65 The semantics of Khot. *ggūnaa-* 'mark, sign' (also 'symptom', Bailey 1979, p. 86, s.v.) could be conceived anyway as a development from 'complexion'.

66 For Psht. we have a background survey listing over 25 compounds "Body Part + Determinant", cf. Zyār 1974, pp. 52–55.

67 Čavčavadze 1981, pp. 173–185, considers over 150 compounds of the same structure.

68 "von grünlicher Farbe" Degener 1989, p. 170; Emmerick's reference to 'colour-yellow' on p. 39 is not clear to me.

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Bemerkungen zu den Belegformen des Titels iran. **hazahrapati-*

Rüdiger Schmitt, Laboe

Fremdwiedergaben und spätere Fortsetzer erweisen die Existenz eines Titels altiran. **hazahra-pati-* „Führer von Tausend, Chiliarch". Es ist ein ursprünglich militärischer Titel, der, wie aus Herodot 7, 81 eindeutig hervorgeht, Teil eines umfassenderen Systems ist: In der nach dem Dezimalsystem gegliederten Hierarchie folgten einander Befehlshaber über Einheiten von 10 000, 1 000, 100 und 10 Mann, die an der Herodotstelle μυριάρχης „Führer von 10 000", χιλιάρχης „Führer von 1 000", ἑκατοντάρχης „Führer von 100" und δεκάρχης „Führer von 10" heißen. Diese Titel fußen auf altpersischen Formen, die sich aus anderssprachigen Zeugnissen eindeutig rekonstruieren lassen: **baivar-pati-*, **hazahra-pati-*[1], **θata-pati-* und **daθa-pati-*. Benveniste (1963, S. 49–53 und 1966, S. 68f.) hat nachgewiesen, daß dieses System von Titeln mit Numerale als Vorderglied vor **pati-* „Herr" von Iran ausgeht, und zwar speziell vom achaimenidischen Persien.

Die folgenden Ausführungen konzentrieren sich auf die bezeugten Wortformen. Sie lassen Fragen nach der Funktion und den Aufgaben des **hazahrapati-*, nach seinem Platz in der Hierarchie, nach einer Rolle auch in der zivilen Verwaltung, wie sie im Sasanidenstaat offenbar bestand, und insbesondere weiterreichende historische Fragen etwa danach, wann und unter welchen Voraussetzungen aus dem militärischen Amt ein ziviles wurde und welche Veränderungen zwischen dem 5. Jahrhundert v. Chr. und dem Untergang des Sasanidenreiches eingetreten sind, gänzlich außer Betracht.[2]

Auch wenn das skizzierte System der Titel dieses Typs vom achaimenidischen Persien ausging, so ist die Form des Titels **hazahra-pati-* doch nicht echt-persisch, da sie mit *-z-* statt erwartetem *-d-* ein Dialektmerkmal aufweist, das dem Persischen fremd ist. Dieser Titel offenbar fremder Herkunft geht folglich aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach auf die Meder zurück,[3] denen dann auch die

1 Szemerényi 1975, S. 376 [= Szemerényi 1991, S. 1986]: „Although so far unattested, **hazahra-patiš* is no doubt correctly assumed". Die formale Identität mit altindoar. *sahasra-pati-* „Herr über 1 000 [Dörfer]" (Mahābhārata) ist rein zufällig.

2 Hierfür sei global verwiesen auf Studien wie Junge 1940; Chaumont 1973; Briant 1994 und jüngst Shayegan 2003.

3 Vgl. Brandenstein/Mayrhofer 1964, S. 125; Hinz 1975, S. 120.

ganze hierarchische Organisationsstruktur verdankt wird,[4] zu der sich im übrigen Parallelen in assyrischen und babylonischen Quellen finden.[5]

Ein Reflex der altpersischen Dialektform **hadahra-pati-* findet sich allein in parthischer Zeit auf einer aramäischen Statueninschrift aus Hatra: H 83, 1f. *dy-Hkyq hdrpṭ'* „des Obersten *(*hadārpat)* Hakīq (?)".[6] Diese Interpretation geht auf SZEMERÉNYI zurück, der mit vollem Recht die Auffassung als „Feuerpriester" und die Gleichsetzung mit iran. **āt̰ṛ-pati-* oder avest. *aēϑra-paiti-* wegen der lautlichen Probleme ablehnte.[7] Daß die Gruppe **-hr-* hier und in sämtlichen anderen Realisierungen von **hazārapati-* ohne *-h-* erscheint, ist offenbar völlig regelkonform, wenngleich die übrigen Beispiele für die Regel „*hr* > *r* mit Ersatzdehnung eines vorangehenden Kurzvokals"[8] erst sekundär aus iran. **ϑr* entstandenes **hr* enthalten.[9]

In authentisch-iranischen Quellen tritt dieser Titel **hazārapati-* zuerst in mitteliranischer Zeit auf. Für die altiranische Periode lassen sich aber immerhin zwei griechische Wiedergaben dieser Form ausmachen: Zum einen findet sich in dem Lexikon des Hesychios als Zitat aus einem unbekannten Text, der das Wort im Plural enthielt,[10] die Glosse (A-1441 Latte) ἀζαραπατεῖς· οἱ εἰσαγγελεῖς („Anmelder") παρὰ Πέρσαις, aus der, abgesehen von der Korrektur zu ἀζ°, ein Singular -πατεύς oder, unter Annahme einer bemerkenswerten Akzentverschiebung, -πάτης, kaum aber ein -ι-Stamm -πατις[11] zu abstrahieren ist. Der Einwand von SZEMERÉNYI (a. a. O.), daß zu -πάτης ein Plural -πάται zu erwarten wäre, ist wegen des z. B. schon bei Herodot[12] ganz geläufigen Anschlusses solcher Stämme an die 3. Deklination hinfällig. Und auch wenn die Interpretation als εἰσαγγελεῖς auffällig ist, so kann sie doch die gewaltsame These von SZEMERÉNYI nicht ausreichend absichern, daß ἀζαραπατεῖς einen ganz anderen Titel, ein sonst jeglicher Stütze entbehrendes **ājara-pati-* (zu iran. **ā-gar* „begrüßen, willkommen heißen"), wiedergebe, mit dem er von den Griechen, und zwar wegen des vorausgesetzten *h*-Schwundes wohl kleinasiatischen Griechen verwechselt worden sei.[13]

4 CHAUMONT 1973, S. 140: „certainement un héritage des Mèdes".
5 Auf sie hat SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 377f. [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1987f.] hingewiesen.
6 Vgl. BEYER 1998, S. 49f.; von BEYER stammt die Übersetzung „Oberst".
7 SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 387, Anm. 281 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1997, Anm. 281]. Vgl. auch GREENFIELD 1988, S. 136, Anm. 10; SHAPIRA 2003, S. 223f., Anm. 16. KHURSHUDIAN 1998, S. 79, hat *-d-* statt *-z-* aber eher als Ergebnis einer Dissimilation oder gar einer Kontamination mit aram. *hdr* „Hoheit" betrachten wollen.
8 Vgl. HÜBSCHMANN 1895, S. 267f.; HORN 1895–1901, S. 23.
9 Es ist aber auch hinzuweisen auf iran. **hr-* > altpers. *r-* (anlautend) in *rautah-* „Fluß".
10 So LEWIS 1977, S. 17, Anm. 84. [Zu den griechischen Formen vgl. jetzt auch BRUST 2005, S. 48–52.]
11 So DE LAGARDE 1877, S. 81, Nr. 1204, und viele Spätere, z. B. auch SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 386 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1996].
12 Vgl. etwa ROSÉN 1962, S. 69–74.
13 SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 386–389 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1996–1999]. Dazu s. KHURSHUDIAN 1998, S. 101 und 181.

Für die Griechen bestand nämlich eine der Aufgaben des Chiliarchen darin, Botschafter dem Großkönig zu melden und bei ihm einzuführen (vgl. Aelian, *Var. Hist.* 1, 21 ὁ χιλίαρχος ὁ καὶ τὰς ἀγγελίας εἰσκομίζων τῷ βασιλεῖ), auch wenn dies erst im 2./3. Jahrhundert so belegt ist, bei einem Autor, dessen Iran-Kenntnis auf älteren Schriften fußt.

Der zweite Reflex begegnet in dem Photios-Exzerpt aus Ktesias' *Persika* (F 15 § 49 = 469, 7 Jacoby) handschriftlich zu ἀζαβαρίτης entstellt, wofür sich nach der Hesychglosse eine Emendation zu ἀζαραπίτης (vielleicht gar ἀζαραπάτης) anbietet.[14] Die Skepsis von Szemerényi, der das Ktesias-Zeugnis im vorliegenden Zusammenhang lieber ignorieren möchte,[15] erscheint mir übertrieben, zumal da er die komplizierte Ktesias-Überlieferung nicht gebührend in Betracht zieht, der dann die Vertauschung von π und β anzulasten sein wird.[16] Die Metathese, die anzunehmen ist, stellt kein Hindernis dar; aber auch ι für α ist nicht „difficult", weil der Titel natürlich leicht an die besonders produktiven Bildungen auf -ίτης angeschlossen worden sein kann.

Statt dieser lautlichen Wiedergaben von **hazārapati-* findet sich im Griechischen üblicherweise aber eine Übersetzung des Titels: χιλί-αρχος bzw. χιλι-άρχης, belegt in klassischer Zeit nur bei Aischylos[17] (*Pers.* 304) und Xenophon[18] (*Kyr.* 2, 1, 23; 3, 3, 11; 8, 1, 14; 8, 6, 1. 9; *Oikon.* 4, 7; sowie in dem Abstraktum χιλιαρχία *Kyr.* 4, 1, 4) bzw. bei Herodot 7, 81 (vgl. oben). Daß dies ein auf iran. **hazāra-pati-* fußender calque ist, wird dadurch bestätigt, daß der Titel primär und ursprünglich auf das Perserheer bezogen ist und den Griechen auch seine persische Herkunft bewußt war (vgl. Diodor 18, 48, 5). Beide griechische Formen sind dann ins Lateinische übernommen worden, wo sich die frühesten Belege bei Cornelius Nepos (*Conon* 3, 2 *chiliarchus*) bzw. Q. Curtius Rufus (5, 2, 3 *chiliarcha*) finden.

Außer dem einen hatrenischen Beleg von aram. *hdrpṭ'* (vgl. oben) fehlen Zeugnisse für die gesamte Partherzeit (vgl. Shayegan 2003, S. 94a). Aber das Weiterleben dieses Titels und eines entsprechenden Amtes wird dadurch gesichert, daß der Titel unter den ersten Sasaniden im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. wieder auftritt und daß er offenbar in arsakidischer Zeit ins Armenische entlehnt wurde, wo er seit Beginn der Überlieferung (kurz nach 400 n. Chr.) ganz geläufig ist.

Für das Mittelpersische finden sich Belege in der Trilingue Šābuhrs I. an der Kaʿba-i Zardušt von Naqš-i Rustam (ŠKZ) und in der Bilingue Narsehs von Pāikūlī (NPi), die den Träger dieses Titels mit Namen Pābag bzw. Ardašīr jeweils innerhalb der Ämterhierarchie anführen: ŠKZ §§ 42 (auf die Zeit

14 So v. a. Pagliaro 1954, S. 140. Marquart 1896, S. 61/229, hatte ἀζαραβίτης (mit bloßer Metathese), Herzfeld 1924, S. 188ab, ἀζαραβίτης vorgezogen.

15 Szemerényi 1975, S. 386 [= Szemerényi 1991, S. 1996].

16 In dem Photios-Exzerpt begegnen auch sonst merkwürdige, isoliert stehende Formen, etwa Μεγα-βέρνης statt des geläufigen Ausgangs -φέρνης.

17 Schmitt 1978, S. 19f.

18 Schmitt 2002, S. 28, Anm. 4.

Ardašīrs I. bezogen), 45 mittelpers. (29, 31) *hz'lwpt* /hazāruft/, parth. (23, 25) *hzrwpt* /hazāruft/, griech. (56) ἀζαροπτ (unflektiert) bzw. (61) Gen. ἀζαρίπτου;[19] NPi §§16, 32 mittelpers. (6B15–16, 01) *h[z'lw]pt*, (15C12–13, 04) *hz'[lw]pt* /hazāruft/, parth. (14C3, 02) *hzrwpt* /hazāruft/.[20] Aus zwei spätsasanidischen Tonbullen des 6./7. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Saeedi (London), die GYSELEN publiziert hat, ergibt sich, daß dieser Titel viel länger weiterlebte, als bisher bekannt war: Nr. 3a, 1 und 3b, 1 *hc'lpty* /hazārbed/ sowie Nr. 2b, 1 *štlhc'lwpt* /šahr-hazāruft/ „Reichs-hazāruft".[21] Darüber hinaus findet sich ein vereinzelter Beleg in der Pahlavi-Literatur, in der Tischrede *Sūr saxvan*[22] §14b *hc'lpt* /hazārbed/,[23] die eine ähnliche Liste von Würdenträgern enthält.

Die inschriftlichen mittelpersischen Schreibungen mit *-w-* deuten offenbar eine Aussprache *hazāruft*, älter *hazāraft* an; ob dies auch aus griech. ἀζαροπτ hervorgeht, läßt sich nicht entscheiden, da diese Form wohl ebensogut eine bloße Transliteration von parth. *hzrwpt*[24] oder mittelpers. *hz'lwpt*[25] sein kann, aber kaum eine Wiedergabe der gesprochenen mittelpersischen Form.[26] Auch die flektierte Form griech. ἀζαρίπτ-ου weist deutlich auf *hazāraft* (noch ohne die Labialisierung vor *f*). Weitere Bestätigung finden die Formen *hazāraft* und *hazāruft*,[27] abgesehen von der Parallelbildung *dibīruft* „Schreiber", durch unverkennbare Reflexe von *hazāruxt* (mit bemerkenswertem und nach wie vor unklarem[28] *xt* für älteres *ft*) vor allem im Baktrischen (υαζαροχτο /hazāruxt/) und Armenischen (vgl. unten) sowie durch den Namen griech. Ἀζαρέφθης bei Menander Protektor (F 23, 11 Blockley = 435, 2 Bekker-Niebuhr).[29] Durch die baktrischen Zeugnisse ist im übrigen die Ansicht von NÖLDEKE und HÜBSCH-

19 HUYSE 1999, I, S. 54f. bzw. 57f.

20 HUMBACH/SKJÆRVØ 1983, S. 33, 41 und 101.

21 GYSELEN 2001, S. 42f. bzw. 38. Der Titel *štlhc'lwpt* ist sonst unbezeugt.

22 Dieser Text, den TAVADIA 1935 herausgegeben und übersetzt hat, enthält unter anderem Trinksprüche auf die Personen, die an der Festtafel teilnehmen. WEST 1896–1904, S. 114, hatte diesen Text, der in den Handschriften ohne Titel erscheint, seinerzeit unter der von TAVADIA nicht übernommenen Bezeichnung „Stāyishn-ī Drōn" aufgeführt.

23 Vgl. TAVADIA 1935, S. 33, 44f., 67, 88.

24 Entschieden so HENNING 1965, S. 81, Anm. 36 [= HENNING 1977, II, S. 637, Anm. 36]. In diesem Fall ist anzunehmen, daß der Redaktor des griechischen Textes die parthische Schreibung mit *-w-* nicht verstanden und sie deshalb transliteriert hat, obwohl ihm in χιλίαρχος doch eigentlich ein ganz geläufiges griechisches Äquivalent zur Hand gewesen wäre.

25 Entschieden so MANCINI 1988, S. 84.

26 Offen bleibt die Frage bei HUYSE 1999, II, S. 134b. Da HUYSE aber (II, S. 199a) eindeutig nachweisen konnte, daß die griechische Version auf der parthischen beruht, scheidet diese Möglichkeit, entgegen MANCINI 1988, S. 84, definitiv aus.

27 Vgl. SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 356 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1966].

28 HENNING 1965, S. 81 [= HENNING 1977, II, S. 637]: „Vielleicht handelt es sich um eine Vulgärform".

29 MANCINI 1988, S. 84, Anm. 32, bezweifelt die Aussagekraft dieses Namens, da er mit anderen, aber ganz unterschiedlichen Formen (Ἀζαρέθας, Ἐξαράθ, Ζαρέθας) bei verschiedenen byzantinischen Historikern in Verbindung gebracht wird.

MANN, daß armen. *xt* Wiedergabe von iran. („pers.") *ft* sei, eindeutig widerlegt worden.[30] Unfundiert sind meines Erachtens auch die Überlegungen von SZEMERÉNYI, *-uft* > *-uxt* sei die Entwicklung „in some Northern dialects", und von MANCINI, es handle sich hier um eine „östliche" Form, die für das Parthische (als Quelle des armenischen Lehnworts) und das Baktrische charakteristisch sei,[31] denn armen. *hazarawowxt* gehört ganz deutlich zu den in ihrem Gebrauch eingeschränkten mittelpersischen, nicht zu den parthischen Elementen des Armenischen (vgl. unten). Und überhaupt waren die Voraussetzungen dafür, daß ein solcher Titel aus einer westiranischen Sprache ins Armenische und ins Baktrische entlehnt werden konnte, nur in sasanidischer Zeit gegeben.

Auch wenn nach SHAYEGAN die inschriftlich-mittelpersische Form „should be read as *hazāruft* rather than *hazārbed*",[32] so läßt sich die letztgenannte Form *hazārbed* bzw. älteres *hazārpat* doch keinesfalls leugnen. Zu beiden Belegen von *hc'lpt* (im *Sūr saxvan*) und *hc'lpty* (Bulle Nr. 3a und 3b) ohne *-w-* kommt nämlich weiter das Zeugnis der Brāhmī-Inschrift Oshibat 18:42 vom oberen Industal[33] für den Titel *haysārapati* (eines gewissen Varjaspāla) hinzu, der nach VON HINÜBER 1986, S. 149, „westiranisch" ist und wie eine Reihe anderer Titel „aus der sasanidischen Verwaltungssprache übernommen sein dürfte".[34]

Für die Erklärung des Nebeneinanders von mittelpers. *hazārbed* und *hazāruft* hat der Vorschlag von SZEMERÉNYI, daß die unterschiedliche Entwicklung akzentbedingt sei, weithin Zustimmung gefunden[35]: Nach ihm ist *hazārbed* aus **hazā́ra-páti-* (mit Doppelakzent), *hazāruft* dagegen über **hazāraft* und **hazārápt*[36] aus **hazārá-pati-* (mit nur einem Akzent nach dem Dreisilbengesetz) hervorgegangen. Demgegenüber ist für MANCINI *-w-* etymologisch ungerechtfertigt und ein ausschließlich graphisches Phänomen, das im Griechischen durch die bloße Umschrift der Form nachgebildet wurde.[37] SHAYEGAN schließlich hält *-uft* für das Ursprüngliche und *-bed* für eine analogische Nachbildung nach anderen Titeln dieser Art.[38] SZEMERÉNYI hat den

30 NÖLDEKE 1879, S. 76, Anm. 2; HÜBSCHMANN 1897, S. 150, Nr. 227. Vgl. dagegen HENNING 1965, S. 81, Anm. 37 [= HENNING 1977, II, S. 637, Anm. 37]; SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 358 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1968]; KHURSHUDIAN 1998, S. 283, Anm. 11.

31 SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 358 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1968] (mit vielsagendem Fragezeichen); MANCINI 1988, S. 84, Anm. 32.

32 SHAYEGAN 2003, S. 93b.

33 BEMMANN/KÖNIG 1994, S. 58a; zuerst VON HINÜBER 1986, S. 149f.

34 Der Name Varjaspāla läßt wegen *-spāla* zwar auf baktrische Herkunft schließen, doch scheidet dies für den Titel aus formalen Gründen aus.

35 SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 357f. [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1967f.]. Vgl. etwa KHURSHUDIAN 1998, S. 80 (mit ungenauem Referat); HUYSE 1999, II, S. 134ab; GYSELEN 2001, S. 20, Anm. 42.

36 Für die Synkopierung der nachtonigen Paenultima darf auf *wīst* „20" aus iran. **víśati* verwiesen werden.

37 MANCINI 1988, S. 82–84.

38 SHAYEGAN 2003, S. 94a.

Unterschied aber weiter mit einem Dialektgegensatz verbunden, indem er *hazārbed* als parthisch,[39] *hazāruft* als mittelpersisch[40] betrachtet hat. Hiergegen hat nun SHAYEGAN eingewandt, daß jeder Beweis dafür fehle, daß armen. *hazarapet*, das erst im 5./6. Jahrhundert belegt sei, „goes back to Parthian times".[41]

Mit einer solchen Feststellung zur Belegchronologie ist es hier aber nicht getan: Das Wort ist im Armenischen, wie die Belege zeigen,[42] vollständig eingebürgert, denn es ist die Basis für eine armenische Ableitung *(hazarapet-owtʿiwn)* und es erscheint in der Bibelübersetzung ebenso wie bei den Historikern mit einem breiten Bedeutungsspektrum (als Wiedergabe von griech. χιλίαρχος „Chiliarch" sowie vereinzelt von ἐπίτροπος "Aufseher" und οἰκονόμος „Verwalter") auch in gänzlich un-iranischem (und un-armenischem) Kontext, so daß es eindeutig kein terminus technicus, sondern ebenso zu beurteilen ist wie das Gros der arsakidenzeitlichen Entlehnungen aus dem Parthischen in den armenischen Grundwortschatz.[43] Seiner Form nach gehört *hazar-a-pet* allerdings, vornehmlich wegen des Fugenvokals *-a-*, zu jenen armenischen Komposita auf *-pet*, für die es schwerfällt zu entscheiden, ob das Kompositum als ganzes entlehnt ist, ob es eine Lehnübersetzung oder gar eine völlige armenische Neubildung darstellt.[44] Letzteres ist in diesem Fall aber zweifellos auszuschließen, da das Armenische keine eigenständigen Titel dieser Art kennt.

In seinem Gebrauch unterscheidet sich armen. *hazarawowxt* von *hazarapet* ganz deutlich, da es gewöhnlich, wie die Belege nur bei dem sog. Faustos (4, 22 [bis]. 28 [ter]), bei Łazar Pʿarpecʿi (§§66, 78–81, 85–88) und dem späten Historiker Tʿovma Arcrowni zeigen, wie ein Personenname verwendet wird, obwohl es seiner Herkunft nach offenbar Titel oder Rangbezeichnung ist.[45] An Zeugnissen

39 Die parthische Schreibung mit *-w-* in ŠKZ, die in Widerspruch zu den genuin parthischen Sprachzeugnissen (z.B. aus Nisā) steht, gehört nach MANCINI 1988, S. 82 mit Anm. 27, zu jenen Fällen, die von der mittelpersischen Schreibung beeinflußt sind. Sie taugt deshalb nicht zum Gegenbeweis.

40 SZEMERÉNYI 1975, S. 358 [= SZEMERÉNYI 1991, S. 1968].

41 SHAYEGAN 2003, S. 94a.

42 Vgl. HÜBSCHMANN 1897, S. 174, Nr. 328; GARSOÏAN 1989, S. 531f. – Die frühesten Belege finden sich, außer in der Bibelübersetzung (vgl. DE LAGARDE 1866, S. 186), in den *Bowzandaran Patmowtʿiwnkʿ*, dem sog. Faustos von Byzanz (3, 12 [bis]; 4, 2), bei Koriwn, Agathangelos (§§664, 665 [ter]), Łazar Pʿarpecʿi, Ełišê und Movsês Xorenacʿi (183, 18; 348, 7). Das abgeleitete Abstraktum *hazarapetowtʿiwn* begegnet bei dem sog. Faustos (3, 12; 4, 2), Koriwn, Ełišê (195, 17f.) und Movsês Xorenacʿi (148, 4; 224, 14; 357, 16).

43 Hierauf deuten auch verschiedene Erweiterungen bzw. Spezifizierungen des Titels, die als armenische Besonderheiten ohne unmittelbare Relevanz für den parthisch-persischen Titel sind: *mec hazarapet* „Groß-Chiliarch", *hazarapet Areacʿ* „Chiliarch der Iranier", *hazarapet Hayocʿ* „Chiliarch der Armenier", *hazarapet dran arkʿowni* „Chiliarch der königlichen [Hohen] Pforte" usw.

44 Vgl. LEROY 1958–1960, S. 123.

45 HÜBSCHMANN 1897, S. 174, Nr. 328 („ein hoher Würdename", „Titel des Zarmihr"); GARSOÏAN 1989, S. 379 („merely a title"). Aus diesem Grund fehlt auch ein entsprechendes Lemma bei AČAṚYAN 1942–1962.

für solche Doppelfunktion als Name und Titel fehlt es gerade für den sasanidischen Iran nicht. Ich verweise nur auf den Namen Μιρράνης und die Rangbezeichnung μιρράνης (beide bei Prokop bezeugt), denen u. a. der Name arab. *Mihrān* entspricht, dem nach der Angabe von Dīnavarī ein Titel zugrunde liegt.

Die Herleitung von *hazarawowxt* aus mittelpers. *hazāruxt* < °*ruft* < °*raft* durch Nöldeke[46] wirft wegen der formalen Divergenz allerdings einige Probleme auf, für die die Annahme einer Kreuzung der beiden synkopierten Formen *hazāraft* und (mit Umlaut) *hazāruft* zu „**hazārafuft*" durch Szemerényi[47] keine wirklich überzeugende Lösung bietet. Mir erscheint es eher angeraten, ein armenisches Neokompositum[48] oder notfalls eine innerarmenische analogische Umbildung zu erwägen. In jedem Fall aber ist der Einwand von Mancini[49] zurückzuweisen, es sei „difficilmente credibile", daß ein mittelpersisches Wort als Entlehnung sowohl in die ältesten armenischen Texte wie in das inschriftlich bezeugte Baktrische gelangt sei.

Alle Zweifel an der Sprachwirklichkeit und an der Richtigkeit der Herleitung von armen. *hazarawowxt* aus dem Mittelpersischen haben sich ein für allemal erledigt, seit die Zugehörigkeit der Form baktr. υαζαροχτο zweier Siegelsteine etwa des 4. oder 5. Jahrhunderts[50] (Sig 19 und 36) erkannt worden ist. Es liegt hier zweifellos einer der vielen typisch sasanidisch-mittelpersischen Titel vor, die zu jener Zeit ins Baktrische gelangt sind,[51] und es liegt offenkundig mittelpers. *hazāruxt* zugrunde.[52]

Zum Schluß sei noch auf weitere Belege hingewiesen, aus denen förderliche Informationen aber kaum zu gewinnen sind. Georg. *azrap̣eṭ-* „Kommandeur" ist nur in zwei hagiographischen Texten bezeugt: ein einziges Mal im Izidbozid-Martyrologium, das zweifelsfrei auf ein armenisches Original zurückgeht

46 Nöldeke 1879, S. 76, Anm. 2. Vgl. Hübschmann, a. a. O.; Szemerényi 1975, S. 356 [= Szemerényi 1991, S. 1966]; Khurshudian 1998, S. 80. – Eine falsche Etymologie steht bei Justi 1895, S. 128a, der obendrein die Dinge auf den Kopf stellte, als er (S. 88b s.v. Ἐξαράθ) *Hazaraft* als Entstellung aus *Hazarawowxt* erklärte. Auch Chaumont 1973, S. 151, hielt die Verknüpfung der beiden Formen für nicht überzeugend.

47 Szemerényi 1975, S. 358 [= Szemerényi 1991, S. 1968].

48 Ich könnte mir vorstellen, daß mittelpers. *hazār-uxt* (worin nur *hazār* leicht erkennbar war) durch armen. **hazar-a-uxt* nachgebildet wurde, woraus dann aus Deutlichkeitsgründen mit Gleitlaut zur Hiattilgung **hazara-ɣuxt (hazarawowxt)* entstand.

49 Mancini 1988, S. 84, Anm. 32.

50 Vgl. Humbach 1966, S. 73 bzw. 74; Davary 1982, S. 110, 112 und 287f. Zu Sig 19 vgl. jetzt die Lesung von Sims-Williams 2005, S. 339.

51 Vgl. Sims-Williams 2002, S. 232.

52 Nichts mit diesem Titel zu tun hat dagegen die hephthalitische Münzlegende mit dem Namen oder Titel NumH 244 αζροβαδιγο bzw. NumH 246 αζοροβαδιγο (vgl. Davary 1982, S. 99–101 und 169f.), die von Bailey 1937, S. 893 [= Bailey 1981, S. 435] unter der früheren Lesung οζ(ο)ροβαδι mit *hazārbed* verbunden worden war (vgl. noch Szemerényi 1975, S. 358, Anm. 178 [= Szemerényi 1991, S. 1968, Anm. 178]). Hiergegen bestehen Einwände verschiedener Art, darunter der, daß iran. **-pati-* im Baktrischen sonst als -βιδο erscheint (vgl. Davary 1982, S. 170).

(wo an der entsprechenden Stelle auch *hazarapet* steht[53]), und mehrmals im Theodor-Martyrologium,[54] für das Gleiches allerdings nicht gesichert werden kann. Die georgische Form *azrap̌eṭ-* unterscheidet sich von der altarmenischen Form *hazarapet*, die ihr zugrunde liegt,[55] vornehmlich dadurch, daß sie in der ursprünglich zweiten Silbe Synkopierung des *-a-* erkennen läßt,[56] wie sie für das Mittelarmenische typisch ist.[57]

In den syrischen Märtyrerakten, die über die Christenverfolgungen der Sasanidenzeit berichten, ist *hzrpt* /hazārpat/ belegt, das MARGOLIOUTH als „lord of a thousand" übersetzt.[58] Wie auch die ins Armenische übernommene parthische Form zeigt syr. *hzrpt* eine weniger weit fortgeschrittene Lautentwicklung, sozusagen frühmittelpers. **hazārpat*. Da syr. *-p-* nicht modifiziert ist, spiegelt diese Form jedenfalls nicht *hazāraft* o. dgl. wider.[59] Diese sasanidenzeitliche Form liegt andererseits offenbar arab. *hazāraft* zugrunde, das als Ehrentitel oder Rangbezeichnug einmal bei dem arabisch schreibenden Dīnavarī (*Kitāb al-aḫbār aṭ-ṭiwāl* 57, 4 Guirgass)[60] begegnet.

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53 Vgl. GIPPERT 1993, I, S. 29 und II, S. 35.

54 Die Belege bietet GIPPERT 1993, II, S. 35f.

55 Vgl. auch KHURSHUDIAN 1998, S. 283, Anm. 10.

56 Vgl. GIPPERT 1993, I, S. 149.

57 Für das Kilikisch-Armenische hat KARST 1901, S. 42f., §34, 2b dieses Phänomen diskutiert.

58 MARGOLIOUTH 1927, S. 99b.

59 Der Verweis von DAVARY 1982, S. 288, auf „syr. *hazaravuxt*" beruht auf einem Irrtum.

60 Die Erwägung von MANCINI 1988, S. 84, Anm. 32, daß hier eine arabo-persische Schreibung mit arab. *f* für pers. /p/ vorliege, ist eine bloße Möglichkeit.

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Kirdēr's Clairvoyants: Extra-Iranian and Gathic Perspectives

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I

The high priest Kirdēr's late 3rd century ce Pahlavi text (inscribed in copies at four different sites), which reports a vision of how he will be favorably received in the afterlife, is a unique Sasanian document whose broad interest, though obvious enough from the various studies devoted to it hitherto, is far greater than has been suspected. As I shall show, crucial aspects of the text can be clarified by an abundance of data from cultures other than Iranian. In addition, I shall show that Kirdēr's text illuminates some important passages of the Gathas.

The most recent study of the relevant Kirdēr text is that of F. Grenet (2002). Grenet's article, which builds on the earlier studies by Iranists (for which Grenet supplies the essential bibliography), provides a new translation and commentary containing the following solutions to textual *cruces*, from which my own remarks will proceed:

(1) Kirdēr did not himself have the vision, but had the role of **inducing** ("provoquer") others, **youngsters**, to **have the vision for him**, while he remained in conversational contact with them during their trance.[1]

(2) The inscriptions refer to these children via the word <*lysyk*> = *rehīg*, the equivalent of Book Pahlavi <*lsyk*> 'boy, page', both forms accounted for by *raθya-ka-* (Sims-Williams *'of the court'). Grenet[2] confirms the youth of the clairvoyants through their markedly unsophisticated ("naïf"), simple description of what they see, e.g. "a woman" for the Dēn, "princes" (or "rulers", *šahriyār*) for the gods, "a bridge" for the eschatological Činwad structure, etc.

(3) **The boys obtain their clairvoyant trance through an <*'dwyn mhly*>**, which Grenet[3] takes as *ēwēn mahr* "le manthra[4] (qui provoque) la vision" (<*'dwyn*> = *ēwēn* *'vision').

1 Grenet 2002, pp. 6 and 17.
2 Grenet 2002, pp. 17–18.
3 Grenet 2002, p. 15.
4 Middle Persian *mahr*, Avestan *mąθra-*, cf. Vedic *mantra-*, i.e. 'formula'.

(4) **The youths had been installed/seated in (= during?) the vision-manthra** *(ōy rehīg ... andar ēwēn mahr nišast hend)*, **which was produced** (*kerd*, i.e. 'administered') by Kirdēr.[5]

Although the two tentative suggestions to which GRENET limits himself[6] as to conceivable extra-Iranian parallels to Kirdēr's use of children in divination are not sufficiently close to what the text presents, his expectation[7] that the scholarly comparative study of mediumistic procedures should produce numerous parallels may now be fulfilled. In what follows, I shall adduce material from outside Iran, most of which parallels the crucial points from GRENET's analysis which I have stressed above, which may be restated in generalization:

(1) The person desiring a clairvoyant vision obtains it through children acting as mediums under his direction and interrogation;
(2) the mediums are seated or otherwise installed for receiving the clairvoyant vision, and
(3) the vision is brought on through a special formula delivered by the supervising adult.

A further feature of the extra-Iranian documentation, which will be taken up later, is the constant involvement of a luminous or reflective object as instrument of the child medium's divination.

The richest non-Iranian parallels[8] to the procedure of the Kirdēr text are found among the Late Antique magical papyri from Egypt in Greek and, more abundantly and with more detail, in Demotic, which consist of divinations by means of lamps and vessels. The prescriptions for these procedures are collected and discussed in HOPFNER (1926), and are easily accessible in the English translations in BETZ (1986).[9] These prescriptions, occurring among others in which similar instructions are given for unmediated visions, indicate that the person desiring the divination uses as medium a boy (whose sexual innocence is often stressed). The boy is installed (made to sit, or squat, or lie on his stomach, or stand, usually on a new brick or bricks). In order to "make the boy fall into a trance and see the gods",[10] the director administers a formula. The papyri usually preface these combinations of imprecations and magical sounds with a caption, "Formula"; in addition, one finds designations like "the spells for the

5 GRENET 2002, pp. 9, 10, 11, and 18.
6 GRENET 2002, p. 18, fn. 14. A Muslim report of an alleged practice of Ḥarrānian "Sabians" to toss a live boy into an acid, whereby all fleshly parts are dissolved except for the head and its protruding nerves, which is used as a divinatory "talking head"; and Herodotus' account of Amestris having her husband Xerxes slaughter a number of boys and girls—but this only to propitiate an underworld god.
7 GRENET 2002, p. 18.
8 For a general overview of the extra-Iranian material, cf. JOHNSTON 2001.
9 See BETZ 1986, Greek pp. 14 top, and 55–56; 101–102; 133–134; Demotic pp. 195–200; 204–208; 218–224 and 235–240.
10 BETZ 1986, p. 133.

youth",[11] and "the spell which you should recite"[12] and "spirit formula".[13] In all instances the contexts explicitly state that the purpose of the formula is to induce a vision. During the vision, the boy is interrogated as to what he sees.

Hopfner[14] cites non-Egyptian texts of Greek and Roman antiquity with a boy or boys used for divination via mirror or vessels or the surfaces of liquids. One of these tells how the Trallians had a boy prognosticate the outcome of the war with Mithridates; the boy saw an image of Mercury on the water, and made a prediction in verses. In another instance, boys, under supervision of an occultist, see via water where a sum of stolen money was buried. Finally, Didius Julianus is said to have employed specialists in divination in order to learn his future; these recited magic formulas over a boy, who made the fatal prediction via a mirror.

The relevant tradition of Byzantine divination is documented in late manuscripts edited by Delatte (1927), of which the data on divination by children is brought together and discussed by Hopfner (1932).[15] The mediums are explicitly innocent children; they are pictured performing divination variously via a vessel, a torch, and a mirror; in each illustration they are seated next to a directing magician. The divination is preceded by the recitation of formulas.[16]

The same divinatory procedure is richly attested in medieval West European (German and English) material, presented and discussed in Kieckhefer (1998).[17] In the nineteen divinatory "experiments" given in the 15th century Munich ms. Clm 849, again the divination (scrying) takes place via the mediumship of youths who are given conjurations, and gaze at mirrors, crystals, thumbnails, vessels, and the oiled shoulderblades of sheep.[18] The editor does not mention the relevant Byzantine, Late Antique Egyptian, and Classical texts, but compares later Jewish texts, which show essentially the same divinatory practices, as possible sources of the West European procedure(s).[19] It is interesting that an "experiment" (via mirror) in the Munich manuscript has a conjuration which begins with *bismille* (< Arab. *bismillāh*);[20] that indeed the basic divinatory procedures under discussion were known in the Arab world is confirmed by Ibn Khaldūn's acquaintance with them.[21]

11 Betz 1986, p. 206.
12 Betz 1986, p. 237.
13 Betz 1986, p. 239.
14 Hopfner 1926, pp. 70–71.
15 Cf. Greenfield 1988, pp. 290–291.
16 Hopfner 1932, see esp. pp. 219–220 and 226–227; illustrations opposite p. 227.
17 Kieckhefer 1998, pp. 96–122.
18 Kieckhefer 1998, pp. 103–118.
19 Kieckhefer 1998, pp. 115–116.
20 Kieckhefer 1998, pp. 105.
21 Cf. Kieckhefer 1998, pp. 98–99.

In view of the latter data, it is relevant that EDWARD LANE provides a highly engaging, detailed personal account of a divination conducted in Cairo in the 1830's by a Maghrebi magician operating through a boy medium to whom he administers magic formulas, with the vision taking place as a reflection on a pool of ink. One detail which recalls the more ancient Egyptian divinatory recipes is the accompaniment of incense.[22]

An illustration of the global nature of the divinatory practices under discussion is found in the later texts: In the Byzantine and Munich manuscripts, as well as in LANE's account, the youths are directed to have the spirits bring in a ram or bull to be slaughtered for their ruler, who then partakes of it. Subsidiary details of this feature overlap in the three bodies of material.[23]

It is interesting that in one of the Late Byzantine magical mss.[24] five spirit names are invoked for an onychomancy, of which two are of Middle Iranian origin ('Αναὶς = Anāhīd and 'Αβριμὰν = Ahrīman). A third name, Ζαμγὴ = *Zamγí*, is reminiscent of MPers. *zamīg*, Pers. *zamī* 'earth', but this is probably coincidental, with Ζαμγὴ instead being a confected exoticum whose form is phonically in accord with the preceding magical name Ζυγαὲλ = *Ziγaél*. HOPFNER takes the first two names, along with a late Byzantine magical manuscript illustration of a man wearing a tiara who is captioned "Apollodoros the Persian (Πέρσος) lecanomanticist" and is shown directing a boy in a vessel divination, as going back to ancient Persian lecanomancy. The latter details more likely represent a Byzantine maintenance of the Late Antique topos of the μάγος as a Persian sorcerer. This topos would also, in reference to onychomancy, suit the magical attribution to the names 'Αναὶς and 'Αβριμὰν, cliché Persica known to the Byzantines via literary and oral transmission. However, it is not impossible that the Byzantine continuation of the Late Antique topos was refreshed by some actual Byzantine acquaintance with Sasanian divinatory practices involving youths.

As we have seen, Kirdēr's divinatory procedure matches what is detailed in various ancient, Late Antique, and medieval sources: child mediums, their being ritually seated/installed, and their receiving a special magical formula for their vision. However, these sources all also have the vision taking place via the children gazing at a shining or reflective object.[25] These global comparative considerations necessitate the question of whether (1) such an object, which has such an important technical function in the production of divinatory visions as per the non-Iranian testimonies, was also part of the otherwise parallel Sasanian procedure, or whether (2) despite the other correlations with the non-Iranian

22 LANE 1836, pp. 269–279.

23 HOPFNER 1932, p. 228; KIECKHEFER 1998, p. 109; LANE 1836, pp. 273–274.

24 HOPFNER 1932, p. 232.

25 Professor SHAUL SHAKED tells me he has encountered the same divinatory complex in Jewish, Muslim, and Ethiopic texts. For divination through mirrors and lenses *(āyīna-bīnī)* in New Persian literature and folklore, see OMIDSALAR 1995, p. 441.

documentation, the Iranian method involved a direct vision by the mediums solely through the impetus of the magic formula(s).

No reference to the luminous object has hitherto been detected in the portion of Kirdēr's text where it would occur. In the relevant place (paragraphs 20–25), Kirdēr stresses at length how much he prayed to the gods to somehow show the validity of the Avestic teachings about individual eschatology and of Zoroastrian practices, and also to provide the justification of his own earthly prestige by their indicating his personal fate after death; note esp. paragraph 22, which I translate thus:

> And praying toward the gods, I then established this (as a) sign *(ēg-im ēd nišān nihād)*: If you gods have it in your ability, then show me the means *(čārag)* [of knowing] hell and heaven, as you indicate in the Nasks ...

The "means" is elaborated in paragraph 24, where Kirdēr states that he produced the <*'dwyn mhly*> for the sake of divine service and for his own soul, so that he may know if he will be (appear in the afterlife as) righteous *(ardā)* or wicked, and further in paragraph 25, where Kirdēr makes clear that he delivered the <*'dwyn mhly*> to the boys, and then immediately reports what they say they see. Near none of the three inscriptional attestations of <*'dwyn mhly*> is there a lacuna long enough accommodate an allusion to a bright/reflective object.

The problem calls for a reexamination of <*'dwyn*>, the epithet that characterizes the <*mhly*> (*mahr* 'formula, manthra'). Grenet's[26] interpretation of <*'dwyn*> is *ēwēn* 'vision', so that the phrase would mean "manthra de la vision". Grenet further notes "l'*ēwēn mahr* serait 'le manthra (qui provoque) la vision' (le sens d'*ēwēn* comme 'vision' étant garanti indirectement par *ēwēnag* 'miroir')"; he adduces the fact that *Dēnkard* IV speaks of a *mēnōg-wēnišnīh* 'spiritual vision' ("se qu'on peut comprendre aussi comme 'vision de l'au-delà' "), in which he finds a precise echo of the "manthra de la vision". Grenet goes on to note that the mastery of this vision is attributed in the *Dēnkard* to the "mowbeds of Ohrmazd", it perhaps being significant that after the divination which took place during the reign of Shapur I, Kirdēr was titled "Mowbed of (the god) Ohrmazd" by the next ruler, Ohrmazd I. In support of the etymology of <*'dwyn*> in <*'dwyn mhly*>, Grenet[27] cites, as Ph. Huyse's opinion concerning the two homophonous words *ēwēn*, that "les étymons sont respectivement **abi-dayanā-* > *ēwēn* 'coutume, rite' et **ā-dayana-* > *ēwēn* 'vision' (inféré d'après *ēwēnag* 'miroir' < *ā-dayana-ka-*), dans les deux cas sur la racine *dī-* 'voir' ".

The interpretation of <*'dwyn*> as involving vision is more convincing than the translation as 'ritual', since the alternative, 'ritual *(ēwēn)* manthra', is redundant in itself (the manthra in question is by nature a ritual matter) and insufficiently specific as a technical term. The variant interpretation with *ēwēn*,

26 Grenet 2002, p. 15.
27 Grenet 2002, p. 15, fn. 9

'customary manthra', goes against the textual evidence that the procedure under consideration was not a routine matter. However, the term *<'dwyn> a priori* should have a nuance other than that of 'seeing' *per se*, the latter being expressed by MPers. *wēnišn* (cf. *mēnōg wēnišnīh*). The comparative dimensions of the divinatory procedure in Kirdēr's text now raises the question of whether the relationship of *<'dwyn (mhly)>* to Book Pahlavi *'dwynk'* 'mirror' may indicate that the manthra was named from the fact that the vision it initiated was seen as a reflection, as in the Westerly divinations by youthful mediums. The remarks which follow, to the effect that *<'dwyn>* : *<'dwynk'> phonologically* represent *āyēn* : *āyēnag* rather than *ēwēn* : *ēwēnag*, do not much matter for the conclusions drawn from the *semantic* relationship between the words. However, a digression as the pronunciation and the precise etymology of these words will clear the way for a closer assessment of the concomitant issues.

The relevant spellings are Book and Inscriptional Pahl. *<'dwyn(')>* 'manner, custom, form, propriety, rite, ritual', whence Book Pahl. *<'dwynk'>* with the same meaning; the homograph of the latter, Pahl. *<'dwynk'>*, means 'mirror'. The Pahlavi spelling *'dw-* for *ēw-* < OIr. **abi-* is illustrated by Book Pahl. *<'dw'n'>* 'bridle'.[28] For Pahl. *'dwynk'* 'custom, rite' the pronunciation *ēwēn(ag)* is proved by Manichean Middle Persian *<'ywyn(g)>*, and a derivation from **abi-dayana-* is supported by Manichean Parthian *'bdyn* 'custom', Armenian *aurēn(k')* 'custom, law',[29] and now Bactrian *αβδδινο* 'custom'. With these I further compare Khwarezmian *<βzynk>* 'example, illustrative model' < OIr. **abidayana-ka-* *'(proper) form, formality' < *'shape, appearance' from OIr. *abi √dī* 'to look upon, behold, etc.' (Av. pres. stem *aibī/aiβi(-)vaēna-* 'id.').[30]

The situation is complicated by the fact that, against Pahl. *<'dwyn'>* = *ēwēn*, 'custom, rite' in New Persian is *āyīn*, whose expected MPers. antecedent *āyēn* is attested as Man. MPers. *''yn* (and *''yng*) 'manner' (DURKIN-MEISTERERNST 2004, p. 6, there transcribed as *ā'īn* (and *ā'īnag*), and Armenian *-ayēn*, alongside Parth. **āδēn* > Arm. **-arēn*.[31] The Khotanese Saka *āyīnaa-* 'example, illustrative model' points to a basic mg. *'form' < *'appearance', this time from OIr. **ā √dī*, Av. pres. stem *ā(-)vaēna-* 'to look at, behold, examine, consider carefully'. Thus OIr. *abi √dī (*abidayana-)* and *ā √dī (*ādayana-)* have parallel semantic developments.

28 Cf. e.g. Av. *aiβiδāna-*, Khwarezmian pl. *<'βz'ny>*, all 'bridle' < OIr. **abidāna-*.

29 HENNING 1944, p. 110, fn. 1.

30 The oldest attestation is in the Gathas, Yasna 31.15 *tā cašmāṇg ϑβisrā hārō / aibī aṣā *vaēnahī* [mss. *aibī.vaēnahī*] *vīspā* 'surveying all those [violations] with the vibrant clarity of [Thine] eye, Thou beholdest all with truth'. A later correspondent is Sogdian *<βywn->* 'to prophesy', *<βywny>* 'prophet'. While the *<'dwyn>* of *<'dwyn mhly>* could, in theory, stand for *ēwēn* = Sogd. *<βywn->* from **abi-waina-*, the Sogdian semantic development has no clear parallel within Iranian, and the certain meaning of MPers. *ēwēn* 'custom, rite' makes an additional meaning *'prophetic' unlikely.

31 Cf. HÜBSCHMANN 1897, pp. 59 and 511.

Finally, for 'mirror' Pers. has *āyīna*, *āyīne*. Its antecedent, OIr. **ādayana-/ ādayanā* (with *-k-* suffixation) *'device for looking, looking-glass' (cf. *speculum*, κατόπτρον, *miroir*) gives the forms for 'mirror' throughout Iranian: Baluchi *ādēnk*, Manichean Parthian <*''δyng*>, <*'δyng*>, Sogdian <*''δ'yn'k*>, Ossetic Iron *ajdæn*, Digorun *ajdænæ*, and Khotanese *āyäna-* (with variants with internal *-ī-* and *-ē-*).

Thus what Grenet gives as Huyse's opinion is correct as far as the reconstruction **ā-dayana-ka-* for 'mirror' goes, but is incorrect as concerns this reconstruction for the alleged Pahlavi *ēwēnag* 'mirror', vs. **abi-dayana-* > *ēwēnag* 'rite, custom'. From *ā-dayana-ka-* only **āyēnag* is expected, since **abi-d-* does not elsewhere give Middle Persian *āy-*, ordinarily represented in Pahl. spelling by *'y-*, not *'dw-*. Therefore, given an underlying **ādayana-* reflected by Persian *āyīna (āyīne)* and by other New Iranian languages, and by Parth. *āδēn-ag* and parallel forms in the other Middle Iranian languages, it is **āyēnag* (and not **ēwēnag*) that MPers. should have had for 'mirror'. [Cf. Korn 2005, p. 79.]

The spelling of Pahl. <*'dwynk'*> 'mirror', which ordinarily would represent *ēwēnag* (rather than **āyēnag*), may be explained as follows: As demonstrated above, Middle Persian had *ēwēn* (Pahlavi <*'dwyn'*>), *ēwēnag* (Pahl. <*'dwynk'*>), and *āyēnag* (expectedly **'dynk'*), all meaning '(form,) custom, rite, etc.'. In addition, MPers. had *āyēnag* 'mirror'. Of these, *āyēn* 'form, etc.' and *āyēnag* 'mirror' were etymologically inscrutable, whereas the forms *ēwēn(ag)* (< **abidayana-*) could be analyzed as a prefix *ē-* plus **wēn-*, a nominal derivative of the present stem *wēn-* 'to see', on the analogy of *ēwan* (<*'dwn'*>) 'stalk, trunk' alongside *wan* 'tree, stem' and *ēwāz* (<*'dw'c*>) alongside *wāz*, both 'word'. In the speech of the learned, *ēwēn* came to be thought of as more correct than *āyēn* for 'form, custom, rite', so that <*'dwyn(')*> represented both *ēwēn* and *āyēn*, particularly under the influence of the constant collocation of *āyēnag* with *wēn-* (spelled <*wyn-*>) 'to see'. Thereby *āyēn-* of both *āyēnag* 'mirror' and *āyēn* 'form, custom, rite' came to be spelled <*'dwyn-*> as a pseudo-archaism.[32] In competition with *ēwēn(ag)*, and perhaps with support from its Parthian equivalent **āδēn* and the MPers. cognate *āyēnag*, *āyēn* replaced *ēwēn*.

As we have seen, the comparative evidence brings <*'dwyn (mhly)*> into relationship with <*'dwynk'*> 'mirror', which amounts to a formal relationship *āyēn* : *āyēnag*. For the absence of *<*-k*> *(-ag* < **-aka-)* in <*'dwyn*>, cf. among other such alternating stems in West Iranian, Balochi *ādēn* and *ādēnag*, *ādēnk* 'mirror' (Korn 2005, p. 166) in West Iranian the Saka (Khotanese and Ossetic) forms for 'mirror' cited above, as well as Khowar *a'rēn* 'mirror' < MIr. **āδēn*,

32 Comparable purely orthographic pseudo-historicisms are Book Pahl. <*dpywl*> *dibīr* 'scribe' (< *OPers. = Elamite **dipīra*, cf. Sogd. <*δp'yr*>), whose spelling was influenced by <*dylywl*> (~ <*dlyl*>) *dilēr* < OPers. **dṛdibara-* 'having heart, brave'; <*b'lšn'*> *bāliš* 'cushion' < OPers. **bardiš-* = Av. *barəziš-*; and <*pgt'm*> (= <*pyt'm*>) 'message', which replaces *<*ptg'm*> in order to render the pronunciation *payyām* alternating with *payām* (both > Persian).

whose lack of *-*aka*- is apparently a conservative feature. Furthermore, there are many Middle Persian (Pahl. and Man. MPers.) noun doublets with and without -*ag*, for each pair of which the New Persian correspondent only reflects the form without -*ag*. Most are, like 'mirror', -*(V̄)n*- formations, e.g. *afsān(ag)* 'tale'; *āšyān(ag)* 'nest'; *wahān(ag)* 'cause, reason, pretext' (GERSHEVITCH, BSOAS 14 [1952], p. 483 [= *Philologica Iranica*, 1985, p. 114]); *dān(ag)* 'grain, seed'; and *sēn(ag)* 'breast'. In an instance like Pahl. *mēwag*, NPers. *mēwa/mīve* 'fruit', it is only the chance survival of Man. MPers. *mēw* that shows a form without *ag* existed; the point applies all the more to 'mirror', which is by comparison far more limited in potential contexts. The homophony of *āyēn* 'rite' and 'mirror' would have been a factor in the elimination of the form in favor of *āyēnag* > *āyīna* in the latter meaning. Additionally, it is possible that in <*'dwyn (mhly)*> the lack of the suffix could have the result of generalizing the meaning of the first term from 'mirror' to a quasi-denominative sense of *'mirroring' = 'reflecting'. Such a broad sense accords with the fact that the text, in referring merely to a 'formula of/for the *mirroring/reflection' seems intentionally not to be specific about the actual stage of the clairvoyant procedure in which the youths gaze into some reflective object, whose detailing would be incongruous with the manifest solemn reportage of an extraordinary event (in this regard, the ambiguity of the homography/homophony with 'rite' could also be opportune). The reticence as the object may also be due to the non-traditional nature of its use. Indeed, the text's phraseology which implies that an unusual means *(čārag)* of divinatory confirmation was involved, accords with a foreign origin of the procedure, which we have seen to correspond to practices which are particularly well documented in manuals of magic from Late Antique Egypt and Byzantium. Precisely this provenience is found for other aspects of Sasanian magic. Realia which reflect this fact include the Sasanian magical seals which copy, or are similar to, Late Antique Greco-Egyptian and Byzantine amulets for various purposes.[33] In addition, the Sasanian magical protector Sesen has an analogue in the Byzantine Saint Sisinnios (who has a close Jewish angelic parallel, which, like the Late Antique Sesengen Barpharangēs, derive from Aramaic transmissions of a very ancient East Mediterranean protective god).[34]

The adaptation of this imported means of intermediated divination is part of both a Sasanian cosmopolitanism and the passing of the distinctively Iranian procedure attested in the Pahlavi *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag*, in which the medium, acting on behalf of the priesthood, authenticated the teachings of Zoroastrianism through a drug-induced vision of the other world. This means of access to the

33 See GYSELEN 1995, Fig. 43b (type 9.1) with Fig. III; Fig. 48 (type 8.4) with Fig. II; Fig. 47 (type 8.3) with Fig. I; Fig. 49 (type 8.5) with Figs. V and VI, and Fig. 46b (type 7.2). Note also the important remarks on foreign influences on Sasanian magic, p. 20.

34 SCHWARTZ 1996, with evidence that the name of the magical god on the Sasanian seal-amulets ("*Sāsān*", GYSELEN 1995, pp. 55–59) should be transcribed as *Sesen*.

spirit realm is also attested, but without the use of an intermediary, in the Pahlavi account of the conversion of Wištāsp. These accounts go back to a stage of Iranian society which accepted an expertise in psychopharmacology as a means of knowledge of the divine, a stage no longer current in the Sasanian realia.

II

In our most ancient body of data, the Gathas, there are indications of Zarathushtra conducting a direct divination. Taken together, the details, *grosso modo*, have correspondences in Kirdēr's text.

For the latter, we may first eliminate from consideration the divinities (reported by the children as 'rulers' or 'princes', *šahriyār*) which Grenet[35] identifies as Mihr (Av. Miθra), Rašn (Av. Rašnu), Jam (Av. Yima) and Wahrām (Av. Vərəθraγna); these (as opposed to the deities mentioned toward the end of the text in the account of the entrance to Paradise) do not figure in the repertory of Gathic divinities. This leaves us with the following skeletal summary of the séance of Kirdēr's inscription,[36] which, I shall endeavor to show, have correlations in the Gathas; the most pertinent Gathic correspondences are in bold type in what follows: A man who is Kirdēr's homomorph, *mard ī Kirdēr hangirb* (Av. *kəhrp-* 'body, form'), appears, which is most likely the individual's body in the afterlife.[37] Kirdēr's *hangirb* is met by the ***Dēn*** (Av. ***daēnā***), who escorts him eastward along a bright **road**, ***rāh*** (Av. ***gātu-***, ***paṇtā-/paθ-***, ***gərəzdi-***, and ***aduuan-***), past the pit of hell brimming with **noxious creatures**, ***xrafstar*** (Av. ***xrafstra-***), and over the **Bridge**, ***puhl*** (Av. ***pərətu-*** i.e. ***cinuuatō***), on to an encounter with **Srōš** (Av. ***səraoša-***, 'Hearkening'), with **Wahman** (Av. ***vohu manah*** 'Good Mind'), who leads Kirdēr's *hangirb* to the palace, i.e. **paradise** (Av. *gārō dəmāna-*, Mazda's 'House of Song'), where Kirdēr's *hangirb* banquets,[38]

35 Grenet 2002, pp. 23–24.

36 Grenet 2002, pp. 19–24.

37 Cf. Grenet 2002, pp. 19–20, who, however, notes a second possibility, that this *hangirb* (or, with Grenet, *hangerb*) is merely the childish reportage of a figure who looks like the Kirdēr present in the ceremony. However, for this one would expect **hamdēsag* or **hamčihr* 'having the same appearance' rather than *hangirb* *'having the same body or form'; note further that *hangirb*, with *n*, instead of **hamkirb*, suggests that the form is a technical term.

38 I had derived MPers. *bazm* 'banquet' from OIr. **bazma(n)-*, √*baz* 'to extend', as 'a spread', parallel to the English usage; see Schwartz 1990, pp. 204–205 (where the Proto-Indo-European etymon should be corrected to **$b^heAǵ^h$* instead of **$b^heAǵ$*, to accommodate Vedic *bāhú-* and other cognates of Av. *bāzu-* 'arm'). I now take *bazm* as a labially dissimilated reflex of OIr. **api-wazma(n)-* 'food for guests'. Cf. OIr. **api-wāzaka-* > Khwarezmian *bəwāzək*, Sogd. *ēwpāzē* 'guest', and see further the words referring to hospitality which I derived from Indo-Iranian √*waź* 'to nourish, to strengthen' in Schwartz 1990, pp. 200–202 (where note on p. 200 the mention of Manichean MPers.

and **Ohrmazd** (Av. *ahura- mazdā-*, *mazdā- ahura-*) points to him and smiles, and takes him ...

In Y28.5 the focus is on Zarathushtra's desire for a vision of the supernal realm of Rightness (*Aṣa-* < *Arta-*), with a pathway, via Vohu Manah and Sraoša, to Ahura Mazdā. A manthra is included to protect against the *xrafstra*s encountered:

Y28.5
a *aṣā kaṯ ϑβā darəsānī* ***manascā vohū*** *vaēdəmnō*
b *gātūmcā* ***ahurāi*** *sāuuištāi* ***səraošəm mazdāi***
c *anā mąϑrā mazištəm* *vāurōimaidī* ***xrafstrā*** *hizuuā*

O Rightness, shall I see Thee, as I attain **Good Mind**,
and a way to the strongest **Ahura Mazdā**, as well as the greatest **Sraoša**?
Via the (following) manthra,[39] with the tongue shall we avert the ***xrafstra***s: ...

The passage is illuminated by Y33.5, in which 'the all-greatest Sraoša' *(vīspā. mazištəm səraošē)* is linked to 'the paths *(paϑ-)* which are straight in accord with Rightness, among which Mazdā Ahura dwells'.[40] In Y34.12–13 these paths are clarified in terms of the 'well-adorned' road *(aduuan-)* which the *daēnā*s of

bazm as 'Gastmahl' and *bazmag* 'guest'). See also SCHWARTZ, Section II and fn. 6 forthcoming in the volume honoring Dastur Firoze Kotwal, ed. J. CHOKSY. I prefer this etymology of *bazm* phonologically and semantically to the etymologies noted by GRENET 2002, p. 21, fn. 18: from OIr. **api zam* 'par terre' (proposed by GRENET himself) or from the Old Iranian etymon of Av. *bajina-* 'cup' (proposed by SHAKED).

39 The manthra occurs in the following stanza, Y28.6. It is self-referentially designated as (b′) 'the lofty utterances' through which (b″) 'strong support' *(aojōŋhuuaṯ rafənō)* is requested. The manthra is phonically marked by the alliteration of the framing phrases, 6a″ */dādi artā dāh darga'āyu/ 'give, O Rightness; mayst (Thou, O Mazda) give the long-lived (gift)' and 6b */ahmabya-ca ahura yā dbišwatah dwaišāh tarwaima/ 'for us, too, O Ahura, whereby we may overcome the enmities of the enemies'. The latter alliterations in *a- (a-) d- (d-)* encode the battle between Aša- 'Right' and Druj- 'Wrong', as is shown by the derivative Y43.8 (see the next fn.), which has the chiastic phraseology b-c *duuaēšå ... drəguuāitē // aṯ aṣāunē rafənō ... aojōŋhuuaṯ* 'one inimical to the wrongsome, but for the righteous, a strong support'.

40 Zarathushtra's vision-quest was literally the focus of his first conception of Y28, represented by Y28.1–8. The two occurrences of *aṣa-* 'Rightness' at Y28.4b″ 'so long shall I search for Rightness' and Y28.5a′ 'Rightness, shall I see Thee ... ?' surround the absolute centerpoint of the concentrically arranged concatenating stanzas of the first format (proto-poem) of Y28, on whose structure see SCHWARTZ 2003, pp. 222–223 with pp. 196–197, where other illustrations of Gathic proto-poems are given.

In the final poem Y28.1–11, the midmost stanza Y28.6 has at its center the name *zaraϑuštra-*, which is collocated with an appeal for 'strong support' against enmities. This stanza is the basis of Y43.8, the midmost stanza of what may now be identified as another proto-poem, the concentrically arranged concatenating stanzas Y43.3–13. Here, in elaboration of Y43.8, Y43.9e–10a are based on the old center of Y28, 4b–5c cited above. In Y43.8 Zarathushtra indicates his wish as enemy of evil to embody the inimical 'strong support' which he had requested in Y28.6, and in Y43.(9e–)10a he indicates that his vision-quest has been granted: 'Indeed Thou hast shown me (*dāiš*, aorist) Rightness'.

the benefactors tread. In Y51.11–16 the souls/*daēnas* of Zarathushtra's patrons are described as advancing on the paths to Mazdā Ahura's paradisiac House of Song *(gārō dəmāna-)*, and the evildoers are said to fall from the path at the *Cinuuaṇt*'s bridge *(pərətu-)* and be damned forever. This takes us to the second important passage:

Y51.17
a *bərəxδąm mōi fərašaoštrō huuō.guuō daēdōišt* ***kəhrpəm***
b ***daēnaiiāi*** *vaŋhuiiāi yąm hōi išiiąm dātū*
c *xšaiiąns mazdå ahurō aṣahiiā āžδiiāi* ***gərəzdīm***

Frashaoshtra the Haugvid has thoroughly shown to me his welcomed **form** for the good ***daēnā***; may the ruler Mazdā Ahura make it animated/invigorated/energized for him, that he may reach the **walkway** of Rightness.

Here Zarathushtra prognosticates his patron's success in the afterlife, and beholds the future *kəhrp-* which will be in a relationship with the "good *daēnā*". This future body is to be animated for its heavenly existence (cf. Y50.9e *aṯ hudānaoš išaiiąs* ***gərəzdā*** *xiiām* 'may I be experiencing energization on the **walkway** of a bringer of benefit', and the next stanza, Y50.10, in which Zarathushtra links his priestly action to meriting a vision of the paradisiac lights).

In summary: We now have textual evidence for divination in Zoroastrianism, in effect spanning the entire pre-Islamic period. Despite the differences in the form, which in the last period reflect the adoption of a foreign procedure, a core of content, pertaining to visions of the afterlife, remains constant. In addition, the purpose for which the divination was performed, the authentication of the religion, as embodied in priestly authority, also remains constant.[41]

Addendum
For the transcription Kirdēr (~ Kerdēr, Kardēr), cf. Durkin-Meisterernst 2004, p. 221 *qyrdyr, kyrdyr, kyrdr*, where note Coptic *Kardel* as discussed by W. Sundermann and M. Schwartz. *Kirdēr* etc. 'powerful' < **kṛti-bara-* 'efficacious', cf. *dilēr* fn. 32.

The outer stanzas of the proto-poem, Y43.3 and 13, concatenate via *sti-* 'estate'. At Y43.3 the 'estates in which Ahura dwells' is in apposition to 'the straight paths of (salvific) benefactions', and Y43.13 locates 'the desired/choice estate' in Ahura's Dominion. Thus we have an overall correspondence with Y33.5c–6a, the midmost lines of the proto-poem Y33.2–10: 5c 'the paths straight in accord with Rightness (*/artāt ā rzūš paδah/) in/at which Mazda Ahura dwells' and 6a' 'the priest straight via Rightness' (*/yah zautā artā rzuš/) jointly yield a phonic anagram of /zaraδuštra-/.

41 I wish to thank Maria Mavroudi, Mark Pettigrew, Nicholas Sims-Williams, Mahmoud Omidsalar, and Werner Sundermann for their kind provision of helpful data.

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The Sogdian potentialis

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The potentialis or potential construction, which is attested in several Iranian languages, is so called because it expresses potentiality: in the active, that so-and-so has the potential to do something *("can do")*, in the passive, that such-and-such has the potential to be done *("can be done")*. However, the same construction is also used to express some apparently quite different senses. In Sogdian and Khotanese, in particular, it is frequently used in temporal clauses to express anteriority: "When the Lord Buddha *had said* this ..."

So far as Sogdian is concerned, the potentialis can be defined morphologically as a periphrastic verbal construction in which a special form of the past stem is combined with the auxiliaries *kwn-* or *wn-* (root *KAR*) "to do" in the transitive forms, *βw-* (root *BŪ*) "to become" in intransitive and passive forms. The past stem ends in *-tu* or *-ta* if the stem is light; in the case of a heavy stem the ending is reduced to the consonant *-t* (see Table 1).

Table 1: Morphology of the Sogdian potentialis

past stem (heavy) in *-t* past stem (light) in *-tu* past stem (light) in *-ta*	+	*kwn-/wn-* "do" (transitive) *βw-* "become" (intransitive) *βw-* "become" (passive)

It is important to note that the form of the past stem used in this construction is distinct from the past participle. The Sogdian past participle derives from the Old Iranian participle in *-ta-* with an added *-ka*-suffix. This gives an inflected form ending in *-tē*, e.g. *ǝktē* "made", plural *ǝktēt*, feminine *ǝktča*. This point needs to be emphasized because the past participle of a transitive verb can also be combined with the auxiliary *βw-* "to become", giving a combination known as the periphrastic passive.[1] The periphrastic passive differs from the passive potential both in form and in meaning. Thus, for example, *'krt' βwt* means "it can be done" (passive potential) but *'krty βwt* (m.) or *'krtc' βwt* (f.) "it is done" (periphrastic passive). Unfortunately Émile Benveniste, who gave a detailed description of the Sogdian potential construction in his article "Expression de 'pouvoir' en iranien", arguing that it is an idiom which belongs

1 GMS, §§823, 830–845.

in the lexicon rather than the grammar, completely ignored this morphological distinction.[2]

In Table 2 I have given some examples of the Sogdian potentialis, classified on the basis of both semantic and morphological criteria. The first group of examples (A) illustrates the usage which gave the construction the name "potential": most of the examples are of negative sentences, reflecting the real predominance of negative forms in this sense of the potential.[3] This group of examples is subdivided into transitive, intransitive, and passive. The second group (B) illustrates the "anterior" usage, attested almost exclusively in temporal clauses beginning with a conjunction meaning "when". Again the examples are subdivided into transitive, intransitive, and passive, although the two latter categories are so rare that it is difficult to find clear instances to quote. Since the use of the transitive potential to indicate anteriority is comparatively common, the examples are subdivided further into past, present (also rare), and future anterior. Wherever possible I have given one example with each past stem ending: heavy *-t*, light *-ta* and *-tu*.

Table 2: Examples of the Sogdian potentialis

A. Expressing potentiality		
1. Transitive	*'βyzy L' βrt wn'y k'm* "you will not be able to bear the hardship"	VJ 311
	r'βk'w prtr L' 'krtw wnty "he cannot cure the sick man"	SCE 273
	ny ywxt' wnnt ... qnw'ncy' "they cannot teach skill"	C2/31, R22–23
2. Intransitive	*L' 'nx'št L' ZY nystw β'm* "I can neither get up nor sit down"	VJ 1133–1134
	'xw L' np'st' βwt "he cannot lie down"	SCE 380
3. Passive	*L' wytw L' prβ'yr't β'y* "it could not be told or explained"	VJ 858–859
	'kwtšy xw ptšm'r 'krt' β'y "how can it be counted?"	SCE 516–517

2 BENVENISTE 1954. In addition to many forms of the periphrastic passive (*mn' xw δβ'r δβrty β't*, VJ 4b, cited on p. 59, and all the examples cited under II.2 [intransitive/passive potential expressing anteriority] on p. 61), BENVENISTE includes amongst his examples of the intr./pass. potential two phrases containing the compound adjective *n''-βy'rt* "unobtained, unobtainable" (Dhy. 391 and Suv. 6, both cited on p. 60), the first of which is claimed to represent a unique variant of the construction with auxiliary *''t* rather than *β't*.

3 Cf. GMS, §881, as corrected by HENNING 1958, p. 91, n. 1: "The Potentialis is used to express a possibility, especially in negative sentences, but sometimes it conveys the consummation of an action". In Choresmian, so far as I can see, the potentialis is only attested by forms consisting of negative + past participle + *-k-* "to do" (though MACKENZIE 1971, p. 40, says merely: "Most examples are negative").

B. Expressing anteriority			
1. Transitive	(i) Past anterior	*c'n'w xwrt 'sptk xwrt wn'nt* "when they had eaten the food completely"	VJ 62–63
		c'n'kw . . . ZKw šr'wk' wytw wnt' "when he had spoken the verse"	VJ 599–600
	(ii) Present anterior [rare]	*'ky xtw ywn'k s'm''r βyrt wnty* "whoever has obtained this samādhi"	Dhy. 393–394
	(iii) Future anterior	*c'n'w ywn'k šm''r't wn't* "when he has (= shall have) thought this"	Dhy. 43
		'YK' mwn'w w'xš wytw wn't "when he has (shall have) spoken this word"	Dhy. 16
		'YK' pwttw nw'yst' wn''t "when he has (shall have) invited the Buddha"	Dhy. 80–81
2. Intransitive [rare]		*c'n'w ZNH . . . pwt'yšt nyst' βnt* "when the Buddhas have sat down"	Dhy. 205
3. Passive [rare]		*c'n'kw 'PZY prβ'yrt βwtskwn* "as has been explained"	P2.1226

In many Christian Sogdian texts, the combination of the past stem *qt'* and the auxiliary *wn-/qt-*, i.e. the transitive potential of the verb "to do", has become a fixed expression for "to be able" (construed with a subordinate clause or infinitive). Thus one finds *c'nw qt' wnym(q)[' q]t '(w)z'mym γ[n]t['q rwžty]'* "how will we be able to condemn (literally 'that we may condemn') evil desire?" (C2/61, V27–28) instead of **c'nw 'wzt' wnymq' γnt'q rwžty'* or *qt'wnt qt twžt* "is able to pay" (C2/61, R19) instead of **twyt' wnty*. As this last example shows, the past stem and auxiliary eventually coalesce into a single word, which is treated as a heavy stem *qt'wn*.[4]

In addition to the finite forms of the potential, an absolutive consisting of a past stem in *-t* (heavy) or *-ta/-tu* (light) governed by the circumposition *cnn ... k'ry* "after" is occasionally attested (see Table 3). Since it can hardly be by chance that the past stem in this expression is attested in exactly the same three forms as are used in the potentialis, I take the absolutive to be a non-finite form of the potential construction and *k'ry* to be the oblique case of *k'r* "deed", a nominalization of the verb *(k)wn-* "to do", the auxiliary of the transitive potential.[5] Semantically, the absolutive may be compared with the potentialis expressing anteriority.

4 For further details see Sims-Williams 1985, p. 76 (commentary to line 13).
5 Thus already Sims-Williams 1989, p. 189; differently Gershevitch 1973, p. 85.

Table 3: Non-finite forms of the Sogdian potentialis

-t (heavy)	*cnn xwrt k'ryy* "after eating"	M144, R1, cited in GMS, §934
-tu (light)	*cnn mwrtw k'r'y* "after dying"	Kyoto, B甲230, line 5[6]
-ta (light)	*cnn ''γδ'y 'xwšt' k'ry* "after wishing the wish"	Dhy. 84

Although in general the two light stem endings *-ta* and *-tu* appear to be interchangeable, there is evidence to suggest that they formerly had distinct functions, *-tu* being restricted to the transitive construction and *-ta* to the intransitive and passive. This evidence comes, in the first place, from the distribution of the two endings. While most Christian and Manichaean Sogdian texts have generalized the variant in *-ta*, Buddhist texts use both endings and seem to preserve a trace of a distinction, favouring *-tu* in the transitive and *-ta* in the intransitive and passive forms, in each case by a ratio of about 5 : 1. (The heavy-stem ending *-t* is no doubt etymologically identical with both light-stem endings, which would regularly lose their unstressed final vowels after a heavy stem.)

Another strong indication that *-tu* was originally the ending of the past stem in the transitive construction is provided by a comparison with Khotanese and Old Persian.

The formation and usage of the Khotanese potential construction was discussed several times by our dear departed friend RON EMMERICK, most fully in his article on "Auxiliaries in Khotanese".[7] In Khotanese, as in Sogdian, the construction can express either potentiality (e.g. *nai ju suha trāstu yanīndä* "pleasures cannot rescue one", Z22.200; *ni biśśä hā tranda hämāre* "they cannot all enter", Z4.34) or anteriority (e.g. *cī aysura purrdu yäḍāndä* "when you had defeated the Asuras", Z23.105; *ku tta dästu hämätu* "when it had appeared thus", Z2.170). The auxiliary verbs are *yan-* "to do", cognate with Sogdian *(k)wn-*, and *häm-* "to become", which is functionally though not etymologically equivalent to Sogdian *βw-*. The main difference from the Sogdian usage is the fact that the past stem agrees with the subject in the intransitive and passive forms, which thus coincide formally with the periphrastic passive. For instance, *ūtca ... khaṣṭa hämäte* "the water can be drunk" (Z2.120) could, in another context, mean "the water is drunk". In the transitive potential, however, the past stem regularly has the ending *-tu* as in Sogdian. Khotanese also has a parallel to the Sogdian *qt'wn* construction in the use of what EMMERICK has called the "su-

6 This example is so far unique. The text is reproduced in *The Illustrated catalogue of the Kyoto National Museum collections. Calligraphy of China and Korea* (Kyoto 1996), p. 10, and transcribed by YOSHIDA 1979, p. 187. (I am grateful to YUTAKA YOSHIDA for supplying details of this manuscript.)

7 EMMERICK 1987, pp. 279–289.

perfluous *yuḍu*", e.g. *ku ye jaḍī jätu yuḍu yīndi* "if one can remove ignorance" (Z5.58) in place of the equally acceptable **ku ye jaḍī jätu yīndi*.[8]

Only four examples of the potentialis have so far been noticed in the small corpus of Old Persian inscriptions. All four are cited in Table 4 below. Where possible I have also quoted the Elamite versions, whose importance for the evaluation of the semantic functions of the Old Persian forms was demonstrated by Ilya Gershevitch.[9]

Table 4: The potential construction in Old Persian

	Old Persian		~ Elamite
A. Transitive	*haya … gaumātam … xšaçam dītam caxriyā* "(there was no-one) who might have been able to deprive Gaumāta of the kingship"	DB I, 49–50	*[…]*[10]
	dipim nai nipištām akunauš "he had not (yet) written the inscription"	XV 22–23	*tuppi inni talliša tarmaš*[11]
	yātā kṛtam akunavam "until I had done (it)	DNa 51	*kuš hutta tarma*[12]
		XPh 45–46	*kuš huttuka hutra*[13]
B. Passive	*yaθā kantam abava* "when it had been dug"	DSf 25	*[…] mazzikka tarmak*[14]

The later distinction between the "potential" and "anterior" senses seems to be not yet clearly defined in Old Persian. As Benveniste argued, the construction with the auxiliary *KAR* "to do" probably started out as an idiomatic expression for "to complete, achieve, succeed", which tended towards "to be able" in main clauses and towards the later "anterior" usage especially in temporal clauses. The Old Persian examples may represent an early stage in the grammaticalization of this idiom. The closest to the later "potential" usage is A1, where one may equally well translate "there was no-one who *might have been able* to deprive Gaumāta" or "who *might have succeeded* in depriving Gaumāta". Most typical of the later "anterior" usage is the solitary passive example (first recognized as such by Gershevitch): *yaθā kantam abava* "when it had been dug, (then the

8 Emmerick 1987, pp. 282, 285. Old Khotanese *yuḍu* is a variant of *yäḍu*, acc. sg. m./n. of *yäḍa-*, with regressive vowel assimilation. The generalization of the stem *yuḍa-* in Late Khotanese probably results from the frequent use of *yuḍu* in the potential construction.

9 Gershevitch 1979, n. 69 on pp. 154–155.

10 The verb is lacking in the Elamite version. According to Hallock 1969, p. 684, s.v. *dušta*, the restoration *[du-iš-da]* "took" (Weissbach 1911, p. 18) is probably incorrect.

11 Weissbach 1911, p. 118.

12 Weissbach 1911, p. 90.

13 Cameron 1959, p. 473, line 38.

14 Vallat 1972, p. 8, line 22.

rubble was packed in)". The Elamite version, which uses the verb *tarma-* (meaning approximately "achieve") to render this construction, just as it does in the case of the transitive potential, prevents one from interpreting the phrase as a mere periphrastic passive ("when it was dug").[15]

The agreement of Buddhist Sogdian and Khotanese in the use of *-tu* as the preferred ending of the past stem in the transitive potential makes it certain that this form is inherited. The ending is clearly a generalized masculine or neuter acc. sg. of the past participle (*-tu* < **-tam*), agreeing with the direct object in case though not necessarily in number or gender.[16] In the form of the construction attested in Old Persian this generalization had not yet taken place, and the past participle agrees with the direct object in number and gender as well as in case.

If *kantam abava* is an example of the passive potentialis, we must take seriously the fact that the past participle here stands in the nom. sg. n. in agreement with the subject (in this case an impersonal "it"), a construction which corresponds to that found in Khotanese rather than to that employed in Sogdian. Just as the agreement between Sogdian and Khotanese in the use of the construction with *-tu* + *KAR* shows this to be an inherited form of the transitive potential, so the agreement between Old Persian and Khotanese makes it likely that the passive potential derives from a construction which was formally indistinguishable from a periphrastic passive.

What then is the origin of the Sogdian intransitive and passive potential in *-ta* + *βw-*? No convincing etymology has ever been proposed for the ending *-ta* and no comparable form is found in any other Iranian language, not even in Yaghnobi, where the potentialis consists of an uninflected past stem in *-t* with the auxiliary *vū-* (intransitive/passive) or *kun-* (transitive).[17] While CARL SALEMANN, who first recognized the existence of the potential construction in Sogdian, described the form in *-ta* as an infinitive,[18] later scholars have tended to regard it as an inflected form of the past participle, whether accusative,[19] ablative,[20] or instrumental.[21]

15 On *kantam abava* and its place in the Old Persian verbal system see also SKJÆRVØ 1985, p. 221. HINZ/KOCH 1987, I, p. 291, wrongly state that the Old Persian text of DSf 25 has nothing corresponding to Elamite *tarmak*.

16 REICHELT (1931, p. 257) seems to have been the first to compare the Sogdian forms in *-tu* with their Khotanese and Old Persian equivalents and thus to recognize that the form is an accusative of the past participle. I see no way of deciding whether the form is a generalized masculine/neuter accusative or whether it is to be regarded as exclusively neuter (with EMMERICK 1987, p. 279 and passim).

17 See KLIMČICKIJ 1937, pp. 15–18. KLIMČICKIJ cites one example with *-ta* (*mōx íkta kunḯm ax nīkta kun* "we could do it but he could not", p. 16, example 2), but the supposed final *-a* must in fact be the augment of the following imperfect forms: *mōx ikt akunḯm ax nīkt akún*.

18 SALEMANN 1913, n. 17 on pp. 1140–1141.

19 REICHELT 1931, p. 258.

20 MÜLLER/LENTZ 1934, p. 586.

21 TREMBLAY 2001, p. 68.

Given that *-ta* is primarily attested in intransitive and passive forms one might expect it originally to have agreed with the subject of the auxiliary *BŪ*. In other words, it should be a nominative, though possibly a generalized form like the generalized acc. sg. m./n. which gives the *-tu* of the transitive potential. However, the only nominative forms of the past participle which would result in Sogdian *-ta* would be the nom. sg. f. in **-tā* or the plural forms in **-tā(h)*, none of which seems likely to have been generalized. For this reason, amongst others, it is worth considering the possibility that the underlying **-tā* is not a form of the past participle at all but rather a generalized nom. sg. m. of the agent noun in *-tar-*.

Morphologically, this hypothesis is unproblematic. The nom. sg. m. of the agent noun in *-tar-* ended in **-tā* in Old Iranian, which should certainly have given a Sogdian form in *-ta* (after light stems) or *-t* (after heavy stems). In Old Iranian the agent noun in *-tar-*, like the infinitive in *-tanai*, was regularly formed with the full grade of the root, as opposed to the zero grade in the past participle in *-ta-*, but there is no trace of such a distinction in Middle Iranian, where the three forms have been harmonized: cf. Pahlavi *burd*, *burdan*, *burdār* (= Avestan *bərətar-* beside older *bāšar-* < **bártar-*), or *kard*, *kardan*, *kardār* (as against Old Persian *cartanaiy* and Avestan *°čarətar-*).[22] If the agent noun in *-tar-* survived into Sogdian, therefore, its nom. sg. m. in **-tā* would almost certainly have been indistinguishable from an inflected form of a past participle.

A combination of the nominative of the agent noun in *-tar-* with the copula *BHŪ/BŪ* is quite well attested in the older Indo-Iranian languages. In view of the inherently potential connotation of the agent noun,[23] it is not surprising that this combination often expresses or at least implies potentiality, as can be seen from the examples in Table 5[24]:

Table 5: Agent noun + *BHŪ/BŪ* expressing potentiality in Indo-Iranian

Vedic	*pravaditā́ vācó bhavati* (Taittirīya-Saṁhitā II, 1.2.7) "er bekommt die Möglichkeit, seine Rede laut vorzutragen" (Tichy 1995, p. 100; cf. Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954, p. 688)
	sa yadā balī bhavaty, athotthātā bhavaty; uttiṣṭhan paricaritā bhavati ... (Chāndogya-Upaniṣad VII, 8.1) "wenn einer kräftig ist, dann hat er die Möglichkeit aufzustehen; wenn er aufsteht, hat er die Möglichkeit herumzugehen ..." (Tichy 1995, p. 101)

22 Henning 1933, p. 215. According to Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954, p. 673, Avestan *bərətar-* and similar forms preserve an old ablaut type; but see Tichy 1995, pp. 41–47.

23 "Das oxytone *-tŕ-* ... bezeichnete allgemein den, der ... etwas tun könnte" (Wackernagel/Debrunner 1954, p. 690).

24 In order to avoid any suspicion of bias I have cited the translations of Tichy 1995 rather than giving my own.

Sanskrit	*vaktāro bhavanti* (Patañjali, Mahābhāṣya I, 5.9 etc.; cf. Pali *vattāro honti*) "man kann sagen"
	na ciraṃ sthātāro bhavanti (Mahābhāṣya I, 391.6) "sie können nicht lange ruhig sitzen bleiben" (TICHY 1995, p. 102, n. 26; cf. WACKERNAGEL/ DEBRUNNER 1954, p. 692)
Avestan	*mā buiiå auruuatąm yūxta / mā auruuatąm aiβišasta / mā auruuatąm niθaxta / yō mąm zāuuarə nōiṯ jaiδiiehi* (*Yasna* 11.2) "du sollst nicht mehr die Möglichkeit haben, schnelle Pferde anzuschirren, schnelle Pferde zu besteigen, schnelle Pferde zu lenken, der du mich nicht um meine Kraft bittest" (TICHY 1995, p. 43; cf. WACKERNAGEL/DEBRUNNER 1954, p. 689)[25]

On the basis of examples such as *na ciraṃ sthātāro bhavanti* one may plausibly reconstruct a (virtual) Old Iranian **naid patiramtā bawati* as the basis of the Sogdian intransitive potential *L' ptr'mt' βwt* [nē patramta vōt] "he cannot stop".[26] It is true that examples such as *pravaditā vācó bhavati* suggest that this construction could equally well have provided a transitive potential of the type **wāčam waxtā bawati* → **w'xš wγt' βwt* "he can speak a word". That no such forms survive might be due to the perceived oddity of combining a direct object with the characteristically intransitive auxiliary *βw-* or merely to the fact that the construction **wāčam waxtam kṛnauti* → *w'xš wγtw kwnty* had established itself in this semantic slot.

My hypothesis, therefore, is that the potentialis has its origin in three separate constructions:

(1) past participle in the accusative agreeing with the direct object of the auxiliary *KAR*: expressing both anteriority (in past and future temporal clauses) and potentiality, exclusively with active forms of transitive verbs;
(2) past participle in the nominative agreeing with the subject of the auxiliary *BŪ*: expressing (a) anteriority (in past and future temporal clauses) and (b) a simple passive, exclusively with passive forms of transitive verbs;
(3) agent noun in the nominative agreeing with the subject of the auxiliary *BŪ*: expressing potentiality, originally with both intransitive and active transitive verbs.

Subsequently, we have to reckon with the following developments (not necessarily in exactly the order given here): the restriction of construction (3) to intransitive verbs; the generalization of acc. sg. m./n. **-tu* in (1) and of nom. sg. m. **-ta* in (3); the replacement of *BŪ* by *häm-* in Khotanese; the replacement of **-ta-* by **-taka-* in the Sogdian periphrastic passive (2b); the formal and semantic merger

25 The combination agent noun + *bū* is also attested in Old Persian but does not express potentiality: *Auramazdā θuvām dauštā biyā ... Auramazdātaiy jantā biyā ...* "may A. befriend you ... may A. be your destroyer ..." (DB IV, 55–58).

26 P2.234 as interpreted in GMS, §884.

of the remaining eonstruetions with *βw-/häm-*, (3) being lost in Khotanese and (2a) in Sogdian; and finally, the ineipient eonfusion of Sogdian *-tu* and *-ta*.

Inevitably, this reeonstruetion is hypothetical in many respeets. However, all three of the construetions proposed here as the basis for the Sogdian and Khotanese potentialis are actually attested in the older Indo-Iranian languages, while the later developments which have to be assumed are either independently attested *(BŪ → häm-; *-ta- → *-taka-)* or at least types of ehange which are common and therefore prima facie plausible (generalization of masculine or neuter singular forms; merger or eonfusion of constructions whieh are formally and/or semantically similar).

Abbreviations

C2	Sims-Williams 1985
DB	Darius' Bisitun inscription (Schmitt 1991)
Dhy.	"Dhyāna text" (in: MacKenzie 1976, pp. 53–77)
DNa	Darius' Naqsh-i Rustam a inscription (in: Schmitt 2000, pp. 25–32)
DSf	Darius' Susa f inscription (in: Kent 1953, pp. 142–144)
GMS	Gershevitch 1954
P2	Pelliot sogdien 2 (in: Benveniste 1940, pp. 3–58)
SCE	*Sūtra of causes and effects* (MacKenzie 1970)
Suv.	*Suvarṇaprabhāsa* fragment (in: Müller/Lentz 1934, pp. 539–544)
VJ	*Vessantara Jātaka* (Benveniste 1946)
XPh	Xerxes' Persepolis h inscription (in: Schmitt 2000, pp. 88–95)
XV	Xerxes' Van inscription (in: Kent 1953, pp. 152–153)
Z	*The Book of Zambasta* (Emmerick 1968)

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A Khotanese Amulet

Prods Oktor Skjærvø, Cambridge, Mass.

Photographs of the manuscript published here were forwarded to me in March 1999 by Dr. Christoph Baumer, Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society, of Stansstad, Switzerland, at the suggestion of Prof. Clifford Wright, SOAS, London. Dr. Baumer had recently made two trips (1994 and 1998) to the Southern Silkroad (area of ancient Khotan), revisiting several of the sites already visited by Stein and described by him (Loulan, Miran, Niya, Rawak, Mazar Tagh, Dandan Öiliq, Karadong, Endere). After the first trip he produced a program for the Swiss National Television on the "Geisterstädte der Südlichen Seidenstraße" [Ghost towns of the southern Silkroad] (1995) and a book of the same title (Baumer 1996), which was translated into English and expanded with material from the second expedition (2000), as well as a book on the southern Silk Route (2002). The manuscript was found on the second trip at Dandan Öiliq by his fellow explorer, Mr. John Jerstad of Olso, Norway, in Stein's "ruin of small destroyed houses"[1] and photographed.

Later, the manuscript was acquired by the Norwegian collector Martin Schøyen, and I was invited to prepare an edition for publication in the series "Manuscripts in The Schøyen Collection". Before the contribution was submitted, however, the manuscript was returned to China to the Xinjiang Institute of Archaeology, Urumchi. Efforts to get in touch with Institute have been in vain, but since one page of the manuscript and a brief description of it was published in Baumer's most recent book (2002, pp. 81–82), I now consider it to be in the public domain and would like to offer it as a tribute to my long-time mentor, colleague, and friend.

The manuscript is in two pieces, one larger and one smaller. The larger piece is about 40 × 8 cm. Whether they are two parts of one and the same leaf or parts of two separate leaves I am not sure. It would seem, however, that section c follows b, but d does not precede a, which would indicate separate leaves.

The language is standard Middle Khotanese, that is, the same as that of the other documents from the area of Dandan Öiliq.

The text, in the form of a conversation between the Buddha and several *nāga* (serpent) kings, is a spell (*maṃdra* "mantra") to protect against the various sufferings and dangers of existence, a *rakṣā*, to be carried on one's body (lines b10–11), including a Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*.

1 See Stein 1907, pl. XXIV, lower-center, left/west of D.V and D.IV; Christoph Baumer, letter of 3/12/99.

The role of *nāgas* as protectors from illnesses is well known,[2] but to my knowledge is not found elsewhere in the extant Khotanese literature.

The *nāga* kings featured in this text are Sāgara, Anavatapta, Kāḍaka, Mīgala, Gavaśīrṣa, Grahavatta, and Kauṭakarṇa. A summary search has not revealed this particular list anywhere else. The first two are mentioned in a long list of a variety of beings who protect and rid the world of evil, but without specific reference to illness, in *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 14.25[3]: *anūvatattä nāgānu rre u sāgarä nāgānu rre* "Anavatapta king of *nāgas* and Sāgara king of *nāgas*". In the list of *nāga* kings in a Late Khotanese manuscript of the *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* from Dunhuang, we have the following list: *tta tta khu nāvauna rāṃda 'īde nada upanada sāgara grrahadatta 'elapatta myacalena* ... "as well as the *nāga* kings, (who) are: Nanda, Upananda, Sāgara, Grahavadatta, Elapatra, Mucilinda ..."[4] The list of *nāga* kings in the text published by LALOU, has no matches with our list, and the long list found in the Khotanese *Saṅghāṭa-sūtra* (§ 6.9, in the introduction to the sutra) has only one match: Apalāla, Elapatra, Timiṅgila, Kumbhasāra, Kumbhaśīrṣa, Sunanda, Suśākha, Gavaśīrṣa.[5]

The Late Khotanese text *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* has several close parallel passages with our text.[6] These will be quoted in the commentary below.

Text and translation

a1	[x x] x tc- [x x] r- hū-	... so that?] blood
a2	ñ*i* haysguā narāmī marmasthą-	would come out in [our] nostrils;
a3	n*v*ā-t-*ū*ṃ *tt*audi ayūli ttrąmą-	a *hot *ball will enter our vulnerable places;
a4	te paskyāṣṭa vā rakṣaśi himą-	hereafter we shall be *rākṣasīs* (female demons);
a5	mane ni *v*[ā cak]*rr*[a]vālāṃ garị-	nor will there be a dwelling [for us]
a6	*n*-[ū]*ṃ* ā'ma' himāte ma ni ba[']-	[within] the Cakravāḍa mountains; we shall not
a7	ysūśtä bvāmane ‖ ttī vā	realize bodhi. — Then,
a8	*s*āgarä nātāṃ rre. anavata-	Sāgara, king of nāgas, Anavatapta,
a9	*pt*ä nātāṃ rre. kāḍakä nātāṃ	king of nāgas, Kāḍaka, king of nāgas,
a10	rre ttīmīgalä nātāṃ rre ga-	Timiṅgala, king of nāgas,

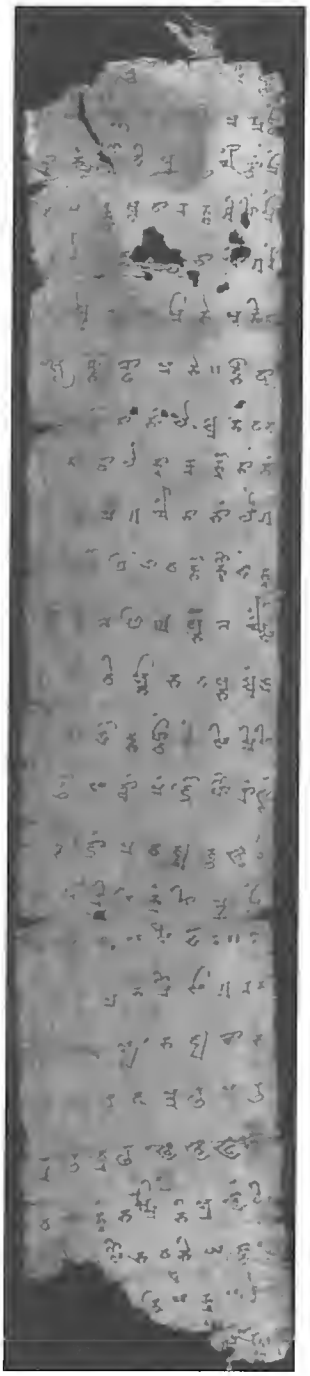
2 See the study by MARCELLE LALOU (1938), kindly brought to my attention by CRISTINA SCHERRER-SCHAUB, Lausanne.

3 EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1995, p. 193; SKJÆRVØ 2004, I, p. 268; see also EMMERICK 1990a, pp. 72–73.

4 Aps V §§ 21–31, in the British Library ms. Or. 8210/S. 2471, ll. 268–281, SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 34; BAILEY 1951, pp. 99–100; DUAN QING, pp. 83–84.

5 CANEVASCINI 1993, p. 4.

6 IOL Khot 165/1b, SKJÆRVØ 2002, pp. 370–373; BAILEY 1963b, pp. 61–64. The passages cited here are all in SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 371; BAILEY 1963b, pp. 63–64.

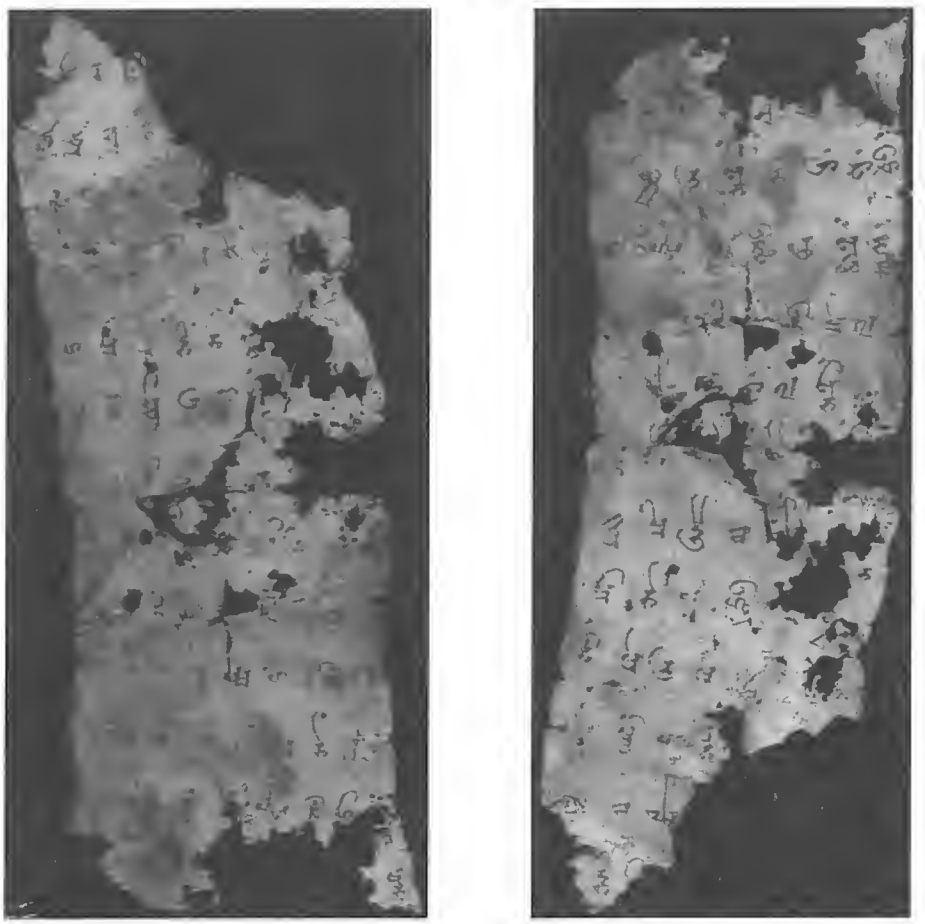


(a)

(b)

Fig. 1:
Dandan Öiliq amulet

a11	*va*śirṣä grahavattä kauṭaka-	Gavaśīrṣa, Grahavatta, Kauṭakarṇa,
a12	rṇä tti baña gyastä balysä	they stood before the Lord Buddha
a13	*j*sauṇe vistāta dasta aṃja-	with bowed heads, took the hands together in
a14	lä nāṃdä tta hvāṃdi si mihi	the *añjali* position, (and) spoke thus: We,
a15	pātcä satvāṃ maṃdrä haurāṃ khūṃ	then, shall give the beings a mantra so that
a16	*ni* ttidrąma-vadya dukha *ni*	that kind of sufferings will not
a17	himāri u ka-ṃ himya āṃ-	arise for them and, if they shall already have arisen
a18	de khūṃ jsa parsīdä : ‖ :	for them, so that they shall escape from them.
a19	sIdhaṁ namau sāgara nā-	[Sanskrit:] Welfare! Homage to Sāgara,
a20	*ga*rājasya. tadyathā tu-	king of nāgas. Such as *turu turu* [etc.]
a21	ru turu tu muru muru	
a22	curu curu. khakha khakha	
a23	vehakaṃ tasmāṭ sukhaṃ vi	thereby well-being …
a24	x -e x sau bhavati yajña. x	will be, offering. …
a25	[x x x] upaka ‖ rre x	
a26	[x x x x x] -e *c*ya x	
b1	[x x x] *vā*sanī. na-	
b2	[x x x] gaṇḍa śaṇḍa garja ga-	
b3	rja śauṣa śoṣaya eṭa x	… dry out! …
b4	eṭaca namau khadhvija *mā*-	… Homage to Khadvija [etc.]
b5	khala vāsanīyaṃ tugra	
b6	sagra sa śīghrra śīṇḍa śīghrra	
b7	ha . auṁ khakha. khikhi khu	
b8	khu jvaraṇa-śaucanaṃ phaṭ	… burning with fever …
b9	turu turu muru muru cu-	
b10	ru curu svāhā ‖ cu tvā ra-	… [Khotanese:] He who carries this
b11	kṣa biṃda barī ka rrāṃdä jsī-	protection upon (himself), if he becomes
b12	*yi* vīra ārraḍä himāte	guilty of *slaying of the king,
b13	au ąmācāṃ mū-kṣīrāṃ au	or *ministers, of countrymen or
b14	nitca-kṣīrāṃ khvī uląñā-	foreigners, if they take him
b15	ṣṭa bāyīdä ays-ī brāṃbi	to another place, I shall stand
b16	viṣṭūṃ jīvye haurūṃ nai paśūṃ	before him, I shall give (him) life, I shall not leave him.
b17	khu mamąña thąña ṣṭąna	If he dies while in my place (location),
b18	*mī*ḍi ka x x ni yanīme	may I not make …
b19	mara uląñi āṃ ttā pa-	Here (or) elsewhere may I find
b20	*rrīy*- x byehīme u ha-	release for you. And …
b21	x *tt*ari gya -*ä* tt- -e -i ka	… if
b22	*ṣi*' hve' jauya va hā *j*sāte	that man goes to litigation
b23	x śū *b*iśä nva *t*sūṃ parvā	I shall go
b24	-*ī*sī khvī -ǻda pra*v*arā	… if … him …



(c) (d)

Fig. 2: Dandan Öiliq amulet

c1	[x] *ṣ*ā rakṣa [	... this protection ...
c2	ñ- cu buri [	... as many ...
c3	*su*rrja sa*r*rj- [x] x [	clean ...
c4	ttye hva[ṃ]ḍä vīra *v*asva [	toward that man pure [thoughts? ...
c5	himāre ttina hva*ṃ*[ḍäna hi-	will be. By that man ...
c6	mā*ṃ*dä ārraḍä / x [	they shall become(?). ... [he will be?] guilty ...
c7	x padī *hv*ā́ / x [	... manner ...
c8	-ū tta [x] x -ā́ña x x	
c9	x x ni x [x] -audä nāt*a*	... having been taken (away?)

c10	ṣṭāni hā puṣṣa haurīdä. *na*	they will give all back to him/them.
c11	ttatta ni *patsā*mane gyast-	We shall really not *relinquish (him). O Lord
c12	balysa *t*vą̄[n]*ai* ysīnī hā x	Buddha, [we shall leave him?] entrusted to you.
c13	[x] x x [x x x x] ṣka	...
d1	x *n*- pa *ś*- ś- x x [	
d2	*gī*hyi ustą̄nä rrāṃdāṃ hī	may help him(?) ... and he may go as witness(?)
d3	vāysāṃ by*au* tsī usthaṃjūṃ	for(?) the king's ... I shall pull him/it out ...
d4	x ttatta ni *y*anīme gyast[a]	... I shall really not make ..., O Lord
d5	balysa biśāṃ gyastāṃ *balysāṃ*	Buddha, *listening to all the lord buddhas
d6	*p*yū[v]*e*[m-x] sai[t]*ti* -ā́ṃ [	*pleases ...
d7	khu mittrai balysä [pa]na-	when Maitreya rises as a buddha
d8	māte ays-ī *h*- *v*y- *ya*-	I shall make him ...
d9	nīme u *ṣa* x x [	
d10	[x] ṣcä ysarrn- [	... golden ...
d11	ñ- balysa	... buddhas ...
d12	[x] tti *rr*- [	

Commentary

a1–2: With *hūña haysguā narāmī* "blood comes out in the nostrils," cf. *Jīvakapustaka* 72r4: *ca eha <ha>ysgvā nāṣṭi hū̧ña narą̄mi* "if blood comes out (and) down into the mouth and the nostrils".[7]

The beginning of the text is probably similar to the beginning of *Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī*, where various illnesses are listed. *Amṛtaprabhadhāraṇī* 5–6: *[ha]śä aveysārä haṃtsa hū̧ñe jsa. hinai aveysārä. gva rāhä. bāta saṃdvā. kā̧'malä. kamala-rāhä. tti buri ā[chā] tcamna hvaṃḍä mirāre* "swelling, discharge with blood, red discharge, illness in the ear, wind, a combination, jaundice, illness in the head—all these illnesses whereby men die".

Note also *Siddhasāra* 3.26.3: *cu buysīñä ṣvīda ṣe' hū̧ñīne aviysāra jināka* "as for goat's milk, it removes discharge with blood = dysentery"[8].

a2: *marmasthą̄nvā*: The reading of the *akṣara nvā* is not certain, but I think the surface of the paper has been scraped off to the lower left where only faint traces of the subscript *-v-* can now be seen; alternately the *-v-* is lost in the tear in the paper below the *akṣara* (cf. *nva* in b23, which shows that the *-v-* is very

7 BAILEY 1969, I, pp. 158–159; KONOW 1941, pp. 36–37.

8 British Library IOL Khot 116–137 = Ch. ii.002 20v1; BAILEY 1969, I, p. 32; cf. EMMERICK 1982, p. 61.

low). The word *marma-sthāna-* is found in the *Suśruta*, a Sanskrit medical text devoted to the multitude of *marmans*, the body's weak spots, that are especially susceptible to wounds.[9]

-t-ūṃ: This is the regular way in Middle Khotanese of attaching the enclitic pronoun *-ṃ* "us, them, etc." to words ending in long vowels, cf. British Library ms. Or. 9268B a1: *salī 10 7 māśtä mūdracaja haḍā-t-ū jsa 10 1* "Year 17, month of Mūdracaja, thereof 11 days."[10]

a2–3: *ayūli*. The first *akṣara* looks like *pū*, but, again, the surface of the paper looks like it has been scraped off to the lower left, and there may be faint traces of the lower left angle still visible (there is a similarly damaged *a-* in d8). The "hot ball," Skt. *ayoguḍa*, is found in the *jātaka* story of Mahāprabhāsa in *Jātakastava* 11, and is also used as a simile in love poetry for ultimate pain and torture, e.g. in the Staël-Holstein scroll line 70 (Bailey 1969, II, p. 76) *khva vistā ysirä biṃdä brrīvīnai ttaudä ayūlä* "when there has established itself in their heart the hot ball of love", and in the Pelliot ms. P 2022 line 50: *pharä ṣa' hasta khu hvai ttaudä ąyūla hvīḍä* "it (would be) much better if a man were to swallow a hot ball".[11]

a4: *paskyāṣṭa* "back, again" refers to future rebirths (going *back*), like Skt. *punar*, cf. *Anantamukhanirhāra-dhāraṇī* 15.9: *ttyau ... kuśalamūlyau tcahaulsä satä-ysāre kalpa saṃtsāro paskyā[lsto -]rräte* "by those roots of goodness for forty hundred thousand years in *saṃsāra* ... backward," Tibetan: *dge-bahi rje-ba des ṅas bskal-pa bye-ba hbum-phrag bźi-khrir khor-ba phyir-bsñil-to*;[12] *Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra* 8 (13, 34): *jsīna paskyāṣṭä ssa salī uskhaysde* "he extends (his) life back a hundred years," Sanskrit: *punar eva varṣa-śatāyuṣo bhaviṣyanti*.[13]

rakṣaśi must be the nominative-accusative plural of *rakṣaśā'-* "female *rākṣasa*". The form is the correct Middle Khotanese form except for the missing subscript hook to indicate the voiced sibilant. The sentence must refer to future rebirths and combines the two horrible alternatives of being reborn as a *rākṣasa* or a female.

The word is also found in *Sumukha-dhāraṇī* 1034–1035: *ttī vā vajrradūtta mista rakṣaśa' kąmä hālai gyastä ba'ysä āste hāṣṭa aṃjalä dasta biysīyā u gyastä ba'ysä namasyā u ttai hvā* "then the great *rākṣasī* Vajradūti made the *añjali* gesture in the direction where the Lord Buddha was sitting and did homage to the Lord Buddha and spoke thus to him", for which the Sanskrit text has *atha khalu*

9 *Śarīrasthāna* 6.16, 24–25, ref. kindly provided by Emmerick.
10 Skjærvø 2002, p. 68; Or. 9268.2 in Bailey 1969, II, p. 14.
11 Staël-Holstein scroll in Bailey 1969, II, p. 76; P 2022 in Bailey 1969, III, p. 44; see also Dresden 1955, pp. 423, 468 with refs.
12 British Library IOL Khot 152/1 [fol. *24] r3–4, Skjærvø 2002, p. 340; H 142 NS 78 in Bailey 1963b, p. 104; Tibetan text and translation in Inagaki 1987, p. 239; 1999, p. 151.
13 IOL Khot 60–61, Skjærvø 2002, p. 298; Aps 2b3, 3b4, 8a1 in Bailey 1963b, pp. 244–245.

vajradūtir mahā-rākṣasī yena bhagavāṃs tenājali-praṇamya bhavaṃtam etad avocaṭ.[14]

a6: *ā'ma'*. The two "subscript hooks" are problematic, as only one is reequired in *ā'mā-* (< Old Khotanese *ā'matā-*) "dwelling" and only one in *āṣa'* "worthy" (< Old Khotanese *āṣaṇa-*). In any case, the second *akṣara* looks more like *ma* than *ṣa*.

As the Cakravāḍa mountains encircle the world, the meaning is clearly that they will not be reborn in the world, but rather on some lower level, such as in hells.

a6–7: *ma ni ba[']ysūśtä bvāmane*, cf. *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 49: *u baysūśte vyāreṇi ni byihīmī* "and I shall not find the explanation of bodhi" (also followed by a new section of the text).[15]

a14–18: Cf. *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 36–37: *ttī vā vaśavarte … ḡyastä bi'ysä tta hvi si pātcä satvuą̄nä maṃdrra haurū x -e […] paya haysgami bida *ne hīsīdä ū ka āte himāṃdi khvaṃ jsa gvaṣṭä byihīdä* "And then Vajravartin(?) … spoke thus to the Lord Buddha: Next, I shall give beings a mantra [so that] troubles shall not come upon (them) thereafter, and, if they have (already) come, so that they obtain separation from them." Then follows the spell, as in our text.

a17: *ka-ṃ himya āṃde* "if they have arisen for them," note the perfect subjunctive, for which *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 37 has the intransitive potential construction *ka āte himāṃdi*.

b10–16: Cf. *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 40–41: *cū ṣi' himāti strrīya cū tvuā rakṣa bida barī na ṣi' tvā rādä āraḍä au vā mistāṃ hvą̄ṣṭāṃ jsīyi […ˇ khvī u]lą̄ña ājimīdä samī ṣā' rakṣa ūskyāṣṭä haṃ{tca}grrīhą̄ña*. [the *akṣara tca* appears to have been deleted] *aysä vara hīsūṃ* "Whoever that woman may be who carries this protection upon herself, she will not become guilty of killing the king or the great teachers. [If] they bring [her] elsewhere, she just has to lift that protection high, (and) I shall come there."

b11: *ka rrāṃdä jsīyi vīra* "if he becomes guilty of *slaying of the king", tentatively assuming that *jsīyi* = Old Khotanese *jsīte* "to slay, to be slain". In the *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* (see above), *jsīyi* is not certain, but possible.

b12: *vīra ārraḍä*: For the use of *vīra* with *ārraḍa-* "guilty in = of", cf. IOL Khot 219/1 line a7: *[…] vī ni ārraḍä yeṃ*, presumably: "I was not guilty of […]"[16]

14 IOL Khot 46, SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 547; BAILEY 1951, p. 142. Sanskrit text in BONGARD-LEVIN 1980–1981, p. 47 (note that the edition has *vajrabhūti*, but the photograph has a clear *vajradūti*; the ms. also seems to have *avecaṭ*).

15 On the negation *ma ni*, usually "may not", see EMMERICK 1990b, pp. 106–112.

16 SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 475; BAILEY 1969, II, p. 61, no. 19.

Note also that Middle Khotanese *ārraḍa-* (from Old Khotanese *ārra-gäḍa-/täḍa-*) with *rr* corresponds to Late Khotanese (Dunhuang texts) *āraḍa-*.

b13: *ą̄mācāṃ*: The akṣara *c-* is broken, but the left protruding stroke is visible, and it can not be *ñ-*, which has a big flourish to the left and up.

b13–14: *mū-kṣīrāṃ au nitca-kṣīrāṃ* "those of this land (countrymen) or those of a foreign land". The term *mū-kṣīraa-* is, to my knowledge, new; *nätca-kṣīraa-* was already known from *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 6.2.83: *biśyau īṇātyau nätca-kṣīrgyau hīnyau* "by all foreign, external enemy armies", rendering Sanskrit *sarva-para-cakra*.[17] Elsewhere the opposite of *nätca-* "external" is *haṃdara-* "internal," as in the expression *handarna nätcana spāśś-* "to look at inside and out" in *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 8.5, Z 24.264.[18]

b14–15: *ulą̄ñāṣṭa* "to another place" and b19 *ulą̄ñi* "elsewhere" provide the Middle Khotanese equivalents of Old Khotanese *uholañä* (*Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 6.2.34, 13.9), rendering Sanskrit *anyatra*.[19] The *ñā* in *ulą̄ñāṣṭa* has a superscript *-ā* (rather than one attached to the side of the *akṣara*) for lack of space.

b19: *āṃ ttā*. This combination is found also elsewhere in similar contexts, e.g.: IOL Khot Wood 25 (Iledong 026) a3 *vaña āṃ ttā ṣiṇau yani* "now I am making propitiation to you"; IOL Khot Wood 20 a2 (M.T. i.3) *hā āṃ ttā ṣänau yani* "I make propitiation to you there(?)."[20]

parrīy-, cf. *Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharāja-sūtra*, Or. 6402B/1.3 b5: *ttinai byehīndä x x biśyau haysgamatyau jsa* "thereby they will obtain [deliverance] from all woes and sufferings", Sanskrit *upāyāsebhyaḥ parimucyanti*;[21] *Bhaiṣ.* FM 25, 1 r1: *ttänai byevīndä parrīyu haṃtharkyau haysgamatyau jsa* "thereby they will obtain deliverance from oppressions, from afflictions" (but possibly *ttinai* = *ttänī* "at once," on which see Emmerick/Skjærvø 1997, pp. 66–67); *Bhaiṣ.* FM 25, 1 v5 *thatau byevīndä parrīyu* "they will quickly obtain deliverance".[22]

b22: *jauya va hā jsāte*, cf. *Rāmāyaṇa*, P 2801 line 22: *jauya usta tsū̆ñai* "in the end one must go to a fight".[23]

This passage can perhaps be compared with *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 42–44: *au vā daulyau baṃ[tvyau ? ...] gvāra-gviryau bahauysyau jsa khū ṣṭā paṃdi jsāti samī ṣā rakṣa ūskāṣṭa haṃgrrīhāña* "or with/because of sticks, *complaints ... from litigators, merchants, when he is walking on the road he just has to lift up this protection".

17 See Emmerick/Skjærvø 1982, p. 62.
18 Skjærvø 2004, I, p. 182; Emmerick 1968, pp. 390–391.
19 Cf. Bailey 1967, p. 37.
20 Skjærvø 2002, pp. 565–566; Iledong 026 in Bailey 1969, III, p. 135, and M.T. i 3 in Bailey 1963b, p. 204.
21 Skjærvø 2002, p. 21; Bailey 1963b, p. 90; Sanskrit text in Vaidya 1961, p. 168, ll. 14–15.
22 Bailey 1969, III, p. 124.
23 Bailey 1969, III, p. 66.

c9–10: With this passage cf. *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 46–47: *ṣai khvi -ū x [...] -da īdä nā ṣṭąnai vā hā biśa puṣa haurīdä* "even when ... they have been ..., but having been taken(?) they will give all back to him".[24]

c11: *ttatta*, perhaps to be compared with Old Khotanese *ttattu (< ttatvatu)* "in reality" used with negation, cf. *Suvarṇabhāsottama-sūtra* 5.17: *ne ttattu hämāre* "they do not really become," Sanskrit *asaṃbhavāś ca*.[25]

c12: t*vą́[n]*ai *ysīnī hā [...]*: Cf. Z 22.95 *umā ttū śśāśanu ysīnīyu dastu vīri paśśīmä* "I leave this Śāśana entrusted in your hand".[26] The *akṣara tvā* looks like *nvā*, different from the distinctive *tv-* in a15 *satvāṃ* and b10 *tvā*; there are, however, examples in the other documents from the same period and same area that *tv-* could also be written similar to *nv-*.[27] Reading *nv-*, we would seem to have n*vą́[n]-e ysīnī hā [...]* "[we shall leave him?] entrusted to your bed(?)," with *nvāna-* "bed".[28]

d2: *ustą̄nä*. The same word appears in *Amṛtaprabha-dhāraṇī* 42: *ttyi hvaṃdi ātaṃ haṃbirūṃ anārī padīmi balaudī ūstānä arūnai hu x x [...] sidhavaṃdī padīmi* "I shall fulfill all that man's wishes. I shall make him free of guilt. I shall make his *ustāna* powerful, ... successful".

d3: *byau tsī*: The expression *byau (byau) tsū-* is common, the subject most often being *suha*: "blessings will greatly increase".[29]

d7: *[pa]namāte*. Cf. specifically Z 22.207: *ku mätrai panamäte balysä* "when Maitreya rises as a buddha", and in general, e.g., Z 2.244: *pharṣata parste pīḍe ysaṃbastä ttyau puñyau balysi panamāte ma dāru* "the official Ysaṃbasta ordered this to be written. On account of those merits, may he arise as a buddha before long!"[30]

24 BAILEY 1963b, p. 64.
25 SKJÆRVØ 2004, I, p. 78.
26 See BAILEY 1967, p. 295.
27 Cf. *tvā* in Or. 6393/2 line 4 (SKJÆRVØ 2002, p. 4; BAILEY 1961, pl. XXV; BAILEY 1963b, p. 2; BAILEY 1968, p. 52).
28 See SKJÆRVØ 1999 [2002], pp. 152–153.
29 BAILEY 1979, p. 312.
30 EMMERICK 1968, pp. 318–319.

Glossary

(Unidentified fragmentary words have been omitted)

aṃjalä "in *añjali* position" adverb a13
anavatapta- proper name nom. sing. *anavataptä* a8
au "or," *au* ... *au* "either ... or" conjunction b13
aysī < *aysä* + *-ī*
aysä "I" 1st pers. pron. nom. sing. b15, d8
ayūla- "ball" nom. sing. *ayūli* a4
āṃ particle emphasizing here and now(?) b19
āmācaa- "minister" gen.-dat. plur. *ą̄mācāṃ* b13
ārraḍa- "guilty" nom.-sing. masc. *ārraḍä* b12, c6 (Old Khotanese *ārra-gäḍa-*, *ārra-täḍa-*)
ā'mā- "dwelling" nom. sing. *ā'ma'* a6 (Old Khotanese *ā'matā-*)

balysa- "buddha" *nom. sing. *balysä* d7; *nom.-acc. plur. *balysa* d11 (see *gyasta- balysa-*)
baña "before" prep. + gen.-dat. a12
bar- "carry" pres. opt. 3rd sing. *barī* b11
ba'ysūsti- "buddhahood, bodhi" nom.-acc. sing. *ba[']sūśtä* a6 (Old Khotanese *balysūsti-*)
bāy- "lead" pres. indic. 3rd plur. *bāyīdä* b15
biṃda "on" postpos. b11
biśa- "every, all" *nom.-acc. plur. masc. *biśä* b23; gen.-dat. plur. masc. *biśāṃ* d5
buri > *cu buri*
brāṃbi "before" postpos. + gen.-dat. b15 (Old Khotanese *bruṃbäte*)
buv- "know, experience" pres. indic. or subj. 1st sing. plur. *bvāmane* a7
byeh- "obtain, find" pres. opt. 1st sing. *byehīme* b20
byau "increase" d3

cakrravāla- "Cakravāḍa" name of a mountain (range) gen.-dat. plur. *[cak]rr[a]vālāṃ* a5
cu rel. pron. b10
cu buri "as long as" conjunction c2

dasta- "hand" nom.-acc. plur. *dasta* a13
dukha- "suffering" nom.-acc. plur. *dukha* a16

gara- "mountain" gen.-dat. plur. *garį-n-* (< *gariṃ* + *-ūṃ*) a5
gavaśirṣa- proper name nom. sing. *gavaśirṣä* a10
gīh- "help" pres. opt. 3rd sing.(?) *gīhyi* d2 (Old Khotanese *ggīh-*)
grahavatta- proper name nom. sing. *grahavattä* a11
gyasta- balysa- "lord buddha" voc. sing. *gyast- balysa* c11–12, d4; gen.-dat. sing. *gyastä balysä* a12; gen.-dat. plur. *gyastāṃ balysāṃ* d5

haur- "give" pres. indic. 1st sing. *haurūṃ* b16; pres. indic. 3rd plur. *haurīdä* c10; pres. indic. 1st sing. plur. *haurāṃ* a15
haysge "nostrils" loc. plur. *haysguā* a2
hā "thither, to him/them" directional adverb b22, c1, 10, 12

him- "become" pres. indic./subj. 1st plur. *himąmane* a4; pres. subj. 3rd sing. *himāte* a6, b12; pres. indic. 3rd plur. *himāre* a17, c5; pres. subj. [hi]māṃdä c5–6(?); perf. subj. 3rd plur. *himya āṃde* a17
hīḷ d2
hūni- "blood" nom. sing. *hūñi* a1
hvaṇḍ- "man" nom. sing. *hve'* b22; gen.-dat. sing. *hva[ṃ]ḍä* c4; instr.-abl. sing. *hvaṃ[ḍäna]* c5 (Old Khotanese *hva'nd-*)
hvāñ- "speak, say" perf. 3rd plur. masc. *hvāṃdi* a14

-ī "him, etc." encl. pron. 3rd sing. b14, 15, 16, 24, d8

jau- "fight, litigation" loc. sing. *jauya* b22
jsan- "kill" inf. *jsīyi* b11
jsauṇe "with bowed head" adverb a13 (Old Khotanese *jsaunäte*) a13
jsā- "go" pres. indic. 3rd sing. *jsāte* b22
jīvya- "life" nom.-acc. sing. *jīvye* b16 (Old Khotanese *jīvätä*, *jīvätu*)

ka "if" conjunction a17, b11
kauṭakarṇa- proper name nom. sing. *kauṭakarṇä* a11
khu "so that, when, if" conjunction a15, 18, b14, 17, 24, d7
khvī < *khu* + *-ī*
khūṃ < *khu* + *-ṃ*
khūṃ jsa < *khu* + *-ṃ jsa*
kāḍaka- proper name nom. sing. *kāḍakä* a9

-ṃ "us, for us; them, for them" encl. pron. 1st sing. plur., 3rd plur. a15, 17, 18; *-ūṃ* a3, *6
ma ni "not, may … not" a6
mamānaa- "my" poss. pron. loc. sing. masc. *mamąña* b17
maṃdra- "mantra, spell" nom.-acc. sing. *maṃdrä* a15
mara "here" adverb b19
marmasthāna- "soft spot, vulnerable place" loc. plur. *marmasthąnvā* a2
mihi "we" pers. pron. 1st sing. plur. nom. a14
mir- "die" pres. indic. 3rd sing. *mīḍi* b18
mittraa- "Maitreya" proper name nom.-acc. sing. *mittrai* d7
mū-kṣīraa- "of/belonging to this country" gen.-dat. plur. masc. *mū-kṣīrāṃ* b13

nai < *ni* + *-ī*
narām- "come/go out" pres. opt. 3rd sing. *narāmī* a2
nā- "nāga" gen.-dat. plur. *nātāṃ* a8–10
nās- "take" perf. 3rd plur. masc. *nāṃdä* a14; *past pass. part. *nāta* c9
ni "not" negation a5, 16, b16, c11, d4 (cf. *ma ni*; Old Khotanese *na*, *nä*)
nitca-kṣīraa- "of/belonging to an external country" gen.-dat. plur. masc. *nitca-kṣīrāṃ* b14
nva "following, after" preposition/postposition b23

padia- "manner" *gen.-dat. sing. *padī* c7

paṃts- "leave behind, relinquish" pres. indic. 3rd plur. *patsāmane* c11 (Old Khotanese *patäts-*)
panam- "rise" pres. subj. 3rd sing. *[pa]namāte* d7–8
parrīya- "deliverance" nom.-acc. sing. *parrīy-* b19
pars- "be delivered, escape" pres. indic. 3rd plur. *parsīdä* a18
parvā b23
paskyāṣṭa "back, backward" a4
paś- "leave" pres. indic. 1st sing. *paśūṃ* b16 (Old Khotanese *paśś-*)
pātcä "afterward, next" adverb a15
pravarā b24 Skt. "excellent"(?)
puṣṣa "altogether, completely" adverb c10 (Old Khotanese *puṣṣo*)
pyūvāmā- "hearing, listening" *gen.-dat./instr.-abl. sing. *pyū[v]e[m-* d6

rakṣaśā- "rākṣasī" nom.-acc. plur. *rakṣaśi* a4
rakṣā- "protection" nom.-acc. sing. *rakṣa* b10, c1
rrund- "king" nom. sing. *rre* a8, gen.-dat. sing. *rrāṃdä* b11; gen.-dat. plur. *rrāṃdāṃ* d2

satva- "being" gen.-dat. plur. *satvāṃ* a15
say- "seem (good)" pres. indic. 3rd sing. *sai[t]ti* d6(?)
si particle introducing direct speech a14
sāgara- proper name nom. sing. *sāgarä* a8
suraa- "clean, pure" nom.-acc. sing. fem. *surja* c3
ṣa'- pers./dem. pronoun gen.-dat. sing. masc. *ttye* c4; instr.-abl. sing. masc. *ttina* c5; nom.-acc. plur. *tti* a12, d12
ṣaṣa'- "this" dem. pron. acc. sing. fem. *tvā* b10 (Old Khotanese *ttuto*)
ṣṭāna particle emphasizing then and there(?) b17, *ṣṭāni* c10

thāna- "place" loc. sing. *thāña* b17
tsū- "go" pres. indic. 1st sing. *tsūṃ* b23; opt. 3rd sing. *tsī* d3
tti, ttina > *ṣa'-*
ttī "then" a7
tta "thus" adverb a14
ttatta "in reality(?)" c11, d4
ttauda- "heated, (red-)hot" nom. sing. masc. **ttaudi* a4
ttidrāma-vadya- "of that kind" nom.-acc. plur. *ttidrāma-vadya* a16
ttīmīgala- proper name nom. sing. *ttīmīgalä* a10
ttrām- "enter" pres. subj. 3rd sing. *ttrāmāte* a3
ttā "to you" directional adverb b19
tvā, see *ṣaṣa'-*
tvānaa- "thy" poss. pron. *gen.-dat. sing. masc. c12

u "and" conjunction a17, b20, d9
ulāñi "elsewhere" b19 (Old Khotanese *uhulañä, uholañä*)
ulāñāṣṭa "to another place" adverb b14
ustānä d2
usthaṃj- "pull out, utter" pres. indic. 1st sing. *usthaṃjūṃ* d3
-ūṃ, see *-ṃ*

va particle(?) b22
vasua- "pure" *nom.-acc. plur. masc. *vasva* c4 (Old Khotanese *vasuta-*)
vā particle a7
vāysāṃ d3
viṣṭ- "stand" pres. indic. 1st sing. *viṣṭūṃ* b16; perf. 3rd plur. masc. *vistāta* a13
vīra "in, on" postpos. b12, c4

yan- "do" pres. opt. 1st sing. *yanīme* b18, d4, 8
ysarrnaa- "golden" *ysarrn-* d10(?)
ysīnī "in the care (of)" c12

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Eine Re-Edition zweier manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe[1]

Werner Sundermann, Berlin

Vor nahezu 40 Jahren beschäftigte ich mich erstmals mit den beiden manichäisch-soghdischen Briefen, deren bedeutsamen Inhalt bereits 1936 Henning bekannt gemacht hatte.[2] Da weder Henning selbst noch ein anderer die Gelegenheit gefunden hatte, die Briefe auch zu veröffentlichen, so berichtete ich über sie 1976 in meinem Beitrag zur (zweiten) Budapester Konferenz „The Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia" und versprach, mit der Kühnheit des Ahnungslosen, eine Edition der Briefe folgen zu lassen. Sie erfolgte in den Akten des Kongresses, *From Hecataeus to Al-Ḫuwārizmī*.[3]

Meine Mitteilung hatte für mich die positive Wirkung, die Aufmerksamkeit der führenden Fachgelehrten auf mein Vorhaben zu lenken und in der Folge ihre großzügige Hilfe zu finden. Rat und Beistand erhielt ich von Ilya Gershevitch, D. Neil MacKenzie und Nicholas Sims-Williams. Gershevitch teilte mir außerdem die relevanten Bemerkungen mit, die Henning hinterlassen hatte und die sich im Besitz von Gershevitch befanden. Sie ergänzen die zahlreichen Textlesungen, die bereits in der *Grammar of Manichean Sogdian* von Gershevitch veröffentlicht worden waren.

Aus Termingründen mußte ich mich entschließen, die Beiträge von MacKenzie und Sims-Williams teilweise in den Anmerkungen mitzuteilen und die Beiträge von Gershevitch und Henning in einem Anhang zur Edition, selbst wenn ich die Vorschläge meiner Helfer für besser hielt als meine eigenen. Häufig aber konnte ich mich nicht entschließen, mich für eine Möglichkeit unter mehreren zu entscheiden, so gewissermaßen es dem Leser überlassend, sich sein eigenes Urteil zu bilden.

Das Resultat war ein so schwer überblickbarer und weitgehend ergebnisoffener Übersetzungstext, daß ich meinen an sich wichtigen Artikel, „Probleme der Interpretation manichäisch-soghdischer Briefe", nicht in die Sammlung

1 Auch bei meiner zweiten Edition der soghdischen Briefe fand ich den Rat und die Hilfe von Nicholas Sims-Williams, der mich vor manchen Fehlern bewahrt hat. Seine wichtigsten Hinweise sind namentlich ausgewiesen. Für Rat und Hilfe danke ich ebenfalls Christiane Reck.

2 Henning 1936, S. 16–18.

3 Hrsg. von J. Harmatta, Budapest 1984, S. 289–316.

meiner Nachdrucke[4] aufnahm. Die grundsätzlichen Mängel der Arbeit ließen sich nicht durch eine Fehlerliste beheben.

Seitdem plante ich eine Neuedition der Briefe, deren Hauptziel es sein sollte, Text und Übersetzung leichter zugänglich zu machen und mein nunmehriges Verständnis der Texte darzulegen. Abbildungen der hier vorgelegten Stücke finden sich in D. WEBERS *Iranian Manichaean Turfan texts in publications since 1934*, plates 24, 43–44, 61–62 (erster Brief) und plates 27, 28, 115 und 120 (zweiter Brief). Sie können auch im digitalen Turfanarchiv des Akademienvorhabens Turfanforschung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (www.bbaw.de/forschung/turfanforschung/dta_d.html) angesehen werden.

Bis in den März des Jahres 2006 waren die Originale der Fragmente M 112 und M 119 verschollen und galten als verloren (vgl. BOYCE 1960, S. 10). Wenige Wochen vor Fertigstellung dieses Artikels erfuhr ich von Frau Dr. S. RASCHMANN, daß die originalen Fragmente im Archiv der Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz wiederentdeckt wurden. Frau RASCHMANN danke ich ferner für die sofortige Zurverfügungstellung der Originale, deren Text in der vorgelegten Edition mitberücksichtigt wurde. Allerdings machen sie die ausgezeichneten Photos im Archiv des Akademienvorhabens Turfanforschung der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften nicht überflüssig, denn wiederholt zeigen diese den Text in vollständiger Gestalt.

Meine neue Edition revidiert und ergänzt die Ergebnisse der alten, inkorporiert sie aber nicht in extenso. Sie verweist auf die Arbeit von 1984, wo immer es noch möglich erscheint, und sie setzt den Text meines dort auf den Seiten 289 bis 304 abgedruckten Vortrages voraus. Die bedeutenderen Beiträge anderer, die ich in den Jahren bis 1984 erhielt, habe ich auch in dieser Arbeit kenntlich gemacht, wobei ich mir des unvermeidlichen Dilemmas bewußt bin, nicht zu wissen, ob Professor HENNING die Veröffentlichung aller seiner einstigen Überlegungen gebilligt hätte. Was meine *Re-Edition* nicht leistet, ist die Einbeziehung weiterer kleiner soghdischer Brieffragmente, die noch der Veröffentlichung harren.

Wer die vorliegende Edition mit jener von 1984 vergleicht, der wird neben vielen Revisionen im einzelnen zwei größere Veränderungen bemerken, die sich hoffentlich als Fortschritte erweisen werden: 1. Die angezeigten Verstöße der gegnerischen Gemeinde gegen das Gebot des „religionsgemäßen Verhaltens" im ersten Brief (Zeilen 24 bis 32) erfahren eine neue Deutung; 2. Bestätigt durch die Deutung von soghdisch 'ywp'zky' als „Gaststatus" (zweiter Brief, Zeile 16) durch NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS (bekräftigt durch MARTIN SCHWARTZ) wird ein grundlegend unterschiedliches Anliegen beider Briefe deutlich: der erste Brief wendet sich gegen die Lebensführung einer westmanichäischen, in Zentralasien heimisch gewordenen Gemeinde, der zweite Brief beklagt die Bedrängung und Verdrängung des einheimischen Klerus der Kirche von Churasan durch zureisende Geistliche aus dem mesopotamischen Bereich.

4 CHR. RECK et al. (Hrsg.): *Manichaica Selecta*. Rom 2001.

Wenn ich diesen Aufsatz dem Gedächtnis Ronald E. Emmericks widme, so nicht allein als ein Zeichen meiner Freundschaft sondern auch in Erinnerung an einen großen Gelehrten, dessen wissenschaftliche Arbeiten mir in ihrer Perfektion ein kaum erreichbares und nie überbietbares Vorbild sind. Ich verbinde mein erneutes Bemühen um das Verstehen der Briefe mit meinem Dank an Ilya Gershevitch, Neil MacKenzie und Nicholas Sims-Williams, ohne deren selbstlose und großzügige Hilfe mein Ergebnis ein anderes gewesen wäre.

Erster Brief

Erster Brief: Fragmente M 112 + M 146a + M 336c, M 162a, M 336a, M 336b. Zur Anordnung vgl. Boyce 1960, S. 10, 12, 23, und Sundermann 1984, S. 292. Sämtliche Fragmente tragen alttürkischen Text auf der Rückseite, der von Geng und Klimkeit veröffentlicht wurde.[5] Nicht dagegen habe ich in die Zahl der zugehörigen Texte M 858a (cf. Boyce 1960, S. 58) und das mit ihm zusammensetzbare Fragment Kr IV–852 der Petersburger Sammlung (Ragoza 1980, S. 75, 154) aufgenommen. Der Schriftstil dieser Stücke ist dem des hier vorgelegten Textes sehr ähnlich, und alttürkischer Text findet sich auch auf den Rückseiten. Aber der Zeilenabstand ist geringer, und während in M 112 usw. der alttürkischer Text in dieselbe Richtung wie der soghdische geht, läuft er in M 858a + Kr IV–852 von unten nach oben, steht also, von der Vorderseite aus betrachtet, auf dem Kopf.

(Fragment M 336a)

1/ [	± 47	]nd(s)kwn w(n)[± 4]
2/ [	± 44	]' kww δstww δ[± 6]
3/ [	± 42	] ʿyg hm'g dyn 'm'h̲ hwm
4/ [	± 44	](c) m'x βγrw'n mwj'(k)
5/ [	± 32	](w)m't'nd myšnd (my)hry'nd krtrty(y)[6]
6/ [	± 33	]m'x sγtm'n δyn'βrt 'ty 'wrδp(')[r]
7/ [	± 39	δy]nδ'ry' cxš'pδδ t'pyy
8/ [	± 44	m](s)(?) m'γzym nyxy' 'ty
9/ [	± 41	](n)dyy 'ty xwp m'xtysyy
10/ [	± 43	](.) kyy cn mkl'syktyy
11/ [	± 39	](◦) p'rty I pδkyy I 'wstnyy [± 2]
12/ [	± 35	](x)nd ◦ p'rty prw nwm pr cxš'pδδ
13/ [	± 38	'f](tmww) prw ršty'k cx(š)'pδδ

5 Geng Shimin/H.-J. Klimkeit: „Zerstörung manichäischer Klöster in Turfan." In: ZAS 18 (1985), S. 7–11. Abbildungen bei Weber 2000, plates 24, 43–44, 61–62.

6 Der Endbuchstabe ist dem vorangehenden y sehr ähnlich und kaum als ' zu lesen. Es ist dann aber mit einem Leerraum am Zeilenende zu rechnen.

2/ [ ] zur Hand [ ]
3/ [ ] „der ganzen Kirche sind wir.“[7] [ ]
4/ [ ] unser *seliger[8] Lehrer
5/ [ ]waren, diese *mächtigen[9] Anhänger *Mihrs*[10]

7 Teil eines mittelpersischen Zitats.

8 βγrw'n. Mehr als die von mir 1984, S. 306, n. 15, zusammengetragenen Belege des nur aus dem Manichäisch-Soghdischen bekannten Wortes habe ich nicht gefunden. Meine Erklärung von βγrw'n als Appellativum und nicht als Eigennamen stimmt überein mit den Ansichten von GERSHEVITCH, HENNING und SIMS-WILLAMS (SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 306, n. 15, S. 312). Offen bleibt die Frage, ob sein Erstbestandteil βγ- „Gott“ ist oder ein sonst im Soghdischen nicht bezeugtes *βγ- „sicher“, das Entsprechungen in anderen iranischen Sprachen hat. Ich entschied mich für die zweite Möglichkeit und übersetzte „*glaubensstark“. Doch ist hier auch der Vergleich des Wortes mit mittelpersisch *anōšruwān*, den GERSHEVITCH vorschlug, und seine Übersetzung „der ‚gottselige‘ in the sense of ‚the late, le feu‘„ in Betracht zu ziehen. In diesem Fall ist es sinnvoll, den Erstbestandteil des Wortes als „Gott“ zu erklären. Man kann auch sagen, daß alle Belegstellen die von GERSHEVITCH vorgeschlagene Bedeutung gestatten, insbesondere wenn ein beigegebenes Prädikat in der Vergangenheit steht (M 635 /I/v/6–7/, zweiter Brief /18/, die einzigen Stellen mit Prädikat!). Da für das mittelpersische *anōšruwān* die Bedeutung „(selig) verschieden“ sicher bezeugt ist (s. BAILEY 1971, S. 155, n. 2), so wäre ein gleichbedeutendes Wort auch für das Soghdische zu erwarten, das dann gewiß zoroastrischen Ursprungs sein müßte. Die Übersetzung „selig (verschieden)“ wird sichergestellt durch die zweifache Bezeugung von βγrw'n in der soghdischen Version der Grabinschrift des Shi Jun und seiner Gattin aus Jingshang bei Xi'an, cf. YOSHIDA 2005, pp. 65–66.

9 Zu krtr s. SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 307, n. 16 und S. 312. Meine morphologisch nicht erklärbare Lesung krtrty' „*Tätigkeit“ gebe ich auf und lese mit GERSHEVITCH krtrtyy (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 312), das GERSHEVITCH (1954, S. 249, n. 1) zuvor als Adjektiv „insidious, cunning“ (Pl.) übersetzt hatte. Daß dies wenigstens nicht die gesamte Bedeutung des Wortes umfassen konnte, hatte ich 1984, S. 307, n. 16, gezeigt. GERSHEVITCH variierte dann seine Auffassung („cutting“, was zu „incorruptible, safe, erlöst“ im positiven, „irredeemable“ im negativen Sinne führte). Wenig früher und später wurde das Wort auch in weiteren manichäisch-soghdischen Texten belegt: RAGOZA 1980, Text L 29 /3/ = L 111 /2/; SUNDERMANN 1985, Text b /71/; SUNDERMANN 1992, Text ak /18/ (qrt̲r); SUNDERMANN 1997, Text 160). In SUNDERMANN 1992 γrf qrt̲r βjyqt̲ nyzβ'nyγt̲ „viele q. sündigen Leidenschaften“ steht qrt̲r im Gegensatz zum folgenden Adjektiv und Substantiv nicht in einer den Plural bezeichnenden Form. Ich vermute in diesem Fall adverbiale Verwendung (eine Möglichkeit, die auch GERSHEVITCH erwogen hatte) und übersetze das Wort als „sehr“. Ein Adverb „sehr“ vermute ich auch in RAGOZAS Texten: γrβ krtr kršn'w mrγyšt „viele sehr schöne Vögel“. Meine 1984 für das Adjektiv *krtr- vorgeschlagene Übersetzung „mächtig, stark, aktiv, lebhaft“ paßt gut zu dieser Bedeutung des Adverbs. Sie beruhte damals aber auf einer mir von SIMS-WILLIAMS vorgeschlagenen etymologischen Verbindung des Wortes mit mittelpersisch und parthisch *kerdīr*, als Name und Appellativum bezeugt und von derselben Bedeutung. Gewiß liegt es näher, die Anhänger *Mihrs* „mächtig“ zu nennen als „unerlösbar“ oder in abgeschwächter Formulierung „unverbesserlich“. An der 1997 von mir veröffentlichten Stelle verlangt der Kontext xw pnc krtr w'tδ'r eine Übersetzung „Schar“. Es war vielleicht diese Stelle, die SIMS-WILLIAMS zur Annahme einer Zweitbedeutung bzw. eines Zweitwortes „mass, (large) quantity of number“ veranlaßt hatte. Ich meine nunmehr, daß diese Bedeutung auch im soghdischen *Parabelbuch* (SUNDERMANN 1985, Text b /70–71/) sinnvoll ist: rty xwnwx (w)[3] krtr ZY mrtxm'yt xnt „und dies sind die Schar der [ ] und die Menschen“.

6/ [ ]wir alle, die Electi und darüberhinaus
7/ [der Er]wähltenschaft Gebote und Siegel[11]
8/ [ ]begannen wir Aufmerksamkeit und
9/ [ ] und gut[12] *Maqdisī*[13]
10/ [ ] die von den Anhängern des *Miqlāṣ*[14]
11/ [ ] denn von einem Gesetz und einem Ursprung
12/ [ ]sind sie. Denn, was das Gesetz betrifft, in den Geboten
13/ [sind sie lässig.[15]]Erstens, was das Gebot der Wahrhaftigkeit betrifft,

(Lücke von unbestimmter Weite, Fragment M 112 + M 146a + M 336c)
14/ [± 31]wyy δyn'[βr ± 18]
15/ [± 4](c)[± 11 δyn'](β)[r](')nc['p](r)[y](w)[16] wyyn kt wyš'ndy[δyn'βr'nc]
16/ [± 3] p'xw'y ('t)[y ± 8](.)šwmδ'rt[17] ◦ tym m'x δyn'βr'[nc wyyn kt wyš'ndy]
17/ [δyn'](βr')nc xwšyc[18 ± 6 p]rsm'skwn ◦ ms ''z'd dwxt (x...) [± 8]
18/ [± 2 xw'](ry)št(?) w'nw wyn'nd kt wy[š'ndy][19] δyn'βr'nc tšycq ny'tyy 'ty z'y kn('sk)[wn]
19/ [±14](c rwrt)t nxw(')[yn](ds)kwn ◦ 'ty ms δ'rwk 'ty p'št' t'šnds(kwn)
20/ pww pcqwyr ◦ tym ms m'x δyn'βr'št w'nw wyn'nd kt c'nw wyš'ndy δyn'βr'nc
21/ xwrnyy ''syyskwn <'ty> cn ''pyy 'pryw km' sn'yyskwn 'ty m'x δyn'βr'št nxrysndskw(n)
22/ wyš'nd w'nw p'tcγnyy kwn'nd kt c'tyk ''p mwrtyy xcyy m'yδδ pc'ytt ◦ 'ty ms

10 Vgl. Sundermann 1984, S. 292.
11 „Siegel" ist t'p *(tāp)* oder t'pyy *(tāpe)*, vgl. Sims-Williams 2000, S. 225, so daß die Form Rectus oder Obliquus sein kann. Auch ist die syntaktische Struktur der Reihung δynδ'ry' cxš'pδδ t'pyy nicht klar. Eine Möglichkeit ist, cxš'pδδ t'pyy als ein quasi „synonymous hendiadys" (Gershevitch 1954, § 1635) aufzufassen, was nicht bedeuten muß, daß der Verfasser des Briefes nicht zwischen den fünf Elektengeboten und den drei Signacula der manichäischen Pflichtenlehre zu unterscheiden wußte.
12 Oder hier Eigenname?
13 Geschrieben m'xtysyy. Daß ein Eigenname vorliegt, ist sicher. Meinen Versuchen in 1984, S. 307, n. 18, gegenüber, den Namen zu deuten, halte ich Hennings scharfsinnige Erklärung des Wortes als arabischen Eigennamen „a man from Jerusalem" (bei Sundermann 1984, S. 312–313) für unbedingt bevorzugungswert.
14 Vgl. Sundermann 1984, S. 292.
15 Meine Übersetzung folgt Henning (bei Sundermann 1984, S. 313).
16 Ganz unsicher.
17 Dem erhaltenen šwm- „nähen" ging wenigstens ein Buchstabe voran, vielleicht ein w, so daß also wohl von einem sonst unbezeugten präfigierten Verbstamm **awšum-/ *wišum-* auszugehen ist.
18 Nicht xwšycq (Gershevitch 1954, § 1012).
19 Ergänzung Sims-Williams (bei Sundermann 1984, S. 305, n. 8).

23/ rwr' x(w)tyy nxw'y'ndskwn 'ty ''t(r) xwtyy 'wst'ndskwn ∘ 'tyšn prywyδ w'xš γw'(n)['ty]
24/ kmbwnyy nyy šm'r'ndskwn ∘ ∘ 'rty tym dyncyhryft cxš'pδδyy w'xš xcyy
25/ xwycq 'ty pww šf'r ∘ p'rtyšn [s](')r'r kyy myhr[20] p'd'r xcyy xwycn'k wm't 'ty šy
26/ c's'r pδyk r'f wm't 'ty I (z)[']('k)'nc kr'y'nc wnyy s'r tys 'ty γyrtr nyjty m['x]
27/ sγtm'nyy δβn' ptyy'p c'nw xwnyy kr'y'nc nyjtyy 'ty δynδ'rt nyxy' kwn(')nd[21] 'ty
28/ kr'y'nc kww yzd 'ry'm'n dryst rwšn myhr whmn 'ty whmnš'ẖ s'r w'nw wγtwδ'(r)[t]
29/ kt II prwrtyy pšyy δβry' xwrnyy ''stww[22] ∘ 'ty tym I prwrtyy ''smk'm ∘ ms myš(n)[dy][23]
30/ xypδ I 'sp'skr'nc δn I dyn'βr'nc 'pryw y'r ''δwβ pδwβ [w](β)'[24] 'ty myhr p'd'(r)
31/ s'r'r wnyy 'sp'skr'nc β'z' nyy's 'ty cn y'ryy wyxnš ∘ ms xz'nyy 'tyẖ
32/ (± 43 s'r'r βγr)[w'n(?) ± 3]

15/ [[25]] zusammen mit(?) der Electa sah, daß deren [Electa]
16/ [Stoff(?)] abschnitt und [ein Gewand(?)] nähte.[26] Dann [sah] unsere Elect[a, daß deren]
17/ [Elec]ta Oberin[27] [zer]rieb(?). Ferner *Āzād-duxt* [ ]
18/ [die Schwe]stern[28] sahen, daß de[ren] Electa eine Hacke[29] nahm[30] und die Erde umgr[ub].

20 In /25/ wie mwhr geschrieben, in /30/ aber deutlich myhr. Was in /25/ wie der Aufstrich eines w aussieht, ist in Wirklichkeit das linke untere Ende eines m.
21 Kaum kwnynd.
22 Nicht ''stw (GERSHEVITCH 1954, §690).
23 SIMS-WILLIAMS verwies mich auf diese bei GERSHEVITCH 1954, §1396, gegebene Ergänzung des Wortes (SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 306, n. 12).
24 Bei GERSHEVITCH 1954, §453, pδwβ(s)'. Die hier vorgeschlagene Ergänzung füllt besser den vorhandenen Raum. Den schräg nach rechts unten geführten Strich des vorletzten Buchstabens erkläre ich als den linken Anfang eines β.
25 Die Zeilen 15 bis 24 listen Vergehen gegen das zweite Elektengebot des „Nicht-Tötens" auf.
26 Meine Übersetzung folgt im wesentlichen HENNING (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 313): „our nun saw that their nun cut [a garment] and sewed (it)".
27 xwšyc hatte ich 1984, S. 307, unübersetzt gelassen. GERSHEVITCH hatte 1954, §1012, „reservoir" erwogen (er las xwšycq). Diese Bedeutung wandelte er 1984 (SUNDERMANN, S. 313) zu „tönernes Wassergefäß" ab (*xuš* aus *xurmš-*), in dem die Electa der gegnerischen Partei badend „erwischt" (prsm'skwn) wurde. Ich schlage vor, xwšyc als *xwešič* zu lesen, das Wort auf **xweštič* zurückzuführen und dies als feminine Ableitung von *xwešte* „Lehrer, Meister" zu erklären. Gemeint wäre dann die Oberin der Electae der gegnerischen Partei.
28 Dies erscheint mir jetzt als eine natürlichere Ergänzung als das sehr artifizielle [pw]ryšt „Töchter", das ich 1984, S. 307, vorgeschlagen hatte.

19/ [ ]Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie[31] und schneiden auch (rohes) Holz und *Schnittholz[32]
20/ ohne Scheu. Dann sahen unsere Electae auch, wie deren Electa
21/ Blut nahm[33] (und) mit Wasser das *Messer[34] wusch. Und unsere Electae tadelten (es).
22/ Sie antworteten so: „Brunnenwasser ist tot. So ist es erlaubt".[35] Und auch
23/ Heilpflanzen zerstoßen sie[36] selbst, und das Feuer *löschen[37] sie selbst. Und in dieser ihrer Sache rechnen sie sich Sünde [und]
24/ Fehl nicht zu. Und sodann, die Sache des Gebots der Religionsgemäßheit[38] ist (so, daß sie[39] darin)
25/ zügellos[40] und schamlos (sind). Denn ihr Oberhaupt, welches *Mihr-pādār*[41] ist, war krank. Er

29 Zu den 1984, S. 307, n. 20, von mir für tšycq angeführten Vergleichsformen, die die Übersetzung „Hacke" unterstützen, kann man noch soghdisch tš „axe (?)" anführen (Sims-Williams 1992, S. 73).
30 Statt ny'tyy erwartet man ny'tδ'rt.
31 Vgl. Zeile 23.
32 Wenn p'št', das ich 1984, S. 308 „*Gerät" übersetzte, ein Singular ist (vgl. Gershevitch 1954, § 1268), dann könnte sein Plural das ebenso unklare p'štyt (in P3) sein, das Henning fragend „cups, or small tablets" übersetzte („The Sogdian Texts of Paris", in: BSOAS XI, 1946, S. 728 [= Henning 1977, II, S. 246]). Aber Henning bemerkte auch, daß das „rätselhafte" *pāšt-* „is perhaps merely a dissimitated form of *tāšt-*". Man müßte dann wohl p'št' von p'štyt trennen. Für diese Möglichkeit spricht der Umstand, daß p'št' in einem Zug zusammen mit δ'rwk „Holz", also einem zu schneidenden Rohstoff, genannt wird. Entsprechendes sollte dann auch p'št' sein, und nicht ein Produkt der Arbeit, was man für p'štyt voraussetzen kann. Ähnliches meinte auch Gershevitch, als er (bei Sundermann 1984, S. 313), „chips of wood, split off a block" übersetzte. (Nicht zu denken ist gewiß an yaghnobi *pošá* „Stock, Stab".)
33 Das heißt Blut schröpfte oder zur Ader ließ, vgl. Sundermann 1984, S. 293–294.
34 km', vgl. dazu meine Anmerkung in 1984, S. 294, n. 15. Mein Vorschlag „a sleeve; old cloth sewed together, whereon bread is laid to be baked in the oven" war nicht mehr als eine Notlösung. Die einzige Alternative, die ich jetzt sehe, ist es, das Wort als türkisch *kama* (in arabischer Schrift qm', q'mh und q'm' „dager, poniard; dirk", s. Redhouse 1998, S. 589) zu erklären, dessen weite Verbreitung in den Turksprachen, den Kaukasussprachen und vielen Nachbarsprachen Doerfer dokumentiert hat (1967, S. 406–407). Daß das Wort auch im Alttürkischen vorkommt, hat Zieme gezeigt (dem ich diese Hinweise verdanke), und zwar im Zarathustrafragment, allerdings in der sprachgeschichtlich älteren Form *qamγa* „long, straight, double-edged stiletto" (bei Skjærvø 1996, S. 620, n. 79, das Wort wird „mace (?)" übersetzt).
35 Zu dieser laxen Auffassung, daß stehendes Wasser nichts von der Lebendigen Seele enthalte und also befleckt werden dürfe, vgl. Sundermann 1984, S. 294–295.
36 Vgl. Zeile 19.
37 Oder im Gegenteil „entzünden sie selbst" (vgl. Sundermann 1984, S. 308; n. 24 und S. 313).
38 Von hier bis zum Ende des Fragments werden Sünden gegen das dritte Elektengebot des keuschen Lebenswandels aufgezählt.
39 Die gegnerische Gemeinde. So Sims-Williams bei Sundermann 1984, S. 308, n. 35.
40 Wörtl. „offen".
41 Vgl. zu diesem Namen Sundermann 1984, S. 308, n. 36.

26/ hatte ein Unterleibsleiden.[42] Und ein gemietetes[43] Mädchen trat zu ihm ein, und später ging sie hinaus. Uns
27/ alle ergriff Verdacht[44], als jene Lohndienerin herausging, und die Electi wurden aufmerksam. Und
28/ die Lohndienerin sprach so zu *Yazad-Aryāmān, Drist-Rōšn, Mihr-Wahman* und *Wahman-šāh*:
29/ „Zwei Mal nahm ich an der ‚Hinterpforte'[45] Blut, und noch einmal werde ich (es) nehmen." Auch zettelte
30/ eine ihrer Dienerinnen mit einer Electa einen Streit an. Und *Mihr-pādār*,
31/ (ihr) Oberhaupt, ergriff den Arm der Dienerin und schuf Befreiung vom Streit. Auch *Xazānī*(?)[46] und
32/ [ ] das selige(?) (Oberhaupt) [ ]

(Fragment M 336b, Stellung im Manuskript unbekannt)
33/ [ ](..)[ ]
34/ [ ]wzxt[47] (.)[.](.β)[ ]

42 c's'r pδyk r'f hatte ich 1984, S. 308, „ein Leiden unter dem Fuß" übersetzt, wogegen GERSHEVITCH mit Recht einwandte (ibid., S. 313), daß Fuß *pāδ* sei (von Formen wie pδyy „zu Fuß" abgesehen), weswegen HENNING *paδīk* mit avestisch *pada-* „place, spot" verglichen und im gegebenen Zusammenhang „a lower-part-illness" übersetzt habe. Das ist evident richtig, zumal für das Adjektiv „Fuß-" p'δ'k und p'δyk bezeugt sind. Die Art der Erkrankung wird in /29/ näher beschrieben. Vgl. dazu Anm. 41.

43 Vgl. SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 308, n. 37. HENNING verglich, wie GERSHEVITCH mitteilte, kr'wr'n und kwr'ynk, „suggesting that the z'k'nc *may* have been a girl from Kroraina" (ibid., S. 314).

44 So SIMS-WILLIAMS bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 308, n. 28.

45 pšyy δβry' übersetzte ich 1984, S. 309, „hinter der Tür", obwohl mir bekannt war, daß die Präposition (im Soghdischen die Post- oder Zirkumposition) (cn) ... pšys'r ist und obwohl GERSHEVITCH 1954, § 373, „backdoor" übersetzt hatte. Diese mir seinerzeit unverständliche Übersetzung wird sinnvoll, wenn man in „Hinterpforte" einen Euphemismus für „Anus" erkennt (vgl. GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 313–314), was gut zur manichäischen Praxis paßt, die Körperöffnungen der Sinnesorgane mit Pforten zu vergleichen (KLIMKEIT 1988, S. 375–380). Eine noch genauere Bestätigung finde ich in dem Fragment M 444 eines mittelpersischen manichäischen Lehrtextes, in dem es auf einer Seite in /i/6–10/ heißt: 'wd h'n bhr 'y (sdyg(?)) 'yg ('dwryn 'y wmyxt(?)) h'n 'st 'y pd dr('n) 'yrdr'n 'y ns'l̲ (b)' wrwbyhyd „und jener dritte(?) Teil, (jener) der Exkremente, der vermischt ist, das ist (jener), der durch die unteren Pforten des Todesleibes hinausgefegt wird". Die Behandlung der „Hinterpforte" präzisiert dann das in /26/ genannte Unterleibsleiden. Es entfällt damit nicht meine Annahme, daß die Sünde der Magd darin bestand, daß ein manichäischer Kleriker „eine Zeit lang hinter verschlossener Tür mit einer Frau allein blieb" (vgl. /26–27/). Die Sünde bestand aber auch darin, daß die Frau den Mann intensiv berührte, indem sie vermutlich seine Hämorrhoiden öffnete oder durch „Exstirpation mit dem Messer" entfernte.

46 Ich hatte 1984, S. 309, „Herbst"(?) übersetzt. Aber es könnte auch ein Eigenname vorliegen, vielleicht sogar eine persische Ableitung von *xazān* „Herbst".

47 So lese ich jetzt statt](cw)xt in 1984, S. 306 /34/. Das zu ergänzende Wort könnte dann kaum soghdisch sein sondern vielleicht mittelpersisch, etwa 'wzxt „vergeben". Es müßte dann einem Zitat angehören, wie es in /3/ belegt ist.

35/ [ ] pyrnm prw xyp(δ)[ ]
36/ [ ](p)rt kwnyskwn (w')[ ]
37/ [ ](s)ty ◦ ty(m)[±3](z)'d[[48]]

34/ [ ]"vergeben."[49] [ ]
35/ [ ] vor im eigen[ ]
36/ [ ] tat er(?)[50] [ ]
37/ [ ] Darauf[ ]

(Fragment M 162a, Stellung im Manuskript unbekannt)

38/ δyn'β(r)[±53]
39/ nwmpδk'[±52]
40/ [±2](ps' ')[±51]

38/ Elect[ ]
39/ Gesetz (und) Gebot [ ]

Zweiter Brief

Zweiter Brief: Fragmente M 119 + M 119a + M119b + M 1225 + M 1867a + M 1867b. Zur Anordnung vgl. Boyce 1960, S. 10, 69, 82, und Sundermann 1984, S. 296. Textphotos in Weber 2000, plates 27, 28 (Reproduktion zweier Photos von M 119), 115 und 120, wo die Fragmente z.T. Signaturen tragen, die mit den damals in der Turfansammlung irrtümlich verwendeten übereinstimmen aber z.T. von den Signaturen im Katalog von Boyce und bei mir abweichen. Webers M 1867b ist = Boyce M 119a, Webers signaturloses, mit M 1867a verglastes Fragment ist = Boyce M 1867b. Die bei Weber abgebildeten Fragmente gehören zu oder bilden folgende Zeilen des Gesamtstückes: M 1225: /1–4/, M 1867b (Boyce M 119a): /4–6/, M 119: /5 (plate 27) bzw. 4 (plate 28) – 19/, ohne Signatur (Boyce M 1867b) verglast mit M 1867a: /18–19/, M 119b: /19–20/, M 1867a: /19–21/. Zur besseren Orientierung veröffentliche ich auch das Photo einer virtuellen Zusammensetzung des zweiten Briefes (s. Abb. 1), die ich Frau Kati Brauchmann verdanke. Ein nicht mit diesem Stück zusammensetzbares weiteres Fragment mit der Fundsignatur T III D 271 K, das ich M 119c nannte, hatte ich 1984 (S. 296) identifiziert. Es trägt heute in der Turfansammlung die Signatur M 8225, erscheint auch in der Internet-Edition, aber nicht bei Weber. Seine isolierte Stellung wird durch die Tatsache sichergestellt, daß es als einziges Fragment dieser Handschrift auf seiner Rückseite uigurischen Text trägt. Es enthält Zeilenanfänge und bewahrt Reste des rechten Randes der Schriftrolle.

48 Oder](z)'(r)[.
49 Vgl. Anm. 47.
50 Oder „tust du".

1/ [± 18]y(x)'pδ[51] δ(')r(y)[m ± 42]
2/ [± 17 'r]t[y]βγ (myš'ndy .)[± 39]
3/ [± 15](..st'[52] 'ty m'x) δβry[m[53] ± 38]
4/ [± 14](mt 'skwym 'ty … ..xšn mwj'k)[[54] ± 33]
5/ (w'n)w wγtwδ'rt nwm pδk' mn(d)[55] I mγwn xcyy ∘ 'rtyβγ xypδ'wn(d) [± 33]
6/ [± 7](t w' pr)c[56] prwstyy wβyy (myš)'ndyy xypδ rw'n gryw '[± 31]
7/ [± 8](γwt)[57] w'nw frm'y ''ms' 'ktyy cndn w'xšt cxštyt '[± 29]
8/ cxštyt 'skwnd s't ryj wδyy cynd(r)p'r 'styy w'nw wβ't xw'n (..)[± 28]
9/ (sn'nd) 't(y) m'x 'p(ry)w wryδ'nt 'rty I c'f srδyt skw'mndyy wβ['](t .)[± 29]
10/ (k'm) p(rm[58] ryj 'skwn)cykt xwyštrtyy wβ't 'rty myš'nd (ms)[± 35]
11/ (n') pδ(k)cyq 'ty (n') kry'cyq frm'n sn('t kww ')skwncy(q)[t](x)wyštrty [s'r(?) ± 23]
12/ (my)š'ndyy γwšytt kyy wβ'nd m'x xwyštrt(yy) šxww p'ckrt 'wš(t)'ndk'm 'ty (m'x .)[± 20]
13/ (')ty (nyz)'r pyštytyy prw γryw 'wsyndndk'm 'ty xwyštrty γr'n tfsnwk kwn'ndk'm 'ty prw xw(r)[nyy ± 15]
14/ ('sn'ynd)k'm m'yδδ c'nw rymnyt yzd m'ẖ n'my jw'nwtr 'krtwδ'rt xwtyy xyδ nγ'myy xp(δ')[wnd ± 8]
15/ wm'tyš p'rty myš'nd rymnyt kmbyt swryktyy 'nδyk ps'k m'yδ xcyy pr βxtwnyy 'ty p(c')w' ywxty(t)['tyẖ][59]

51 Was ich als y(x) eines nicht erklärbaren Wortendes]y(x)'pδ gelesen habe, betrachtet SIMS-WILLIAMS als Reste eines š, erklärt die unterzeilige Horizontale eines k oder x als auslaufendes Ende eines vor dem š stehenden Zeichens, stellt x (und nicht k) sicher durch einen über das š nach links verschobenen diakritischen Punkt, liest](x)š'pδ und ergänzt dies zu c](x)š'pδ „Gebot", was einen ausgezeichneten Sinn ergibt. Wenn ich meine alte Lesung]y(x)'pδ in den Text setze, so weil ich auf dem Original am linken Ende des von SIMS-WILLIAMS als š gelesenen Zeichens eine schräg zur unterzeiligen Horizontale hinführende Verbindungslinie erkenne, die dieses Zeichen zu einem x mit einem leicht nach rechts verschobenen diakritischen Punkt macht.

52 Lesung GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314.

53 So wahrscheinlicher als δβy(y)[. Meine alte Lesung gβry[hβ ist unbegründet. δβry[hatte bereits, worauf SIMS-WILLIAMS mich hinweist, YOSHIDA 1999, S. 193a.

54 Die Lesungen beruhen fast vollständig auf Mitteilungen von GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314. Leider kann ich den Namen des genannten Lehrers rwšn nicht bestätigen. Es liegt wohl ein zweigliedriger Name vor, der am wahrscheinlichsten auf xšn (d.h. rwxšn „Licht"?) endete.

55 Meine Lesung mn(') hatte ich bereits in SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 316, auf Grund eines älteren und besseren Photos, als das Photo der Akademie es ist, aufgegeben. Und übernehme ich als eine einleuchtende Lesung (SIMS-WILLIAMS bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 309, n. 31), obgleich die Schriftzüge mir eher wie mn erscheinen.

56 Zur Lesung cf. n. 72.

57 So GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 316.

58 GERSHEVITCH las pne „fünf" (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315).

59 So GERSHEVITCH 1954, § 852. Diese Schreibung vermag die Lücke am Ende der 15. Zeile auszufüllen.

Abb. 1

16/ (f)sγtyt xnd p'rtyy (w')xš 'y bxtgyy[60] mδyy 'xšyt skwn ◦ 'rty cw w'nw w'β'nd skwn kt srδ(ng)t pr 'ywp'zky'[61] sn'(nd)

17/ ['']ty δβtyk 'wxz'nd δymyδ w'xš I p'ryk n's xcyy 'rty w'nw nyx ''ms' frm'y 'krtyy kyy pyrnmstr st'nd

18/ (cw[62] wr'[63] 't)[y] (frt)ry' 'krtwδ'rnd p'rty pr βγrw'n myh(r'y)[zd][64] (mwj'k)yy sryy m'hd'd mwj'k sttyy cn(d)n (f)[rtry' 'krtw][65]

60 So Gershevitch bei Sundermann 1984, S. 315.

61 'ywp'zky' ist in *einem* Wort geschrieben, so wie es Gershevitch 1954, § 1317, hat.

62 Lesung von Gershevitch bei Sundermann 1984, S. 315.

63 Lesung von Gershevitch 1954, § 973 (Hinweis von Sims-Williams).

64 Henning und Gershevitch ergänzten myhr['n]. Ich erkenne im zerstörten Textteil einen nach links oben geführten Strich, der zu einem ' gehört haben könnte.

65 Ergänzung von Gershevitch bei Sundermann 1984, S. 316. Ich hatte ebenda (pr)[w'k 'krtw] (δ)'rt erwogen.

19/ (δ)'rt ∘[66] 'ty prw nyw'nz'dg mwj'kyy s(ryy) gbryhb (m)[wj'k[67] s](t)tyy (c)ndn
βn'(w(?) ')[n](βγt)[w](δ)[']rt prw ± 7)[± 3]
20/ s(r)yy sxt(w)yy (mwj)'k 'ty ktwn' (')ft'δ'(n) (st')n(d ...[68])[± 44]
21/ sryy rym(ny)y f(rw)x'(n[69]) 'ywšt(yy)[± 59]

(Lücke von unbestimmter Weite, Fragment M 119c, jetzt M 8225)

22/ (± 15)[± 68]
23/ (βγ)yštyy krj wrz (...)[± 68]
24/ (± 10 β ± 4)[± 68]

1/ [ ] ?[70] haben [wir]
2/ [un]d, o Herr, deren [ ]
3/ [ ] ? und wir geben[ ]
4/ [ ] sind wir, und der Lehrer .... ..xšn[ ]
5/ so sprach er: „Gesetz und Vorschrift sind ungleicher Art."[71] Und o Herr, Herrscher[ ]
6/ [ ] so sehr *abgewendet[72] würde deren Seele und Leib[73] [ ]
7/ [ ]ist nötig.[74] So geruhe zu beachten,[75] wie viel begehrliche[76] Worte[77] [ ]

66 Der von den Wörtern abgesetzte Punkt ist eher ein Interpunktionszeichen als ein y, das dann zum vorangehenden δ'rt gehören würde. Allerdings sind in dieser Handschrift die Interpunktionszeichen sonst größere Kreise.

67 GERSHEVITCH zufolge ist an dieser Stelle 'ft'δ'n zu ergänzen. Ich meine, nach dem Eigennamen den oberen Rand eines m zu erkennen, was zu meiner Ergänzung mwj'k führt.

68 GERSHEVITCH konnte an dieser Stelle cnd[n lesen.

69 Lesung von GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 316. Der von mir y gelesene Finalbuchstabe könnte das verschobene obere Stück eines n sein.

70 Cf. Anm. 51.

71 Ich folge, unter der Voraussetzung, daß mnd I mγwn zu lesen ist (vgl. Anm. 55), der Deutung, die SIMS-WILLIAMS (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314) dieser Stelle gegeben hat. Andere Erklärungen schlug HENNING vor (ibid.). Gemeint ist dann, daß ein Vertreter der eigenen oder der gegnerischen Partei zu der Feststellung gelangte, daß der Normencodex der „Syrer" ein anderer war als jener der zentralasiatischen Manichäer.

72 Meine ursprüngliche Lesung und Übersetzung w' rwc prwstyy „so sehr ins Unglück gekehrt" folgte GERSHEVITCH (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314). Gegen die Lesung rwc und seine wörtliche Übersetzung „Tag" in diesem Zusammenhang wendet SIMS-WILLIAMS mit Recht ein, daß das westiranisdche *rōz/rōž* im Soghdischen nur zusammen mit Tagesnamen des Kalenders verwendet wird. Da es aber nicht gelingt, einen überzeugenden Tagesnamen vor (rw)c zu rekonstruieren, so habe ich die Zeichenreste (pr)c „Rücken" gelesen und verstehe prc prwstyy als „*abgewendet", wörtl. „rückengekehrt", was dann im Kontext den Verlust von Beistand, Glück o.ä. meinen mußte. Alternativ erwägt SIMS-WILLIAMS die Möglichkeit, daß an dieser Stelle die Reste eines westiranischen Zitats vorliegen könnten.

73 Das bezieht GERSHEVITCH auf die Vertreter der gegnerischen Partei (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314). Gemeint sein könnten aber auch die Oberhäupter der eigenen Seite, deren drohendes Unheil nun endlich abgewendet werden soll.

74 Der wahrscheinliche Sinn der Zeilen 5–7 ist, wie bereits GERSHEVITCH vermutete: „Damit es nicht geschieht, daß sie (die eigenen Oberhäupter/die gegnerischen?) ganz an Leib und Seele ins Unglück gestoßen werden, muß nun etwas geschehen."

8/ begehrlich sind. Alles Verlangen ist darinnen. So wird Sünde[78] [ ]
9/ Sie steigen empor[79] und vermischen sich mit uns, und einige Jahre wird (ihr) Aufenthalt sein,[80] [daß ihr]
10/ Wille nach dem Begehr der einheimischen[81] Oberen sein wird. Und deren [ ]
11/ ungesetzlicher und unzeitiger Befehl wird emporkommen zu den einheimischen Oberen [ ]
12/ ihre Horcher[82], die da sind, werden fest an die Stelle unserer Oberen treten und [ ]
13/ Und die Peingeschlagenen werden sie in ihrem Leib zerbrechen und den Oberen viel Ärger bereiten, und im Bl[ut werden sie ihre Hände]
14/ waschen,[83] so wie es der schmutzige[84] ?[85] mit Namen *Yazad-Māh* tat Du selbst, o Herr, zu jener Zeit[86] [ ]

75 Vgl. dazu SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 296, n. 20. Angeredet wird hier offenbar das Oberhaupt der „Kirche von *Xwarāsān*".

76 SIMS-WILLIAMS überzeugt mich, daß statt der von mir in der ersten Edition bevorzugten Lesung ckštyt (zweimal, in /7/ und /8/) vielmehr cxštyt zu lesen ist. GERSHEVITCH hatte ckštyt durch „ugly" (Plural, cf. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §§286, 1089, 1146) übersetzt, aber in seinen Bemerkungen zu meiner Edition bereits cxštyt erwogen. Die Richtigkeit dieser Lesung wird klar, wenn man beide Male einen Punkt über dem š als das nach links verschobene diakritische Zeichen eines x erkennt. Was seinerzeit gegen eine Lesung cxštyt sprach, war schließlich die wenig passende Bedeutung „empfangen" (vgl. GERSHEVITCH bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 314). SIMS-WILLIAMS weist mich aber darauf hin, daß YOSHIDA als eine weitere Bedeutung von cxšty „inclined, desirous" ermittelt hat (2001, S. 114) und führt das von ihm selbst erkannte baktrische *alo-sixtog-ēmo* „I am inclined (lit. ‚with inclination')" an.

77 Oder „Dinge", cf. GHARIB 1995, S. 400.

78 Ich hatte 1984, S. 310, xw'n als „Tisch(?)" übersetzt. GERSHEVITCH schlug (ibid., S. 314) „Wohlbehagen" vor, wörtl. „gutes Atmen" (von av. *x^{v}āθra-*). Ich würde im gegebenen Kontext schlimmer Vorfälle ein negatives Geschehen erwarten, etwa γw'n „Sünde", dessen anlautendes *γ* hier nach vorangehendem stimmlosem *t* von wβ't zu *x* entstimmt wurde.

79 Zum „Aufsteigen" als Kommen der Fremden aus der Ferne und dem „Absteigen" als Fortgehen vgl. SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 298–299.

80 Ich folge hier der Übersetzung HENNINGS: „there is staying (= they stay) for several years" (SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315). Ich selbst hatte 1984 „und es wird einige Jahre dauern" übersetzt (S. 311). HENNINGS Übersetzung ist sehr sinnvoll, wenn man annimmt, daß in den Zeilen 9–10 nicht Tatsachen sondern die beschwichtigenden Behauptungen der syrischen Eindringlinge wiedergegeben werden. Dieser Gedanke wird in den Zeilen 16–17 erneut aufgenommen.

81 Wörtl. der „verweilenden".

82 Das heißt „Spione" (so HENNING bei GERSHEVITCH 1954, §1679). HENNING erwog aber auch die Möglichkeit, daß „Horcher" hier ein verächtlicher Ausdruck für die Auditores der gegnerischen Partei sei (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315). Das ist allerdings weniger wahrscheinlich, denn wie hätten Laien an die Stelle von Klerikern treten können?

83 HENNING ergänzte: „they shall wash themselves (xypδ γryw) in blood" (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315).

84 Statt des Plurals rymnyt ist im Singular rymny zu lesen (SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315).

85 jw'nwtr ist gewiß mit HENNING als ein Titel unbekannter Bedeutung zu betrachten (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315).

86 Vgl. GERSHEVITCH 1954, §1420.

15/ warst du,[87] denn dieser schmutzigen, gemeinen Syrer Brauch und Kunst[88] ist so: in Spaltung und Streit sind sie erfahren [und]
16/ geübt[89], denn „der Geist der Spaltung“[90] herrscht dort. Und wenn sie immerfort sagen, daß die Herren als Gäste[91] heraufkommen
17/ und wiederum hinabsteigen, (so geht) mit diesem Wort ganz und gar Verderbnis (einher). Und so geruhe gründlich (darauf) Acht zu geben: die früher emporgestiegen sind,
18/ wie viel Gewinn und Nutzen haben sie bewirkt?[92] Denn über den seligen Lehrer *Mihr-Īzad(?)* kam[93] der Lehrer *Māhdād*. Wieviel N[utzen hat er]
19/ bewirkt? Und über den Lehrer *Nēwān-zādag* kam der L[ehrer] *Gabryahh*. Wie viel Zittern(?) hat er zugeteilt?[94] Über [? ?]
20/ kamen der Lehrer *Saxtōē*[95] und der Bischof *Ketōnā*[96]. [ ] Über [? ?]
21/ [kam] der schmutzige *Farruxān*, der Unruhe[stifter.[97]]

(Fragment M 119c, Stellung im Manuskript unbekannt)
22/ [ ]
23/ Der Götter Wunder [ ]
24/ [ ]

87 Das heißt „du warst von den Syren bedrängt und angegriffen“? HENNING ergänzte: „At that time you yourself, o Lord, were (bishop?)“ (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 315).
88 ps'k nicht „Kranz“ sondern für fs'k „teaching“ (GHARIB 1995, S. 158) stehend.
89 Übersetzung des Prädikats bei GERSHEVITCH 1954, §852. Diese Wiedergabe korrigiert implicite HENNINGS Lesung und Übersetzung pc'w'ywxtyy „zankgewohnt“ (1937, S. 68, n. 544 [= 1977, II, S. 482]), die GHARIB 1995, S. 264, übernommen hat.
90 *wāxš ī baxtagī* ist mittelpersisch in seiner manichäischen Prägung, denn das manichäische *wāxš* steht dem zoroastrischen *waxš* gegenüber (MACKENZIE 1971, S. 88; die von ZAEHNER 1955, S. 474, aus dem *Dēnkard* angeführten Belege für *wāxš* sind Fehllesungen).
91 pr 'ywp'zky' hatte ich 1984, S. 311, „ein wenig“ übersetzt und die alternative Ableitung von soghdisch p'z „Gesicht“ und deren Vergleich mit neupersisch *yak-rū'ī* „unanimity, sincerety, conciliation, friendship“ genannt, die ich SIMS-WILLIAMS verdankte (ibid., n. 47). Die endgültige Lösung des Problems hat NICHOLAS SIMS-WILLIAMS gefunden und MARTIN SCHWARTZ bestätigt: pr 'ywp'zky' bedeutet „on a visit, as guests“ (SIMS-WILLIAMS 1986) und 'ywp'zky' „guest status“ (SCHWARTZ 1990, S. 200–201).
92 Eine ironische Frage.
93 Wörtl. „auf den Kopf ... stieg“.
94 Lesung und Übersetzung des letzten Satzes sind ganz zweifelhaft.
95 Ein iranischer Kurzname (vgl. JUSTI 1895, S. 280 s.v. *Saxtūyeh)*, der *saxt* „hart“ enthielt.
96 Gewiß ein aramäischer oder arabischer Name, der vielleicht zur Wurzel qṭn gehört, deren Nominalableitungen aber sehr unterschiedliche Bedeutungen haben. Sollte etwa an syrisch *Qeṭōnā* „Wanze“ (BROCKELMANN 1928, S. 659) zu denken sein, so wäre dies ein ausgesprochener Ekelname, der aber neben *Saxtōē* nicht ganz undenkbar erscheint.
97 Meine Übersetzung dieser Zeile folgt GERSHEVITCH (bei SUNDERMANN 1984, S. 316).

Wortindex[98]

’δwβ pδwβ I. 30
’ms’ II. 7, 17
’p I. 22, ’py I. 21
’s: ’smk’m I. 29, ’syyskwn I. 21, ’stww I. 29
’tr I. (23)
’z’d dwxt I. 17
’ft’δ’n II. (20)
’ftmww I. (13)
’γz: m’γzym I. 8
’krt-: ’krtwδ’rt II. 14, (18–19), ’krtwδ’rnd II. (18), ’ktyy II. 7, ’krtyy II. 17, cf. kwn-
*’m’ḫ I. 3
’nβγt-: ’nβγtwδ’rt II. (19)
’nδyk II. 15
’pryw I. (15), II. 9, δn … ~ I. 30, cn … ~ I. 21
’rty I. 24, II. 9, 10, 16, 17, ’rtyβγ II. (2), 5
’sp’skr’nc I. 30, 31
’skw-:’skwym II. (4), ’skwnd II. 8
’skwncyk: ’skwncykt II. (10), ’skwncyqt II. (11)
’styy cf. x-
’ty I. 6, 8, 9, (16), 18, 19, 19, 21, <21>, 22, 23, [23], 25, 26, 26, 27, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, II. (3), 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 13, (13), 15, (17), (18), 19, 20, ’tyḫ I. 31, II. [15], ’ty šy I. 25, ’tyšn I. 23
’wrδp’r I. (6)
’wsynd-: ’wsyndndk’m II. 13
’wstnyy I. 11
’wšt: ’wšt’ndk’m II. (12)
’wxz: ’wxz’nd II. 17
’xšy: ’xšyt skwn II. 16
’ywštyy II. (21)

‘sn’y: sn’yndk’m II. (4)
*‘y II. 6, ‘yg I. 3
‘ywp’zky’ II. 16

β’z’ I. 31
βγ: βγyštyy II. 23
βγrw’n I. 4, (32), II. 18
βn’w(?) II. (19)
*bxtgyy II. 16
βxtwnyy II. 15

c’f: I ~ II. 9
c’nw I. 20, 27, II. 14
c’s’r pδyk I. 26
c’tyk I. 22

†ckšty cf. cxšty
cn I. 10, 31, ~ … ’pryw I. 21
cndn II. 7, (18), (19)
cw II. 16, (18)
cxš’pδδ I. 7, 12, (13), cxš’pδδyy I. 24. Auch cxš’pδ II. (1)?
cxšty: cxštyt II. 7, 8
cyndrp’r II. (8)

δ’r: δ’rym II. (1), [’krtw] δ’rt II. (19)
δ’rwk I. 19
δβn’ I. 27
δβr-: δβrym II. (3)
δβr-: pšy δβry’ I. 29
δβtyk II. 17
δn: ~ … ’pryw I. 30
dryst rwšn I. 28
δst-: δstww I. 2
δymyδ II. 17
*dyn I. 3
δyn’βr: δyn’βrt I. 6, (14), (38)
δyn’βr’nc: I. (15), [15], 18, 20, 30, δyn’βr’št I. (16), (17), 20, 21
dyncyhryft I. 24
δynδ’r: δynδ’rt I. 27
δynδ’ry’ I. (7)

frm’n II. 1
frm’y II. 7, 17
frtry’ II. (18), (18)
frwx’n II. (21)
fsγt-: fsγtyt II. (6)

gbryhb II. 19

98 ( ) bezeichnet teilweise, [ ] völlig ergänzte Wortbelege, < > bezeichnet von mir in intaktem Kontext ergänzte Wörter, * kennzeichnet Wörter aus mittelpersischen Zitaten.

γr'n II. 13
γryw II. 13, gryw II. 6
γw: γwt II. (7)
γw'n I. (23), cf. xw'n?
γwšy: γwšytt II. 12
γyr: γyrtr I. 26

*hm'g I. 3
*hwm I. 3

jw'nwtr II. 14

k'm II. (10)
km' I. 21
kmbwnyy I. 24
kmby: kmbyt II. 15
kn-: kn'skwn I. (18)
kr'y'nc I. 26, 27, 28
krtr: krtrtyy I. (5)
kt I. 15, [16], 18, 20, 22, 29, II. 16
ktwn' II. 20
kwn-: kwn'nd I. 22, (27), kwnyskwn I. 36, kwn'ndk'm II. 13, cf. 'krt-
kww ... s'r I. 28, II. (11)
kyy I. 10, 25, II. 12, 17

m'γzym s. 'γz
m'hd'd II. 18
m'x I. 4, (6), 16, 20, 21, (26), II. (3), 9, 12, (12)
m'xtysyy I. 9
m'yδδ I. 22, II. 14, m'yδ II. 15
mδyy II. 16
mγwn cf. mnd I mγwn
mkl'syk: mkl'syktyy I. 10
mn(d) I mγwn II. (5)
ms I. (8), 17, 19, 20, 22, 29, 31, II. (10)
mwj'k I. (4), II. (4), 18, (19), (20), mwj'kyy II. (18), 19
mwrtyy I. 22
myhr p'd'r I. 25, (30)
myhr whmn I. 28
myhry'n: myhry'nd I. (5)
myhrʿyzd II. (18)
myšnd I. 5, II. 10, 15, myšndy I. (29), II. (2), myš'ndyy II. (6), (12)

n' kry'cyq II. (11)
n'm: n'myy II. 14
n' pδkcyq II. (11)
n's II. 17
]ndskwn I. (1)
]ndyy I. (9)
nγ'm: nγ'myy II. 14
nwm I. 12, II. 5
nwmpδk' I. 39
nxrys: nxrysndskwn I. (21)
nxw'y: nxw'yndskwn I. (19), nxw'y'ndskwn I. (23)
nyjty I. 26, nyjtyy I. 27
nyw'nz'dg II. 19
nyx II. 17
nyy I. 24
ny'tyy I. 18, cf. nyy's
nyy's I. 31, cf. ny'tyy
nyxy' I. 8, 27
nyz'r II. (13)

p'ckrt II. 12
p'rty I. 11, 12, II. 15, 18, p'rtyy II. 16, p'rtyšn I. 25
p'ryk: I ~ II. 17
p'št' I. 19
p'tcγnyy I. 22
pc'w' II. (15)
pc'ytt I. 22
pcqwyr I. 20
pδk' II. 5, I pδkyy I. 11, cf. nwmpδk'
pδyk: c's'r ~ I. 26
pr I. 12, II. 15, 16, 18, prw I. 12, 13, 35, II. 13, 13, 19, (19)
prc: ~ prwstyy II. (6)
prsm-: prsm'skwn I. (17)
]prt I. (36)
prwrtyy I. 29, 29
prwstyy: prc ~ II. 6
prywyδ I. 23
]ps' I. (40)
ps'k II. 15
pšyy δβr-: pšyy δβry' I. 29
pty'p: ptyy'p I. 27
pww I. 20, 25
pxw'y: p'xw'y I. 16
pyrnm I. 35, pyrnmstr II. 17
pyšty: pyštytyy II. 13

r'f I. 26
ršty'k I. 13
rw'n II. 6
†rwc cf. prc
rwr' I. 23, rwrtt I. (19)
ryj II. 8, (10)
rym(ny)y II. (21), rymnyt II. 14, 15

s'r I. 26, kww ... ~ I. 28, II. [11]
s'r'r I. (25), 31, (32)
s't II. 8
sγtm'n I. 6, sγtm'nyy I. 27
skw'mndyy II. 9
sn-: sn't II. (11), sn'nd II. (9), (16), cf. st-
srδng: srδngt II. (6)
sr-: sryy II. 18, (19), (20), 21
srδ: srδyt II. 9
st-: sttyy II. 18, (19), st'nd II. 17, (20), cf. sn-
]..st' II. (3)
]sty I. (37)
swryk: swryktyy II. 15
sxtwyy II. (20)
šf'r I. 25
šm'r: šm'r'ndskwn I. 24
šn cf. xw
](.)šwmδ'rt I. 16
šxww II. 12
šy cf. xw

t'pyy I. 7
t'š: t'šnds(kwn) I. (19)
tfsnwk II. 13
tšycq I. 18
tym I. 16, 20, 24, 29, (37)
tys I. 26

w':]w' rwc prwstyy II. (6)
w'[I. (36)
w'β: w'β'nd skwn II. 16, cf. wγt-
w'nw I. 18, 20, 22, 28, II. (5), 7, 8, 16, 17
w'xš I. 23, 24, II. *(16), 17, w'xšt II. 7
wβ-: wβ' I. (30), wβ't II. 8, (9), 10, wβ'nd II. 12, wβyy II. 6. Cf. wm't, x-
wδyy II. 8
wγt-: wγtwδ'rt I. (28), II. 5, cf. w'β
whmnš'h̲ I. 28
wm't I. 25, 26, wm't'nd (5), wm'tyš II. 15. Cf. wβ-, x-
wn[I. (1)
wnyy I. 26, 31
wr' II. (18)
wryδ: wryδ'nt II. 9
wrz: krj wrz II. 23
]wyy I. 14
wyn: wyn'nd I. [16], 18, 20, wyyn I. 15, [16]
wyš'nd I. 22, wyš'ndy I. 15, [16], (18), 20
wxnš: wyxnš I. 31
*]wzxt I. 34

x-: 'styy II. 8, xcyy I. 22, 24, 25, II. 5, 15, 17, xnd I. (12), II. 6
xcyy cf. x-
xnd cf. x-
... ..xšn II. (4)
xw: 'ty šy I. 25, 'tyšn I. 23
xw'n II. 8, cf. γw'n?
xw'r: xw'ryšt(?) I. (18)
xwnyy I. 27
xwp I. 9
xwrnyy I. 21, 29, II. (13)
xwšyc[I. 17
xwtyy I. (23), 23, II. 14
xwycq I. 25
xwycn'k I. 25
xwyštr: xwyštrtyy II. 10. 11, (12), 13
xyδ II. 14
xypδ I. (35), II. (6)
xypδ'wnd II. (5), xpδ'wnd II. (14)
xz'nyy I. 31

y'r I. 30, y'ryy I. 31
ywxtyt[II. (15)
]yx'pδ II. (1). Cf. Anm. 51
yzd 'ry'm'n I. 28
yzd m'h̲ II. (14)

z'k'nc I. (26)
]z'd I. (37)
z'y I. 18

I I. 11, 26, 29, 30, 30, mnd I mγwn II. 5, ~ c'f II. 9, ~ p'ryk II. 17
II I. 29

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L'hypothèse de la « Stammhandschrift » dans le corpus des Yašt

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§ 1. L'opinion dominante que l'érudition occidentale se fait des conditions dans lesquelles le corpus avestique est parvenu jusqu'à nous repose sur les observations qui amenèrent Karl Hoffmann à la conclusion que tous les manuscrits en notre possession dérivent peu ou prou d'une source unique qu'il nommait *Stammhandschrift*, « manuscrit-base ». Ainsi que Kellens l'a rappelé récemment,[1] il s'agissait jusque là d'une intuition non vérifiée que Geldner énonçait déjà dans les *Prolegomena* de son édition canonique de l'*Avesta*.

> Taking it as a whole, the text of the Avesta books, apart mutilation by copyists, is the same in all manuscripts, as far as the order of the sentences and the words is concerned. In the case of connected texts, the exceptions to this rule are insignificant. The difference in V 15,19, slight as it is, is something quite unusual. Only certain small pieces which are composed of mere formulas, especially the first Nyāish, show traces of a double recension, an Indian and an Iranian.[2]

Hoffmann apportera la preuve scientifique de l'existence de cette source unique perdue dans un bref article commentant une faute contenue par Y 12.3.

> *Fərā maniiaēbiiō rå̊ŋhē vasə.yāitīm vasə.ṣəitīm yāiš upairī āiiazəmā gaobīš šiieṇtī:. nəmaŋhā aṣāi uzbātå̊ paiti auuaṯ stuiiē nōiṯ ahmāṯ āziiå̊nīm nōiṯ vīuuāpəm xštā māzdaiiasnīš aoi vīsō:. nōiṯ astō nōiṯ uštānahē cinmānī:.*

Geldner se demandait si le *ā* de *āziiå̊nīm* n'était pas une postposition portant sur le *ahmāṯ* le précédant. C'était en effet la bonne solution. Il restait alors à comprendre ce que représente *°ziiå̊nīm*. L'examen de la tradition manuscrite montre que la leçon *°ziiå̊nīm* est restreinte au *Yasna* pehlevi indien (J2 et K5) ainsi qu'au manuscrit J3 du *Yasna* sanscrit. Il s'agit donc d'une tentative de correction introduite a posteriori par le copiste de ces manuscrits. En revanche, les autres familles se retrouvent toutes autour de la forme *°ziiå̊iienīm*, apparemment inexplicable. Cependant, en avestique, on sait que *ā* devient *e* lorsqu'il est entouré de voyelles ou sonantes palatales. De même que scr. *hváyāmi* « j'appelle » a pour équivalent av. *zbaiiemi*, ainsi scr. *jyāní-* « destruction » a pour équivalent av. **ziienī-*. On voit bien dès lors que la leçon *°ziiå̊ienīm* consiste

1 Kellens 1998, p. 466.
2 Geldner 1886, I, p. XLVb sq.

en la succession sans rature de l'initiale fautive *°ziiā̊-* et de sa correction *-iie-* : **ziienīm* est donc l'accusatif singulier de **ziienī-*. L'universalité d'une telle faute ne peut s'expliquer que par l'existence individuelle de celle-ci dans un manuscrit servant de point de départ à toutes les copies existantes.[3]

§ 2. Il est symptomatique que l'article contenant cette démonstration s'intitule « Zur Yasna-Überlieferung ». La conclusion en elle-même ne vaut en effet que pour le seul corpus du *Yasna*. L'étude attentive de l'alphabet avestique et de sa période de création ainsi que le constat de la brièveté de la période de constitution du canon écrit amènent progressivement HOFFMANN à étendre la validité de sa découverte à l'ensemble de l'*Avesta* : elle devient ainsi la conclusion de son « Sasanidische Archetypus », rédigé avec JOHANNA NARTEN et publié en 1989. La preuve équivalente portant sur le *Vidēvdād* ou sur le *Xorda Avesta* n'a pourtant jamais été apportée. Concernant les *Yašt*, plusieurs raisons l'expliquent. Tout d'abord, le corpus n'est pas aussi homogène : s'il n'y a qu'un *Yasna*, il y a une vingtaine d'hymnes, qui ne sont pas tous attestés de la même façon. Pour ne prendre qu'un exemple, la spécificité du Yt13 est bien connue. Par ailleurs, et paradoxalement, la tradition manuscrite est moins riche que celle du *Yasna*. Le plus souvent, le philologue doit se contenter de trancher entre F1 (*Yašt* sadé indien) et Jm4 (*Xorda Avesta* indien), J10, représentant très corrompu d'une tradition indépendante, pouvant servir d'arbitre, du moins lorsque ses leçons ne sont pas absurdes. Enfin et surtout, le travail de GELDNER ne présente pas pour les *Yašt* le même sérieux irréprochable que pour le *Yasna*. Si les *Prolegomena* sont là pour prouver qu'il avait su identifier les grandes familles de manuscrits et fixer les principaux *stemma*, la mise en œuvre de ces remarques dans l'apparat critique des *Yašt* ne s'avère pas parfaitement scrupuleuse. Tout se passe comme si GELDNER avait compris la tradition manuscrite des hymnes après en avoir préparé l'édition et trop tard pour pouvoir la corriger. Ceci induit deux effets pervers. Le premier est que GELDNER fonde parfois son édition sur des leçons sans valeur. Si l'apparat critique n'est pas complet, la correction s'en trouve rendue plus difficile. Ce n'est parfois pas le cas : si mon commentaire de Yt5.7 est correct, je me suis contenté (sans m'en apercevoir) de parachever le travail de KELLENS[4] et SCHMEJA[5] en rétablissant à mon tour[6] la leçon de F1 là où GELDNER avait eu systématiquement tort de s'en passer, que ce soit pour intervenir lui-même (*auruša*, donc) ou pour donner la préférence à des leçons forcément sans intérêt (W2 !). Si toutefois la bonne leçon n'est pas contenue par un texte aussi important que F1 (toujours cité, comme Jm4), il peut arriver que GELDNER nous en prive en omettant de la faire figurer dans l'apparat, nous retirant tout espoir d'améliorer le texte autrement que par le recours à la spéculation grammaticale.

3 HOFFMANN 1975, pp. 513–515.
4 KELLENS 1974, p. 105.
5 SCHMEJA 1976, pp. 227–239.
6 SWENNEN 1998, pp. 205–212.

§3. Pour pouvoir mener sur la tradition manuscrite des *Yašt* une réflexion comparable à celle dont Hoffmann offre l'exemple à suivre pour le *Yasna*, il faut un peu de chance d'une part, rechercher un texte dont la tradition manuscrite soit aussi riche que possible d'autre part. Il se trouve que le Yt4, qui n'est certes pas le plus prestigieux des hymnes avestiques, remplit fort bien cette dernière condition, et ce dès sa première strophe, dont l'examen détaillé suscite un certain nombre de remarques. Voici d'abord le texte de l'édition Geldner et son apparat critique[7] :

mraoṯ ahurō mazdå̊ spitamāi zaraθuštrāi: azəm daδąm hauruuatātō[1] *narąm aṣaonąm auuå̊sca rafnå̊sca baošnå̊sca*[2] *x*[v]*ītå̊sca*[3] *auuōi*[4] *fraca yaoxmaide*[5] *yō.tē*[6] *jasāiti*[7] *aməṣanąm spəṇtanąm yaθa jasāit*[i7] *aməṣanąm spəṇtanąm vohū manō aṣəm vahištəm xšaθrəm vairīm spəṇtąm ārmaitīm hauruuatå̊sca*[8] *amərətatå̊sca*[9].

Variantes
1 : *haoruuatātō* F1 ; Ml2 et M4 ajoutent *raθβō*, J10 *raθβąm*.
2 : Pt1, P13, K18, L18 ; *bao...nåsca* Jm4 ; *būsanå̊sca* F1 ; *būšnå̊sca* E1, K16, M4 ; *būsanå̊sca* M25 ; *būšanå̊sca* J10, K12.
3 : M4, P13, K19, Ml2 ; *x́aītå̊sca* F1, Pt1, E1 ; *x́iitå̊sca* K16 ; *x́aiiatå̊sca* O3 ; *x́aitå̊sca* M6 ; *x*[v]*atāisca* Jm4.
4 : Jm4, F1, Pt1, E1, P13, L18, K19, K16, O3 ; *auuō* K12 ; *auuō.uruniiå̊sca* J10, à la place de *auuōi fraca* ; *aōi.auuarəniiå̊sca* M4.
5 : J10 ; *yaoxmaiδe* K12, K16 ; *yaoxmaidi* M25 ; *yaoxmaide* F1, E1 ; *yōxmaide* Pt1, P13, K19, L18, O3 ; *yazamaide* Jm4, M4, M6, Ml2.
6 : K16, M4, F1, J10 ; *yōi* Jm4, M25 ; *yōitē* Pt1, P13, K19, L18, O3.
7 : *jasaiti* M4.
8 : F1, K12, K19, L18 ; *hauruuatatå̊sca* O3 ; *hauruuatātå̊sca* Jm4, Pt1, P13.
9 : F1, E1, K12, K16, M4, Ml2, O3 ; *amərətātå̊sca* Jm4, Pt1, P13K19, L18.

Afin d'optimiser ce matériel, il est bon de donner le texte exhaustif de F1, à nouveau accessible grâce à Almut Hintze et Kaikhusroo M. Jamaspasa.[8]

mraoṯ ahurō mazdå̊ spatamāi zaraθuštrāi : azəm daδąm haouruuatātō narąm aṣaonąm :. auuå̊sca rafnå̊sca būsanå̊sca x́aītå̊sca :. auuōi fraca yaoxamaide :. yō tē jasāiti aməṣanąm spəṇtanąm yaθa jasāiti aməṣanąm spəṇtanąm vohū manō aṣəm vahistəm xšaθrəm vairīm spəṇtąm ārmaitīm hauruuatå̊sca amərətatå̊sca :.

§4. Voici les traductions de cette strophe proposées par les meilleurs spécialistes occidentaux :

– De Harlez 1881, p. 411 : Ahura-Mazda dit à Zarathustra le saint : J'ai créé de Haurvatât les secours, les joies, les jouissances et le bonheur pour les hommes purs. Nous favorisons celui qui a recours à ces Amesha-Çpentas, Vohumanô, Asha Vahista, Khshathra Vairya, Çpenta Armaiti, Haurvatât et Ameretât.

7 Geldner 1886, II, p. 78.
8 Hintze 1991, p. 54 sq.

- GELDNER 1882, p. 108 : « Es sprach Ahura Mazda zum Spitama Zarathuśtra : ich schuf für die gerechten Männer die Wolthaten, den Beistand, den Genuss, das Glück und die Ergötzungen der Haurvatāt. Dazu stellten wir sie an, dass sie unter den Amesha Spenta dir an die Hand gehe, [wie (dir)von den Amesha Spenta an die Hand gehen Vohumanō, Asha Vahiśta, Khshathra Vairya, Speñta Aramaiti, Haurvatâṭ, Ameretâṭ.] »
- DARMESTETER 1892, p. 358 : « Ahura Mazda dit à Spitama Zarathushtra : J'ai créé Haurvatât, le Maître, pour assister, pour réjouir, pour affranchir, pour rafraîchir le juste, et nous lui offrons sacrifice.
  Celui qui vient t'adorer, toi entre les Amesha-Speñtas, c'est comme s'il venait adorer les Amesha-Speñtas, Vohu Manō, Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, Speñta-Ârmaiti, Haurvatât et Ameretât. »
- WOLFF 1910, p. 164 : « Es sprach Ahura Mazdāh zu dem Spitama Zaraθuštra : Ich, ich schuf für die ašaglaübigen Männer die Hilfen und Unterstützungen und Befreiungen und (*xᵛīt̊ašča* ?) der Haurvatāt ; wir († *avi frača yaoxmaide* ?) (den), der sich bei den Amәša Spәnta's einstellen soll, auf daß er zu (der Zahl der) Amәša Spәnta's gelange, zu Vohu Manah, Aša Vahišta, Xšaθra Vairya, zur heiligen Ārmatay, zu Haurvatāt und Amәrәtāt. »
- LOMMEL 1927, p. 24 : « Es sprach der Weise Herr zu Spitāma Zarathuštra : Ich schuf für die frommen Männer die Hilfen und Unterstützungen und Erlösungen und das Wohlergehen des Heilseins, wir ..... welcher (welche, Plural ?) unter den heiligen Unsterblichen zu dir kommen wird (werden ?), wie unter den heiligen Unsterblichen kommen wird das gute Denken, die Beste Wahrheit, das ersehnte Reich, die heilige Frommergebenheit, das Heilsein und das Nichttotsein. (Im Ganzen unverständlich) »

§ 5. L'apparat critique permet de constater que le Yt4 est présent dans toutes les familles de manuscrits attestant en totalité ou en partie le corpus des *Yašt*. Pour cet hymne comme pour les autres, le manuscrit de référence est F1, version princeps de la famille des *Yašt* sadé. Il joue dans l'*Ausgabe* de GELDNER le rôle décisif qui lui revient. Ce manuscrit est à la base de E1, K12 et K16. Contrairement à l'affirmation de GELDNER,[9] E1 n'est pas la copie directe de F1. Son auteur avait deux manuscrits sous les yeux, faisant preuve de suffisamment de compétence et de bon sens pour donner en général sa préférence à F1. La deuxième grande famille, le *Xorda Avesta* indien, est dominée par Jm4, remarquablement ancien (1342), mais elle est aussi représentée par O3. Elle comporte en outre les manuscrits mixtes, ayant pour prototype Pt1, dont descendent K19, L18 et P13. Une troisième branche est représentée par J10, souvent mauvais mais précieux car il transmet pour les *Yašt* une source antérieure à F1. Il n'est pas sûr qu'il soit aussi isolé que d'ordinaire. Quatre manuscrits restent à classer : M4, M6, M25 et Ml2. M25, manuscrit mineur constitué de quelques fragments, est si rarement cité

9 GELDNER 1886, I, p. XLII.

par GELDNER qu'il peut être oublié. Ml2 au contraire doit être présenté avec précaution. On ne peut se contenter de le considérer comme un représentant du *Xorda Avesta* iranien. GELDNER lui-même souligne qu'il ressemble à une compilation puisant à de multiples sources.[10] Il est récent et rédigé en alphabet persan, ce qui prouve qu'il se trouve à la conclusion d'une tradition que la translittération vulgarise. Pour le texte qui nous occupe, et dans la mesure où les lacunes de l'apparat critique n'interdisent pas la formation d'une opinion solidement argumentée, Ml2 appartient à la même tradition que J10. M4 et M6 présentent la plus grande difficulté. Tous deux sont répertoriés comme représentants de *Vīsprad* pehlevi, mais cette classification ne vaut bien entendu que pour le *Vīsprad* lui-même. D'après GELDNER, leur filiation est la suivante : K7a → M6 → X → Y → M4. Concernant le Yt4, cette généalogie est impossible. Le copiste qui a composé M4 a utilisé pour le Yt4 une autre source que M6, ce qui suppose que le X ou le Y de GELDNER transmettait le *Vīsprad* de M6, mais pas son Yt4. Ceci posé, il reste que la source précise de chacun des deux manuscrits est difficile à identifier. D'une façon générale, M6 est très proche de F1 et E1. De son côté, M4 paraît appartenir à la famille de Ml2 et donc aussi de J10, qui se trouve pour cette fois beaucoup moins isolé qu'il ne l'est dans l'apparat des autres *Yašt*. Le Yt4 présente donc une tradition manuscrite d'une richesse malheureusement trop rare dans le corpus des *Yašt*, où l'on verra que la famille des *Yašt* sadé et celle du *Xorda Avesta* indien se font réellement concurrence, la troisième famille penchant tantôt vers l'une, tantôt vers l'autre. Cette richesse est illustrée de façon exemplaire dès la première strophe, pour autant qu'elle soit utilisée comme atout d'une rigoureuse analyse grammaticale.

§6. Le premier passage problématique est *azəm daδąm hauruuatātō narąm aŝaonąm*. Telle quelle, cette proposition à double génitif paraît incomplète. Aux yeux de GELDNER,[11] la situation est pourtant suffisamment claire pour qu'il ne prenne même pas la peine de commenter la syntaxe. D'après sa traduction, *hauruuatātō* est un génitif possessif déterminant la liste inaugurée par *auuå̊sca*, tandis que *narąm aŝaonąm* est un génitif objectif d'avantage se substituant à un datif. Cette analyse, consciencieusement reprise par tous ses successeurs, est bien entendu agrammaticale. Au minimum, *hauruuatātō* devrait se trouver directement devant *auuå̊sca*. Aussi ne peut-on rester indifférent au fait que M4 et Ml2 font suivre *hauruuatātō* d'un *raθβō* et J10 d'un *raθβąm*. Comme le confirmera l'examen du reste de la strophe, la troisième famille, M4 et Ml2 surtout, paraît ici plus digne de foi que les deux autres. Ecartons J10, dont la leçon n'arrange rien. Il nous reste un *raθβō*, dont l'analyse fait problème. En effet, un génitif singulier n'éclairerait pas la syntaxe de la proposition, bien au contraire. Je me demande si *raθβō* ne devrait pas plutôt être interprété comme accusatif pluriel.

10 GELDNER 1886, I, p. XLIV.
11 GELDNER 1882, p. 108.

Certes, Y13.3 atteste *ratūš*, mais il existe une concurrence entre g. *pərətūš* et r. *pərəθβō*.[12] Y13.3 présenterait donc la forme archaïque, Yt4.1 la forme récente. Si c'en est un, cet accusatif rééquilibre en tout cas la proposition : *daδąm* retrouve le complément direct qui lui manque (et que ne saurait représenter la liste *auuå̊sca*..., dépendant de *yazamaide*), lequel est comme il se doit immédiatement précédé du génitif possessif qui le détermine. Enfin, *narąm aṣ̌aonąm* peut en effet se laisser analyser comme génitif possessif-objectif (les *ratus* auxquels se réfèrent les hommes pieux, ceux qu'ils proclament, éventuellement énumérés par la proposition suivante) ou partitif (par opposition aux partisans de la Druj). Je suis conscient qu'il ne faut pas surestimer cette hypothèse. À supposer que *raθβō* soit bien un accusatif, le pluriel est lui aussi gênant. Que pouvait-on vouloir dire en affirmant que Hauruuatāt a plusieurs *ratu-* ? Notons simplement que les variantes les plus importantes n'appartenant pas à la tradition de F1 suggèrent que l'impossible double génitif résulte de l'oubli d'un mot qui devait être le complément direct de *daδąm*.

§7. Vient le reste de la strophe : *auuå̊sca rafnå̊sca baošnå̊sca xᵛītå̊sca auuōi fraca yaoxmaide yō.tē jasāiti amə̄šanąm spə̄ntanąm yaθa jasāiti amə̄šanąm spə̄ntanąm vohū manō aṣ̌əm vahištəm xšaθrəm vairīm spə̄ntąm ārmaitīm hauruuatå̊sca amərətatå̊sca*. Il s'agit d'une seule phrase dont la proposition initiale s'articule autour d'un verbe à la première du pluriel. GELDNER met en exergue la forme *yaoxmaide* (F1, J10), qui donne l'illusion de reposer à la fois sur le manuscrit le plus sûr et sur le principe de *lectio difficilior*. Il est pourtant perceptible que la phrase est corrompue, et J10 n'est pas assez fiable pour pouvoir être présenté comme une confirmation de F1. Jm4, Ml2 et M4 donnent *yazamaide* à la même place. Cette forme a au moins l'avantage d'être connue. Elle est aussi celle des manuscrits les moins corrompus, comme le prouve l'examen du reste de la phrase.

§8. Le passage °*auuōi fraca yaoxmaide yō.tē jasāiti amə̄šanąm spə̄ntanąm yaθa jasāiti*° a posé bien des problèmes aux traducteurs cités plus haut. Etrangement, aucun d'entre eux, pas même GELDNER, ne s'est aperçu que la phrase est ici corrompue par une faute infiniment précieuse. La conjonction a d'abord été écrite de manière fautive, °*yō.tē*°, qui ne veut strictement rien dire. S'apercevant de son erreur, le scribe y revient et reprend avec le mot correct, °*yaθa*°. Conformément à la coutume régissant ces textes sacrés, il ne rature pas la faute pour ne pas souiller le manuscrit. C'est la raison pour laquelle elle sera consciencieusement reproduite dans toutes les copies ultérieures. Celles qui nous sont parvenues contenant toutes cette erreur, il va de soi qu'elles dérivent toutes de ce manuscrit fautif. C'est le principe du manuscrit base, la *Stammhandschrift* de HOFFMANN. L'exactitude de l'hypothèse de ce dernier dans le corpus des *Yašt* est donc vé-

12 HOFFMANN/FORSSMAN 1996, p. 132.

rifiée. On remarquera qu'il s'agit même d'un exemple évident, requérant bien moins de perspicacité que celle déployée par HOFFMANN à propos de Y12.3. Le faible intérêt ordinairement suscité par le quatrième *Yašt* est la cause qui lui a permis de garder longtemps son secret.

§ 9. La faute présente dès le manuscrit base ne commence pas avant °*yō.tē*°. Si tel était le cas en effet, tous les manuscrits en donneraient la correction. Les diverses leçons attestées par la tradition manuscrite relative aux mots précédant immédiatement la faute reflètent donc la détérioration progressive de la conservation du texte à travers les siècles. Leur examen critique permet dès lors une véritable évaluation de la qualité des manuscrits. La leçon choisie par GELDNER, °*auuōi fraca yaoxmaide*°, n'a pas de sens. Deux préverbes dont la succession laisse perplexe sont supposés nuancer la signification d'une forme verbale inconnue. Une alternative est cependant proposée par J10 *(auuō.uruniiå̊sca)* et M4 *(aōi. auuarəniiå̊sca)*. On regrette que la leçon de Ml2 ne soit pas communiquée dans l'apparat critique de l'*Ausgabe*. Aucune de ces deux leçons ne se laisse analyser d'un point de vue morphologique, la sémantique restant donc impénétrable. Il est toutefois visible que les deux mots sont conclus par la particule de coordination °*ca*. Cet indice permet au moins une avancée dans l'analyse syntaxique de la strophe. La forme verbale dont dépend la subordonnée introduite par *yaθa* dans l'archétype sassanide n'était pas précédée d'improbables préverbes complexes, mais du dernier membre de l'énumération commençant par *auuå̊sca*. L'ensemble de ces considérations ayant attiré l'attention sur la très bonne qualité de M4, il apparaît hautement probable que la forme verbale correcte précédant *yaθa* soit *yazamaide*, et non l'inconnu *yaoxmaide*.

§ 10. La tradition manuscrite se laisse donc analyser comme suit. L'archétype sassanide postulé par HOFFMANN et NARTEN comportait une séquence **yazamaide yaθa jasāiti**, immédiatement précédée d'une énumération à l'accusatif. Le manuscrit base contient, voire introduit, une erreur aussitôt corrigée mais néanmoins perpétuée par toute la tradition, °*yō.tē jasāiti aməšaŋm spəṇtaŋm*°. Nous entrons alors dans la tradition manuscrite parvenue jusqu'à nous. Le texte le meilleur est M4, qui contient toujours le souvenir du dernier membre de l'énumération et la forme verbale correcte *yazamaide*. L'apparat critique ne nous laisse pas voir si Ml2 lui est comparable ou inférieur. Comportant une variante proche de M4 quant au dernier terme de la coordination mais attestant *yaoxmaide*, J10 s'avère légèrement inférieur. Ensuite, mais ensuite seulement, viennent F1, Jm4 et leurs copies respectives, dont l'origine unique est matérialisée par la présence de l'apparent double préverbe °*auuōi fraca*°.

§ 11. En conclusion à ce dépouillement de l'apparat critique disponible, il paraît possible d'améliorer la version de Yt4.1 donnée par l'*Ausgabe* en proposant le texte suivant.

mraoṯ ahurō mazdå̊ spitamāi zaraθuštrāi azəm daδąm haouruuatātō raθβō narąm aṣaonąm ∴ auuå̊sca rafnå̊sca būšnå̊sca xīţå̊sca aōi.auuarəniiå̊sca yazamaide yaθa jasāiti amәšanąm spәntanąm vohū manō aṣəm vahištəm xšaθrəm vairīm spәntąm ārmaitīm hauruuatå̊sca amərətatå̊sca ∴

Certes, cette strophe reste gravement corrompue. On a déjà discuté *raθβō* et *aōi. auuarəniiå̊sca*. De même, *būšnå̊sca* est incompréhensible. Cette forme n'est préférable à *baošnå̊sca* (GELDNER choisit ici la leçon de Pt1) que dans la mesure où elle est attestée par M4 et Ml2, qui font suivre ce mot d'un *xīţå̊sca* correct, expliqué par KELLENS.[13] Enfin, le verbe est forcément incorrect au singulier. L'idéal serait un duel, la consolation un pluriel. Toutefois, l'extrême rareté des formes correctes de subjonctif duel actif[14] fait pressentir une corruption très ancienne de la forme verbale ne remettant pas en cause l'analyse d'ensemble de la phrase. Il ne faudrait pas en effet que ces embûches nous empêchent de goûter la syntaxe de cette phrase étonnamment correcte pour un texte réputé si tardif que son authenticité en paraissait douteuse.[15] Une série d'accusatifs pluriels régulièrement coordonnés par °*ca* constitue le complément direct du verbe principal, *yazamaide* (ind.pr.M 1 plur.), qui est complété par une subordonnée de but au subj.pr.A 3 sing., *jasāiti*. Les sujets, *hauruuatå̊sca amərətatå̊sca*, sont rejetés en finale. Les particules de coordination dont ils sont porteurs les distinguent des accusatifs en asyndète qui les précèdent et forment une énumération. Ceux-ci suivent immédiatement le génitif partitif *amәšanąm spәntanąm* qui les détermine. Seul est syntaxiquement fautif le nombre singulier de *jasāiti*. Il est donc permis de proposer la traduction que voici :

> Ahura Mazda dit à Spitama Zarathushtra : 'C'est moi qui ai instauré les archétypes d'Intégrité, (qui sont aussi ceux) des hommes partisans de la Vérité.' Nous honorons d'un sacrifice les aides, les secours, les ..., les déplacements aisés et les ... pour qu'Intégrité et Immortalité viennent vers (rejoignent ?) Bonne Pensée, Excellente Vérité, Emprise digne du choix (et) Bénéfique Déférence, (qui font partie) des Immortels Bénéfiques.

13 KELLENS 1974, p. 114.
14 KELLENS 1984, p. 257.
15 DARMESTETER 1892, II, pp. XXVII et 358.

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Einige Bemerkungen zur Paläographie des Pahlavi

Dieter Weber, Moringen

1. Entwicklungen zu stark kursiven Erscheinungen in der Kurrentschrift

Wie in meinem Beitrag auf dem Symposium „Religious Texts in Iranian Languages" (18.–22. Mai 2002) gezeigt werden konnte,[1] ist das bislang speziell in Papyri des frühen 7. Jh. aus Ägypten gelesene Wort für ‚Herr' nicht <hwṭ'k'> (so durchweg Hansen 1938 und Weber 1992), sondern <hwṭ'yk'> zu lesen. Dies darf aus paläographischen Gründen inzwischen als erwiesen gelten, da einige bisher unbekannte Dokumente eindeutig die Schreibung <-'y-k> erkennen lassen,[2] obwohl dieselbe Lesung bereits aus dem Papyrus (Heidelberg) P. 69, 2 (Weber 1992, S. 171, vgl. Tafel IX) hätte gewonnen werden können. Der normale sehr kursive Duktus der Kurrentschrift ließ die Abfolge <-'y-> zu einem durchgehenden Strich werden, wie dies auch in dem Heterogramm <'YK̲> zu beobachten ist.[3] Es ist daher, wenn möglich, unbedingt notwendig, verschiedene Belege eines Wortes in ihren Schreibungen gegenüberzustellen, wie dies bereits bisher auch teilweise schon geschehen ist.

So wurde bereits 1973 darauf hingewiesen,[4] daß das noch bei Hansen 1938 als <tnsrd'l> in (Berlin) P. 136, 10 gelesene Wort[5] (‚Offizier') in (Philadelphia) P. 23 und (Göttingen) P. 109, 13 deutlicher als <gwndsrd'l> vorkommt, so daß die Eintragung eines †*tansālār* im mittelpersischen Lexikon als obsolet betrachtet werden mußte. Die Beispiele mögen hier noch einmal durch Abbildungen (Abb. 1–3), auch aus der Wiener Sammlung, verdeutlicht werden.

1 „Remarks on the Development of the Pahlavi Script in Sasanian Times." In: Fereydun Vahman/Claus V. Pedersen (Hrsg.): *Religious Texts in Iranian Languages. Symposium held in Copenhagen, May 2002*. Kopenhagen 2007 (Historisk-filosofiske meddelelser 98), S. 185–195.

2 Es sind dies P. Pehl. 414, P. Pehl. 559 R 3, P. Pehl. 571 V 1 und Oxford (Bodleiana), frgm. 2, Zeile 3 (alle unveröffentlicht).

3 Vgl. z.B. (Berlin) P. 136, 7 vs. (Berlin) P. 317, 7; vgl. Weber 2003, S. 7 (Tafel VI), resp. S. 150 (Tafel LXXX).

4 Siehe Weber 1973, S. 85f.

5 Wiederholt bei Perichanjan 1961, S. 92, und Brunner 1977, S. 46 (oben).

Abb. 1: (Philadelphia) P. 23

Abb. 2: (Göttingen) P. 109, 13

Abb. 3: (Wien) P. Pehl. 287, 1[6]

Für den Übergang von <s-n/w/r> kann sehr gut die Schreibung von <swṭ> in Dok. 25, Zeile 5, verglichen werden (Abb. 4) oder auch <hwnsnd> in Dok. 30a V 3 (Abb. 5).

Bei den vorgestellten Belegen ist deutlich zu beobachten, wie die Abfolge <s-n/w/r>, in P. 23 noch fast kalligraphisch geschrieben, verändert wird, zunächst über einen elegant geschwungenen Bogen wie in P. 109, 13, dann zu einem weiter vereinfachten Ansatz in P. Pehl. 287, 1, bis hin zur letztlich extrem kursiven Schreibung in (Berlin) P. 136, 10 (Pl.), s. Abb. 6.

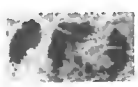


Abb. 4

Abb. 5

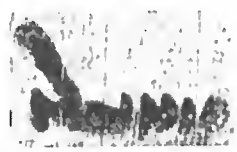


Abb. 6

2. Vereinfachungen bei <š>

Eine ähnliche Vereinfachung ist ebenfalls bei dem Zeichen <š> zu beobachten.

Tabelle 1: Die Schreibungen von *sāl* <ŠNṬ> bzw. <ŠNT> ‚Jahr'

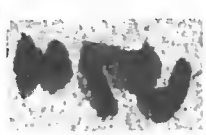
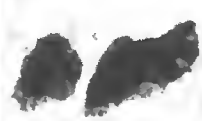
		

Abb. 7: Dok. 1, 4[7]	Abb. 8: Dok. 2, 4	Abb. 9: Dok. 3, 3

6 Ähnlich P. 288, Zeile 1.

7 Dieses Dokument ist in seiner Schreibung sehr sorgfältig und zeigt auch in dem Heterogramm <ŠRM> diese deutliche Form des <š>.

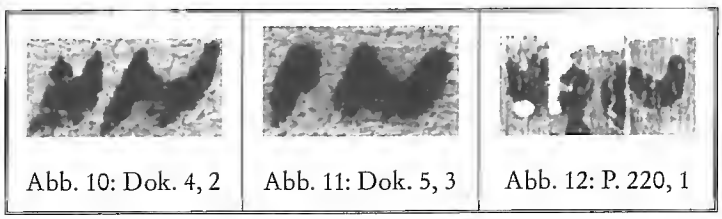


Abb. 10: Dok. 4, 2 | Abb. 11: Dok. 5, 3 | Abb. 12: P. 220, 1

Während Abb. 28[8] das einzige deutlich geschriebene <š> in dem Heterogramm <ŠNṬ> bietet, ist dieses in den restlichen Beispielen dramatisch vereinfacht worden, so daß manchmal der Kontext entscheiden muß, daß es sich um eine Zeitangabe handelt, in der dieses Heterogramm vorkommt; die Vereinfachung von <ŠN-> könnte u. U. auch einfach als <g/d/y-w/r/n-> gelesen werden.

Bemerkenswert ist, daß auch im Textil, in das Pahlavi-Schrift eingewoben wurde, Gepflogenheiten der Kursiven weiterhin beachtet wurden; deutliche Beispiele gibt es in dem Stück aus Dulan, das offenbar in einem tibetischen Grab gefunden wurde.[9]

Vgl. <-h'> Dulan, Zeile 2, in dem Wort <hm'yyh'>[10] (Abb. 13) gegenüber <-yh> ebenfalls Dulan, Zeile 2, in <d'<l>wptyh>[11] (Abb. 14), wofür sich eine exakte Parallele in der Schreibung von <NKSY'> in Iqlid, Zeile 19 findet (Abb. 15a) gegenüber <ŠNT> in derselben Inschrift, Zeile 12 (Abb. 15b).[12]

Abb. 13

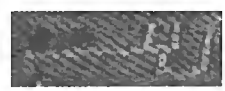
Abb. 14 

Abb. 15a

Abb. 15b

8 Das Dokument ist insgesamt sehr sorgfältig und deutlich geschrieben.

9 Siehe Lin 1995 und Heller 1998. Die beste Abbildung findet sich in Watt u.a. 2004, S. 345 (Nr. 244).

10 Die Schreibung ist eine Verballhornung des „klassischen" 𐭧𐭭𐭮𐭩𐭭 (CPD).

11 Die Verbesserung in <d'<l>wptyh> statt des eigentlich gewebten <d'wptyh> ist auf Grund eines weiteren Textils, das sich in der Sammlung der Abegg-Stiftung in Riggisberg/Schweiz befindet, gesichert. Das Wort selbst ist Teil eines Kompositums <YDH-d'lwptyh> = mp. *dastyāruftīh* < **dasta-dāra-pati-* (+ Abstr.-Suffix) in der Bedeutung ‚chief, helpership' o.dgl.; die lautliche Besonderheit des velaren Vokals vor dem synkopierten **pati-* hat eine vergleichbare Parallele in den armen. Lehnwörtern *hazarouxt*, *hazarouft* neben *hazarapet* (vgl. Garsoïan, N.G. [ed.] 1989: *The Epic Histories (Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk')*. Cambridge, Mass. [Harvard Armenian Texts and Studies 8], S. 531f.), die auch in der Pahlavi-Form *hz'lwpt* ŠKZ 29, 31, NPi 16 (rest.) sowie der parth. Schreibung *hzrwpt* ŠKZ 23, 25, NPi 15 (< **hazāra-pati-*) zum Ausdruck kommt (s. Gignoux 1972, S. 24, 54) und der im Griechischen αζαροπτ entspricht (s. Back 1978, S. 223).

12 Siehe Frye 1970.

Tabelle 2: Die Schreibungen von *rāmišn* <l'mšn'> ‚Friede, Zufriedenheit'

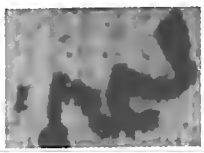
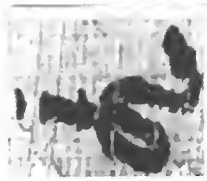
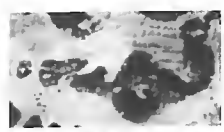


Abb. 16: P. 44, 6	Abb. 17: P. 80, 9	Abb. 18: P. 125 b 2
Abb. 19: P. 135 a 3	Abb. 20: P. 136, 2	Abb. 21: P. 142, 2
		
Abb. 22: P. 145 V 9 (Schreibübung)	Abb. 23: P. 150, 2	Abb. 24: P. 157, 3

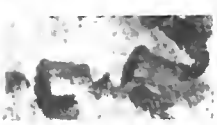



Abb. 25: P. 158, 9	Abb. 26: P. Pehl. 3, 1	Abb. 27: P. Pehl. 563, 3

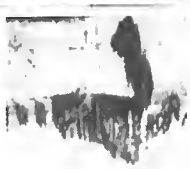
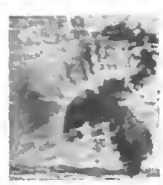
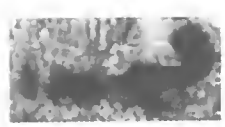

		

Abb. 28: P. 80, 9[13] (Heidelberg)	Abb. 29: Dok. 25, 1	Abb. 30: LA 3, 3[14]

13 Siehe WEBER 1992, S. 184 und Tafel XIX, vgl. ferner *ibid.*, S. 214.
14 GIGNOUX 1998, S. 68 (Fig. 3).

3. *anōš-ayād* statt †*anōš-baxt*

Die vorstehenden Beobachtungen an der Verschiedenartigkeit der Schreibungen für <š> erlauben auch, eine verbesserte Lesung für eine in Briefen sehr häufige Floskel vorzuschlagen. Neben der in vielen Fällen verwendeten Formulierung <yzd'n'ẖyȳ't'> *yazadān-ayād* ‚götter-erinnert' (Beispiele Abb. 31–34) findet

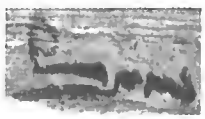


Abb. 31:
P. Pehl. 287, 1

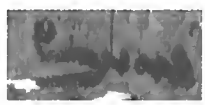


Abb. 32:
P. Pehl. 288, 1

Abb. 33:
P. 141, 1

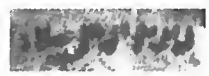


Abb. 34:
Per. 4, 1

sich eine weitere, die bisher[15] <'nwšbht> *anōš-baxt* gelesen wurde (Beispiele Abb. 35–41):

Abb. 35:
P. 68, 1

Abb. 36:
P. 160

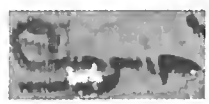


Abb. 37:
P. 161, 2

Abb. 38:
P. Pehl. 4, 1

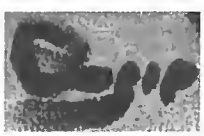


Abb. 39:
Dok. 1, 1

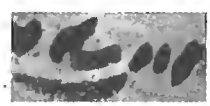


Abb. 40:
Dok. 2, 1

Abb. 41:
Dok. 3, 1

Abb. 42:
(Wien) AN431[16] V 2

Wegen der überaus deutlichen Schreibung in Abb. 42 auf einem bisher unveröffentlichten Papyrus der Wiener Sammlung ist es nun möglich, mit großer Sicherheit davon auszugehen, daß nicht <'nwšbht>, sondern nur <'nwš'ẖyȳ't'> gelesen werden kann. Unterstützt wird diese Interpretation auch durch <'ẖyȳ't'> ‚Erinnerung', das separat einmal ebenfalls in einem Wiener Pahlavi-Papyrus belegt ist (Abb. 43).

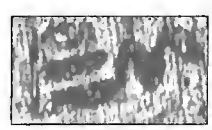


Abb. 43: P.Pehl. 73, 6: <'ẖyȳ't'>

15 Seit Weber 1992 usw. Die Lesung <'nwš'ẖyȳ't'> wurde bereits 1984 erwogen (bei Weber 1984, S. 37f.), jedoch später zugunsten derjenigen von <'nwšbht'> verworfen.

16 AN431 bezeichnet die „Ausstellungsnummer" der Wiener Pahlavi-Papyri; die Signatur des Stückes selbst konnte noch nicht identifiziert werden.

Die übrigen hier abgebildeten Beispiele von <'nwš'ḇyȳ't'> zeigen teilweise starke Veränderungen dieser häufigen Floskel: Abb. 35–38 sind der ursprünglichen Schreibung noch sehr nahe, während Abb. 39–41 extrem vereinfachte Schreibungen aufweisen; ob dies ausschließlich ihrem geringeren Alter (zwischen der ersten und zweiten Gruppe liegen etwa fünf Jahrzehnte) zuzuschreiben ist, bleibt augenblicklich noch unklar.

Auch die Verwendung dieser Floskeln in ihrem syntaktischen Umfeld ist direkt vergleichbar. Das geläufige <yzd'nbyȳ't'> wird attributiv vor der Nennung der Person verwendet, an die das Schreiben gerichtet ist; dem Namen (oder Titel) folgt in der Regel das Wort für ‚Verehrung':

- Per. 4, 1: *ō yazadān-ayād Naz(ō)rīg*[17] *namāz*
- Per. 6, 1–2: *ō yazadān-ayād Xusrō-...* | *namāz*
- P. Pehl. 287, 1:[18] *ō yazadān-ayād gundsālār ī*[(abgebrochen)
- P. Pehl. 288, 1 (unveröff.): [*ō*] *yazadān-ayād gundsālār ī* (Zeilenende, sonst unvollständig)
- P. 141, 1: *ō yazadān-ayād Yazdānkard namāz*

Dem entspricht vollständig die Verwendung von <'nwš'ḇyȳ't'>:

- Dok. 1, 1: *ō anōšayād Dēnār-Gušnasp(?) namāz*
- Dok. 2, 1: *ō anōšayād Dēnār-Gušnasp namāz*
- Dok. 3, 1: [*ō*] *anōš-ayād Māhag namāz*
- P. Pehl. 4, 1 (unveröff.): *ō anōš-ayād Māhin-Ōhrmazd namāz*
- P. Pehl. 571, R 1–2: *ō* []*[19] anōš-ayād brād* | *Rašn namāz*[20]
- P. 68, 1: *ō anōš-ayād hamē* [(unvollständig)
- P. 160: *ō anōš-ayād *Gōkdād(?)* [(abgebrochen)[21]
- P. 161, 2: *ō anōš-ayād x*^{w}*ad*[*āyīg* (abgebrochen, jedoch mit *namāz* am Anfang der Folgezeile)

In einer Variante wird *anōš-ayād* allerdings auch mit der Prp. *pad* verwendet:

- (Wien) AN431 V 2:[22] *ō pad anōš-ayād* [(unvollständig)
- P. Pehl. 558, 1 u. 2 (Schreibübung, unveröff.): *ō pad anōš-ayād Warahrān namāz*

In einer weiteren Variante wird der Floskel *anōš-ayād* ein *hazār* vorangestellt <hc'l'nwš'ḇyȳ't'>:

17 Siehe zuletzt WEBER 2003, S. 43 mit Anm. 66, und demnächst ausführlich in: „Christlich-jüdische Spuren in Pahlavi-Dokumenten des 7. Jahrhunderts n. Chr." (wird veröffentlicht in den in Vorbereitung befindlichen Akten der „Irano-Judaica 6th International Conference – ‚Aspekte der Geschichte kultureller, sprachlicher, literarischer u. a. Beziehungen zwischen Juden und dem iranischen Kulturraum' ").

18 Publiziert in WEBER 2007, fig. 5.

19 Die Lücke ist zu klein, als daß hier *pad* ergänzt werden könnte.

20 Publiziert in WEBER 2007, fig. 9.

21 Siehe WEBER 2003, S. 51.

22 Publiziert in WEBER 2007, fig. 7.

Abb. 44: P. 10 R 1

Abb. 45: P. 70, 2

Abb. 46: P. 80, 8

Abb. 47: P. 147, 2

Abb. 48: P. 257, 2

Abb. 49: P. Pehl. 577, 2

Das syntaktische Verhalten entspricht vollkommen demjenigen des einfachen *anōš-ayād*:

- P. 109, 10–12: *ō harw farroxīh | arzānīg hazār-anōš-ayād p[us ī] | gundsālār namāz*
- Dok. 11, 1–2: *hazār-anōš-ayād ud panāh ..... ī farrox pad | Manweh(?) abzōntar bawād*

Allerdings überwiegt hier jedoch die erweiterte Floskel mit der Prp. *pad*:

- P. 10 R 1: *(ō) pad hazār-anōš-ayād* | (Ende der Zeile, zweite Zeile unvollständig)
- P. 70, 1–2: *ō yazadān hamē farroxtar kard | pad hazār-anōš-ayād Dādrōy* (es folgen Patronymika, anschließend *namāz*)
- P. 80, 7–9: *ō yazadān hamē farroxtar kard pad | hazār-anōš-ayād Xusrō-Burzēn-Wahrām | namāz*
- P. 147 a, 1–2: *ō meh ud wēh pad | hazār-anōš-ayād Aštād namāz*[23]
- P. 166, 1: *(ō pad hazār-anōš-ayād) Razbānag*[24]
- P. 257, 1–3: *farroxīh arzānīg ...[...] | pad hazār-anōš-ayād Zādān[farrox(?)] | ī aswār* (geschrieben PRŠY') *namāz*[25]

23 Siehe Weber 2003, S. 33 (*hazār* hier mit Zahlzeichen geschrieben).

24 Der Name *Razbānag* auch in (Wien) AN431 R 2 (s. Anm. 17) und P. Pehl. 577, 4. Auch in griech. Papyri der Zeit: P.Oxy. 3637 (Rückseite) vom 19.(?) Oktober 623: Ῥασβαγα. [Dieses **razpān* (auch np. *razbān* رزبان ‚the dresser of a vineyard; a gardener' [Steingass]) ist genauso gebildet wie pahl. *mihrbān* ‚friendly, kind' (CPD 56) < **miθra-pāna-*, das wegen seiner Schreibung <mtr'p'n'> seinerseits nicht mit dem möglichen Personennamen *Mihr-bān* (Gignoux 1986, No. 635, rest.) verwechselt werden darf, der eine Schreibung mit <-b-> aufweist und somit das Etymon **-bānu-* hat. *Razbānag* selbst geht wohl auf die parth. Berufsbezeichnung rzpn (Nisā), **razpān* ‚vine-grower' zurück (vgl. Weber 1992, S. 182); zur Verwendung von Berufsbezeichnungen im mitteliranischen Namenmaterial vgl. mp. *Dibīr-buxt* bei Gignoux 1986, No. 316, oder *šahrab ibid.*, No. 868.

25 Siehe Weber 2003, S. 113f. für die korrigierte Lesung demnächst „On Middle Persian *aswār* ‚horseman, rider' in Pahlavi Documents of the 7th Century." In: *Nāme-ye Irān-e Bāstān* 11 (2007), in Vorbereitung.

- P. Pehl. 75, 1 (unveröff.): *ō pad hazār-anōš-ayād Buxtag* (Ende der Zeile, Anfang der Folgezeile ausgebrochen)
- P. Pehl. 577, 1–5:[26] *ō yazadān hamē farroxtar ud Burzēn-Ādur | was-arzānīgtar kard pad hazār-anōš-ayād | tan ī pad gētīg*[27] *farrox ud pad mēnōg | grāmīg ǰāwēdān*[28] *Xusrō ud Razbānag ud Hudād | namāz*

Auf Grund dieser paläographischen Beobachtungen, die von der syntaktischen Analyse unterstützt werden, scheint es sicher, die ursprüngliche Lesungen <'nwšbht'> bzw. <hc'l'nwšbht'> aufzugeben zugunsten von <'nwš'b̲yy't'> bzw. <hc'l'nwš'b̲yy't'>. Auch aus semantischen Gründen wird man einer parallelen Bildung <'nwš'b̲yy't'> *anōš-ayād* ‚von den *Anaušas* erinnert', das wie <yz̲'d'nb̲yy't'> *yazadān-ayād* ‚von den Göttern erinnert' gebildet ist, den Vorzug vor †<'nwšbht'> bzw. †<hc'l'nwšbht'> geben.

Abkürzungen

Dok.	Berliner Pahlavi-Dokumente, ed. WEBER (in Vorbereitung)
Gi	Pahlavi-Dokumente von Berkeley, ed. GIGNOUX 2001, verbesserte Lesungen in GIGNOUX 2003
LA	Pahlavi-Dokumente von Los Angeles, ed. GIGNOUX 1998
O.	Ostraka, ed. WEBER 1992
P.	Pahlavi-Papyri und Pergamente, ed. WEBER 1992 (P. 1 – P. 124) bzw. WEBER 2003 (P. 125 – P. 343)
P. Pehl.	Pahlavi-Papyri und Pergamente der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek, Wien (Originalsignatur, zum größten Teil unveröffentlicht). Ich verdanke dem bisherigen Leiter der Papyrussammlung, Herrn Prof. Dr. HERMANN HARRAUER, die Erlaubnis, die Wiener Stücke zu bearbeiten, und Herrn ALEXANDER NIKITIN (St. Petersburg) die Überlassung von Arbeitsphotos.
Per.	Pahlavi-Papyri und Pergamente, ed. PERICHANJAN 1961.

26 Publiziert bei WEBER 1983, S. 222f. mit teilweise überholten Lesungen.

27 Auch in P. Pehl. 371, Zeile 7 (unveröff.), s. aber demnächst D. WEBER: „Ein Pahlavi-fragment des Alexanderromans aus Ägypten?" In: *Literarische Stoffe und ihre Gestaltung in mitteliranischer Zeit. Ehrencolloquium anläßlich des 70. Geburtstages von Prof. Dr. Werner Sundermann, Berlin, 30.–31. März 2006.* In Vorbereitung.

28 Dieses *ǰāwēdān* war bisher in seiner Schreibung noch nicht erkannt (s. die Interpretationsversuche bei WEBER 2003, S. 12–14, bes. mit Abb. 3). Schwierigkeiten machte insbesondere das mittlere <-yṭ-> von <y'wyṭ'n>, das durch die stark kursive Schreibweise ähnlich vereinfacht wurde wie <-'ṭ-> in <'b̲yy'ṭk'l> *ayādgār* ‚Memorandum' (vgl. z.B. P. 4, 5, und P. 152 V 1). Auch die syntaktische Umgebung spricht für *ǰāwēdān*; hier die relevanten Belege: P. 105, 1: *ǰāwēdān* [(nach *namāz*); P. 137, 4: *ǰāwēdān drōd was ašmā* (nach *namāz*; hier ist die Schreibung stark abweichend, die Stellung des Wortes spricht aber für die angegebene Lesung); P. 139, 2–4: *ǰāwēdān | drōd ud druwistīh ud harw | farroxīh* (nach *namāz*); P. 141, 1–2: *ǰāwēdān husrawīh drōd | was* (nach *namāz*); P. 247, 2: *ǰāwēdān husrawīh drōd was* (nach *namāz*).

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The Dialect of Karingān

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1.0. Karingāni/Karengāni is a variety of Tāti dialects spoken in Karingān (locally Kerāngān), a village in northeastern Azerbaijan belonging to the Eastern Dizmār rural district *(dehestān)* of Varzaqān sub-province *(baxš)* of Ahar province *(šahrestān)*. The village is some 84 km to the north of Tabriz and some 18 km to the south of Oštobon, the center of Eastern Dizmār.[1]

1.1. I visited the village in the August of 1960. At the time the village consisted of some 90 households which were supported by cultivating wheat, barley, and rye as well as making charcoal from the surrounding woods; they also kept some 100 cows and some 400 sheep and goats; some villagers had opted to become muleteers as the government had recently forbidden cutting of trees for charcoal; some had gone to work to nearby townships.

1.2. The inhabitants called their language Tāti *(tāti zun)*. Several other villages of Dizmār and Kaleybar districts such as Čāykendi, Kalāsur, Xoynaru(d), and Arazin spoke a similar dialect. The memory of the entire Dizmār and Kaleybar districts speaking Tāti lingered among some older people, but Turkish had been rapidly gaining ground, swallowing up the Tāti dialects, as has been the case in the entire Azerbaijan.

1.3. I spent the night in the village of Hazzajān at the house of its chief landlord, Jaʿfarqoli Khan Bahādori. With his help a gendarme was sent to fetch informants from Karingān. Two villagers were brought over, Hamid Dāvari, 27, literate, who knew both Persian and Turkish, and Yadollāh Beyrāmnejād, 26, who knew Turkish and Kurdish and understood Persian. I collected enough material (including text and vocabulary) for a sketch of the grammar. I visited Azerbaijan again in 1972 where I met ʿAli Beyrāmi, 24, literate, a native of Karingān who had been living in Tabriz for six years. His parents were also Tāti speakers and he spoke Tāti at home. I reviewed my earlier material with him and collected further material from him.

1.4. Following the publication of Ahmad Kasravi's pioneering work *Ādhari yā zabān-e bāstān-e Ādharbaijān* (Ādhari or the ancient language of Azerbaijan) in 1925 which made the existence of Tāti pockets in Azerbaijan widely known, Yahyā Zokā published in 1954 an account of the dialect of Karingān.[2]

1 See Razmārā: *Farhang-e Joghrāfiā'i-ye Irān*. Vol. 4. Tehran 1951, pp. 173 (Ḥasanābād), 231 (Dizmār), and 415 (Karengān).

2 Yahyā Zokā: *Karingāni*. Tehran 1332.

Soon after it was followed by ʿABDOL-ʿALI KĀRANG's description of two dialects, those of Harzan(d) and Karingān,[3] consisting of a description of the two villages, a grammatical outline and a glossary for each dialect. I reviewed his Karingāni glossary with ʿALI BEYRĀMI, noting the differences in pronunciation or meaning.

Phonology

2.0. The vowel phonemes are: *i, e, ə, ö, (o), u, ü, a, ā.*

2.1. *ə* is a short, central and somewhat unstable vowel. It is heard in words such as *bəv* 'quince', *səv* 'apple', *vət* 'without', *babə* 'outside', *parə* 'day before yesterday', *denə* 'the world', *qərji* 'wrinkled', *ləfčəmāx* 'bedding', *təl* 'bitter', *təq* 'thorn', *mərd* 'man', *pə* 'up', *u-čər-* 'to turn back', *səq* 'stone'. The marker of the oblique singular and direct plural as well as the ending of the infinitive, the initial vowel of the enclitic form of the present of 'to be' in the 1st and 2nd person singular and the 3rd person plural (*-ən* 'am', *əše* 'you are', *ənde* 'they are'), the vowel connecting the enclitic pronouns to the words that precede them and the final vowel of abstract nouns derived from adjectives are all *ə*. The direct and oblique singular of the proximate demonstrative pronouns are differentiated by *e* and *ə*, respectively (see **8.5**). Examples: *guə* 'cow/cows' (obl. sing. and dir. pl.), *ginest-ə* 'to fall', *gəlest-ə* 'to boil' (intr.), *təq-əš* 'its thorn', *deruzetə* 'length'. However, I could not always trust my ear to decide between *ə* and *e*, or determine whether *ə* is a phoneme or an allophone of *e*, particularly in view of the former's instability and its being affected by a neighboring vowel, even though at least three minimal pairs point to the phonemic status of the two: *šet* 'milk' and *šət* 'bent', *de* 'to' and *də* 'an interjection indicating surprise or protest', *eme* 'this' and *emə* 'these' (see **8.5**). In the present article I have rendered *ə* and *e* as I have heard them, tending to employ *e* rather than *ə*, but I may have not been accurate in all cases. In my treatment of Kalāsuri, a Tāti dialect very close to Karingāni, both geographically and linguistically, I have not used the distinction and have treated *ə* as an allophone of *e*.

2.2. *ö* is slightly more closed than cardinal [ø] and is relatively infrequent. It occurs in *döri* 'a lie', *löbüd* 'lip', *göndis* 'packing needle', *köčal* 'dried wheat stalks that remain after the threshed wheat is winnowed', *papöl* 'rooster's crest', *möružen* 'ant', *gölla* 'bullet', *dörü-* 'to reap', *keköv-* 'to cough'. When preceded by it, *k* and *g* assume a palatal pronunciation.

2.3. *o* is opener than cardinal [o] and was heard in *kelo* 'hat', *kalo* 'crow', *xox* 'earth, dirt', *govdar* 'yawn', but a minimal pair to distinguish it from *u* (see **2.4**)

3 ʿABDOL-ʿALI KĀRANG: *Tāti va Harzani, do lahje az zabān-e bāstān-e Ādharbaijān*. Tehran 1333.

could not be found; even in *šulov* 'stew', although *u* and *o* appear somewhat different, the informant considered *šuluv* also correct.

2.4. *u* is a long vowel that vacillates between cardinal [u] and open *o*. It mostly occurs where Persian has *ā*.

2.5. *ü* vacillates between [ø] and [y], but generally is opener than [y]. Minimal pairs to distinguish it from *u* are *rü* 'day', *ru* 'way', *mü* 'hair', *mu* 'moon'. *k* and *g* become palatalized when they follow it. However, in a number of cases *u* and *ü* alternate in my notations, e.g., the postposition *kü/ku/kö* 'from' and *rü/ru/ro* 'day', a fact that blurs the phonemic status of either *ü* or *u*.

2.6. *a* is close to cardinal [a], but in some words it is changed to *ā* as the result of vowel harmony and the influence of Turkish; e.g., *melaxā/melāxā* 'spoon', *sabāsari/sābāsari* 'early morning' (see **2.7**).

2.7. *ā* is a long back vowel; at the end of words it often corresponds to Persian *a;* e.g., *nanā* 'mother', *darā* 'stream', *sadā* 'simple', *šāhār* 'the city = Tabriz'. Its clear contrast with *a* is seen in *āv* 'deer', and *av* 'he/she/it'. In a number of cases it changes to *a* when it becomes non-final; e.g., *nun-em en pātā* 'I have baked bread', but *ču kat en pāta-mun* 'we have cooked four times', *melāxā/melaxā sist* 'the spoon broke', *melaxa-m en šeštā* 'I have washed the spoon', *dendā* 'beak'; the examples include adjectives ending in *ā* (including past participles) when followed by the words they modify, e.g., *ketmā* 'big', but *ketma dur* 'big tree', *čeniā* 'picked', but *čenia vel* 'picked flower', *asistā* 'spilled', but *asista ruven* 'spilled ghee'. The lengthening and velarization of *a* when final may be due to Turkish influence which is widespread in Karingān and the neighboring villages.

3.0. The consonants are: *p, b, t, d, č, j, k, g, x, q, f, m, n, r, l, s, z, ž, š, h, v, (w), y.*

3.1. The pronunciation of *č* is close to *ts* and when voiced close to *dz*.

3.2. *v* tends to drop out when final, e.g., *de(v)* 'two', *u(v)* 'water'; occasionally it is softened into *w*, but in careful speech and between vowels it is *v*; therefore *w* has no place in the phonemic system.

3.3. *k* and *g* each consists of two distinct allophones: palatal and velar. They are palatal when followed (sometimes preceded) by a front vowel *(i, e, ö, ü)* and are articulated close to *č* and *j*, respectively; e.g., *k'elo* 'hat', *lük'* 'skin', *ing'ü* 'here'. The velar occurs when they are followed by a central or back vowel (*ə, ā, a, o/u*; cf. **3.5**)[4]; e.g., *k̂alo* 'crow', *k̂orān* 'carrier, muleteer (Persian *mokāri*)', *aĝo* 'there'. However, some exceptions were noticed; e.g., *leng'un* the plural of *leng'* 'leg' was pronounced with palatal *g* even though followed by *u* and *šik'ār* 'hunt' was pronounced with a palatal *k* even though followed by the back vowel *ā* (possibly by the influence of the preceding *-i-*) and *lük'-ə,* the oblique of *lük'* 'skin', retained palatal *k* even though followed by *ə*, obviously by the influence of *ü*.

4 The difference was so clear to my informant 'Ali Beyrami that whenever I mispronounced *k* or *g* he would object and correct me. He thought that the difference between *kelo* 'hat' and *kalo* 'crow' depended more on the pronunciation of the stops than their vowels.

3.4. *q* is a fricative, equivalent to Persian *γ*.

3.5. *l* in the vicinity of front vowels assumes a more palatal pronunciation and in the vicinity of back vowels a velar one (cf. **3.3**).

4.0. *Assimilation.* Some cases of assimilation are: (1) the enclitic 3rd person singular pronoun *-š* becomes *ž* when it is followed by a voiced consonant. Therefore in a large number of 2nd person singular imperatives *bi-š* which has become generalized as a prefix for any imperative, irrespective of its object (see **10.1**), appears as *bi-ž*, e.g., *biž deren!* 'tear!', *biž yan!* 'hit!', *nexte-ž gi!* 'take its bridle!', (cf. *biš fiž!* 'let!', *biš send!* 'break!', *u-š kā!* 'open!'); (2) *m* before palatal *k*, *g*, *č* and *y* becomes a palatal nasal and before the velar *k* and *g* a velar nasal; (3) *n*, a dental nasal, is pronounced *m* before a labial, e.g., *mun en([em]) behārd* 'I am eating', *nun en([em]) pātā* 'I have baked bread', *durun([m]) berā!* 'cut (pl.) the trees!'; before *m*, however, it stays as *n*; e.g., *yanun mərdə-šun yainde* 'the women hit the men'; (4) *-ə*, the marker of the oblique singular and the direct plural, changes into *i* in the vicinity of palatals; e.g., *vayi* (obl. sing. of *vay* 'bride'), *gini vaštende* 'the harvests got burnt', *benen-ež löbüdi nāqu-de!* 'hold its lower lips!', *pü pi* 'up the wall' (*pə* 'up'); (5) *ü* often changes a neighboring *i* to *ü;* e.g., *ingü/üngü* 'here'; (6) *d* in the vicinity of a voiceless consonant, particularly *š,* becomes almost voiceless, e.g., *čaš te (*for *de)!* 'look out! (lit. give eye!)'.

Morphosyntax

Substantives

5.0. *Cases and numbers.* Karingāni distinguishes two numbers in substantives, singular and plural, and two cases, direct and oblique. Grammatical gender is not distinguished. The marker of the direct case is zero in the singular and stressed *-ə* in the plural. The marker of the oblique is stressed *-ə* in the singular and stressed *-un/-on* in the plural; e.g., *zumu/vay uma* 'the groom/the bride came', *viuz gineste ar* 'the walnut fell down', *viuz-ə send!* 'crack the walnut!', *pas-ə umende* 'the ewes arrived', *em pas-un keš!* 'slaughter these ewes!'

5.1. The plural oblique marker has a range between *-on* and *-un*. When a word ends in *-ā* the marker of oblique plural is reduced to *-n*; e.g., *keftān* (sing. *keftā*) *kü, fa!* 'pound the meatballs, (then) eat (them)!'

5.2. When a noun ends in *a* or *u/ü*, a connective *-y-* connects the final vowel to the markers *-ə* of the oblique singular and direct plural narrowed into *i*, which sometimes is omitted altogether; e.g., *pa-y(i) yan!* 'hit the dog!', *pa-y(i) veyrtinde* 'the dogs ran away', *pa-y-un yan!* 'hit the dogs!'; *mü-y-i muste miunda pigi!* 'pick out the hair from the middle of the yogurt!', *mü-y-un muste ārandā!* 'bring out the hairs from the yogurt!'

6.0. *The uses of cases*

6.1. *Ergative construction.* As in the majority of Tāti dialeets, in Karingāni past transitive verbs follow the ergative eonstruction, that is, the verb aceords, not with its logieal subjeet (the agent), but with its logieal object (the grammatieal subject). The logical object of the verb is aeeordingly expressed in the direet case and the logical subject of the verb in the oblique; e.g., *xugun durə-šun vātende pe* 'the boars uprooted the trees (lit. the trees were uprooted by the boars)', *Hasan-ə ulatə-š kārdende tān* 'Hasan put on his elothes (pl.)', *ulati-em kārdende tān* 'I put on (past) my elothes'. However, sometimes as the result of weakening of the ergative construetion the verb aecords with the agent, e.g., *xugə durə-ž vāte pe* '(a) boar uprooted the trees'. Past transitive verbs have essentially two forms whieh eorrespond to the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verbs, respeetively. The agent is generally expressed or resumed by an enclitie pronoun, and this gives rise to verbal forms such as *vin-če* 'he saw', *zunest-če* 'he knew', *vot-če/vot-je/vo-jje (< vot-še)* 'he/she said' whieh eonsist of the verb and its agent.

6.2. *Definition.* Karingāni, as it is the ease in most other Tāti dialects, has no partieular deviee for the definition, but the use of the oblique indicates a definite direct object (or the agent, that is, the logieal subjeet in ergative eonstructions). On the other hand, the use of direet case in the singular, which usually has a collective or generie sense, indieates an indefinite objeet; e.g., *səv-ə lük-ə tuš!* 'peel the skin of the apple!', but *səv tān!* 'buy apples!', *yan ma-tān!* 'don't take a wife!', *səq vu made!* 'don't throw stone(s)!'

6.3. *The uses of the direct case.* The direet ease is used for (1) the subjeet of all tenses of intransitive verbs; e.g., *Hasan šie* 'Hasan left', *vay-ə šinde* 'the brides left'; (2) the subjeet of transitive verbs in the present tenses; (3) indefinite direet objeets (see **6.2**); (4) objeets of destination; e.g., *pašarü əmbe-beše šekār/šāhār* 'the day after tomorrow we are going hunting/to the city (= Tabriz)'; (5) the vocative; e.g., *Hasan, pas ma-tān!* 'Hasan, don't buy sheep!'; (6) the object of a past transitive verb (see **6.1**).

6.4. *The uses of the oblique case.* The oblique case is used for (1) definite direet objeets of all transitive verbs in the present tenses; e.g., *nextə-ž gi!* 'take its bridle!'; (2) the agent of the verb in an ergative eonstruction (see **6.1**); e.g., *keft-un mun-šun kārda xaste* 'the meatballs made me siek'; (3) the indireet object; e.g., *vu ke uma, du-š əmbe-vuyə* 'when the wind came (i.e., comes), we will winnow it (lit. we give it to the wind)'; (4) the genitives, *har-ə nextə keren!* 'pull the donkey's bridle!', *səv-ə lük-ə tuš!* 'peel the apple's skin!', *tüy (i.e., tü-ə) livā* 'mulberry leaf'; (5) the object of a postposition (*kü* 'from, in', *ru* 'for', *var* 'for', *pə/pi* 'up', *an* 'with', *āndā/undā* 'in, into, from, among'); e.g., *āmri səv-ə kü cuk-e* '(a) pear is better than (an) apple', *Hasan-ə kü eyb nie* 'there are no blemishes in Hasan', *herdan-ə ru šet doy!* 'give milk to the ehild (i.e., nurse it)!', *vay-un var ulat-šun en-tā* 'for the brides they have bought elothing (lit. elothing is bought)'.

6.4.1. In the case of postpositions that begin with a vowel the singular oblique and the plural direct markers are absorbed by the initial vowel of the postposition. These are *an* 'with, by', and *āndā/undā* 'in, into, from, among'; e.g., *āsb-an ucər!* 'return by horse!', *səqə bel-an send!* 'break the stone with spade!', *gelə kurd-an tuš!* 'scrape off the mud with a knife!', *čul-unda uv keren!* 'draw water from the well!', *pasinde* (i.e., *pasə-ənde) puq-undā* 'the sheep are in the pen'. NB. If a noun ends in a vowel it absorbs the initial vowel of *(ā)ndā/(u)ndā;* e.g., *kā-ndā bie* 'he was in the house'.

7.0. *Adjectives*

7.1. The adjective precedes the noun it modifies which is connected to the adjective by an unstressed *-e* (the stress falling on the noun); e.g., *āl-e āsb* 'red horse', *zārd-e karg* 'yellow hen', *te bāji čuk-e āšpaz-e* 'your sister is (a) good cook'.

7.2. When an adjective ends in *-a/-ā* (e.g., as in past participle; see **2.7** and NB below) the connecting vowel *-e* coalesces with it into *a*; e.g., *beriya tanef* 'torn rope', *čeniya vel zer hešk abe* '(a) picked flower withers soon (lit. becomes dry)', *ketma dur* 'big tree' (*ketmā* 'big').

7.3. When an adjective follows the noun as part of a predicate, it does not take the connective vowel; e.g., *em ketā nər-e* 'this cat is male'.

7.4. In adjectives ending in *-a/-ā* (see **2.7** and NB below), when followed by a copula, *-a/-ā* coalesces with the vowel of the copula into *-a*; e.g., *em ketā muva* 'this cat is female' (*muvā* 'female'), *em ketun muvande* 'these cats are female'. NB. As the final *-ā* in Karingāni is generally the result of the lengthening and velarizing of *-a,* either on account of harmony of vowels (if there is an *ā* in the word that precedes it) or the influence of Turkish, the above rule may perhaps be better formulated by saying that *-ā* followed by the copula reverts to its original form which then absorbs the vowel of the copula.

7.5. The adjective does not accord in number with the noun it modifies; e.g., *em ketə ner-ənde* 'these cats are male'.

7.6. A noun modified by a number is always put in singular; e.g., *heri sor var* 'three years ago', *Hasan-e pinju-š pas hestā bie* 'Hasan had had fifty sheep'.

7.7. *Comparison.* Karingāni has no particular device for the comparatives of adjectives which are expressed by plain adjectives, usually followed by *kü/kö*; e.g., *mārdə xos-e sāq-mundə kö* 'to die is better than to live (lit. remain whole)', *pas tān, qučə kö čuk-e* 'buy ewes, (it) is better than rams'.

7.8. A number of adjectives are made by adding *-en, -in,* or *-ən* to a noun; e.g., *dim-en* 'uppermost' (*dim* 'face', cf. Persian *ru'i*), *ben-en* 'lowermost', *hüš-in* 'clever', *dim-in* 'cheeky', *vun-ən* 'bloody'.[5]

7.9. *-j* is used to indicate affiliation to a location; e.g., *kerāngān-j* 'of Karingān'. (For demonstrative adjectives see **8.6**).

5 It is somewhat odd to have three different vowels followed by *-n* for nearly the same purpose, but repeated questions confirmed all three.

8.0. *Pronouns*

8.1. Karingāni possesses three sets of personal pronouns, two detached: general and possessive, and one enclitic.

8.2. The general pronouns are: 1. *mon*[6], 2. *te(v)*, 3. *ave/ay*, 4. *ame*, 5. *šeme*[7], 6. *avon/ay*.[8] They are used for the following: (1) the subject of a verb, including past transitive verbs, *mon šima* 'I went', *mon uv-em hārde* 'I drank water'; (2) the object of a verb, *ame ma-yān!* 'do not hit us!', *biž-da mon/ame!* 'give me/us!'; (3) the object of a postposition, *mon an bura!* 'come with me!', *mo ru biš-tān!* 'buy for me!', *mon ku eyb nia* 'there is no defect in me', *mon ku biš-tān!* 'take from me!' NB. The *e* of *ame* drops when followed by the postposition *an*; e.g., *am-an bora!* 'come with us!'

8.3. *Possessive pronouns* are 1. *čəmən*, 2. *tə(v)*, 3. *čay*, 4. *čame*, 5. *šame*, 6. *čavon*; e.g., *eme čəmən-e* 'this is mine', *ave təv-e* 'that is yours (sing.)', *ča paše* 'afterwards, then' (*-y* of *čay* seems to have been replaced by length). These pronouns are also used as possessive adjectives; e.g., *tə/čay dāst* 'your/his hand'. (For enclitic possessive pronouns see below).

8.4. *Enclitic pronouns* are: 1. *-(e)m*, 2. *-(y)e*, 3. *-(e)š*[9], 4. *-mun*, 5. *-(y)un*, 6. *-(e)šun*.; *(e)* and *(y)* are connective sounds which come after a consonant or a vowel of the preceding word, respectively. The enclitic pronouns are used as: (1) the agent of past transitive verbs (see **6.1**); e.g., *mon büm-em en ov duā* 'I have watered the orchard' (*en* is the 'ending' or the marker for the 3rd person singular of the perfect, see **25**), *ame čo kat en pātā-mun* (*en* is actually pronounced *em* before the labial *p*) 'we have baked four times', *bar-em ukārd* 'I opened the door', *agā vuta-ž bü* 'if he should have said'; (2) as genitive pronouns; e.g., *gisān-e vigi!* 'plait the hair (pl.)!, *āme-zue-š* 'his (paternal) cousin'; *šie, ume-ž* 'his going (and) coming', *leng-eš siste* 'his leg is broken'; (3) as object of a verb; e.g., *arast-eš imb* 'we grind it', *qaray biš-kerni-š-e* 'you (sing.) must pull it' (*-e* seems to be only euphonic), *qaray ar-eš karene* 'you (sing.) must pour it' (*ar-kārdə* 'to pour'), *gužd ke xos bia, kāy-ež arka* 'when the meat is well done, put (lit. pour) herbs in it!'

8.4.1. For the 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun losing its sense and becoming part of the modal prefix *be-*, see **4.0** and **10.1**.

6 The final nasal is pronounced as *m* before a labial (see **4.0**) and weakens or drops before the postposition *ru*, e.g., *mo ru biš-tān!* 'buy for me!'

7 In *ave, ame,* and *šeme* the accent falls on the second syllable.

8 *ay,* which is apparently a shortened form of *ayə* (see **8.5**) is used for both 3rd person singular and plural; e.g., *ay ulate-š kār-č-e tān* 'he put on his garment', *ay ulate-š kār dende* 'he put on his garments', *ay šinde* 'they went', *ayende šiā* 'they are gone', cf. *avon dā kat en patā-šun* 'they have cooked (it) ten times'. It appears that *avon* was originally for the oblique (cf. the possessive *čavon*) and *ay* for the direct case; but the informant used both of them for direct and oblique cases.

9 *-eš* is voiced into *-ež* before a voiced consonant or vowel, see **4.0**.

8.5. *Demonstrative pronouns.* There are two sets of demonstrative pronouns: direct and oblique, each consisting of proximate and remote. Demonstrative pronouns are also used as personal pronouns. The stress falls on the last syllable.

		Direct	Oblique
Proximate	sing.	*eme*	*emə*
	pl.	*emə*	*emun*
Remote	sing.	*ave*	*ay(ə)*[10]
	pl.	*ave* (sic)[11]	*avun*

Examples: *eme čuke* 'this is good', *emə čukende* 'these are good', *ave xose* 'that is good', *emə pigi!* 'pick up this!', *emə kü pārs!* 'ask from this one!', *ay pigi!* 'pick that up!', *ay da mon!* 'give that to me!', *ay ber-umbe* '(that) we cut that'. In the 3rd person plural the distinction in the use of cases is sometimes blurred; e.g., *ay/avun veyrdend* 'they ran'.

8.6. *Demonstrative adjectives* have two forms *em* 'this, these' and *a* 'that, those'; e.g., *em səv en čok* 'this apple is good', *em səvə-nde pexastā* 'these apples are rotten', *em zuvə-nde hüšin* 'these boys are clever', *a səvə/səvun biān!* 'bring that apple/those apples!', *a herdanon yān!* 'hit those children!'

9.0. *The Verb*

9.1. The verbal system follows the general pattern found in other Tāti dialects: it employs two stems, stems I and II, verbal prefixes, the modal prefix *be-, beš-/ biš-* (see **4.0**), the prohibitive marker *ma*, the negative marker *ne-*, and the personal endings. A number of verbal prefixes, here called 'preverbs' *(u-, pe-, vi-, ar-*[12]*)*, are combined with verbal stems. Stem I is used in the formation of the imperative, the subjunctive, and the conditional present and is what is generally called the present stem. Stem II which is commonly identified as the past stem is used in the formation of the present, the future, the preterit, the imperfect, the perfect, the unreal conditional, the subjunctive perfect, and the pluperfect.

9.2. The stem II derives from the stem I in the following manners:

1) by adding *-t/-d* to the stem I, depending on whether the final sound of the stem I is unvoiced or voiced; e.g., *vaš-/~t-* 'to burn' (intr.), *umus-/~t-* 'to swell', *vin-/~d-* 'to see', *nešun-/~d-* 'to seat', *tuš-/~t-* 'to peel, to plane', *keš-/~t-* 'to kill', *kān-/~d-* 'to dig'. Under this category may be subsumed a number of verbs in which a vowel or the initial consonant or both are changed, these are: a) *kar-/kārd-* 'to do', *vender-/vendārd-* 'to stand', *mar-/*

10 *ay(ə)* is used for both singular and plural and even sometimes for the singular direct case; apparently it has been generalized; *-ə* in the oblique is rarely heard (see **8.3**).

11 In a text by DĀVARI *ava*.

12 In *ür-kardə* 'to sweep' *ür-* is either a preverb or a nominal complement; no other example with *ür-* was noted.

mārd- 'to die', *bar-/bārd-* 'to carry', *qamar-/qamārd-* 'to make, to build'[13]; b) *gezur-/gezārd-* 'to make dough', and c) *fun-/hund-* 'to read', and *far-/hārd-* 'to eat'.

2) As above, except that final consonant of the stem I is altered, mostly as the result of assimilation: *daž-/dašt-* 'to ache', *važ-/vašt-* 'to jump', *veruz-/verušt-* 'to spread (in the sun)', *les-/lešt-* 'to lick'. Under this category may be subsumed cases where the vowel of the stem I also changes; e.g., *nevіž-/nevešt-* 'to write', *ris-/rešt-* 'to spin', *miz-/mešt-* 'to urinate' (*čümül-miz-* 'to pass water'; *gü-miz-* 'to defecate'); and where the initial sound also changes; e.g., *fāz-/hāšt-* 'to let', *fuz-/hušt-* 'to ask a woman for marriage'.
3) A sibilant final consonant of the stem I drops before the final dental of the stem II; e.g., *yāz/yāt-* 'to reach; to ripen', *vuž-/vut-* 'to say', *mas-/mat-* 'to hear', *veyr(i)ž-/veyr(i)t-* 'to run; to run away', *fіš-/fit-* 'to throw'. In this category may be included those stems in which also a change in the consonant or the vowel of the stem I occurs; e.g., *ferāš-/herāt-* 'to sell', *düž-/dut-* 'to sew', *paž-/pāt-* 'to cook', *duš-/det-* 'to milk', *fes-/het-* 'to sleep'.
4) By dropping the final consonant of the stem I and changing its vowel before adding the dental; e.g., *gir-/get-* 'to seize'.
5) By dropping the final consonant of the stem I (in all the examples the final consonant is the dental nasal *-n*); a) without any change in the vowel; e.g., *yan-/ya-* 'to hit', *tan-/ta-* 'to take; to buy', and b) with a change in the vowel; e.g., *dan-/du-* 'to give', *nan-/nu-* 'to put', *ānjen-/ānji-* 'to cut (into pieces)'.
6) By adding *-i* to the stem I; e.g., *ber-/beri-* 'to cut', *kern-/kerni-* 'to pull', *čen-/čeni-* 'to pick', *uren-/ureni-* 'to pull out, to weed out', *send-/sendi-* 'to break (trans.)', *tosn-/tosni-* 'to throttle'. NB. The causative verbs made by adding *-un* or *-en* to their intransitive stems also follow this pattern; e.g., *terekun-/~i-* 'to split', *veružen-/~i-* 'to make flee', *vāzun-/~i-* 'to throw', *gəl(e)n-/~i-* 'to bring to boil', *serun-/~i-* 'to make laugh', *viur(e)n-/~i-* 'to make pass'.
7) By adding *(e)st-* to the stem I; this being by far the largest category; e.g., *gin-/~est-* 'to fall', *ser-/~est-* 'to laugh', *berem-/~est-* 'to weep', *si-/~st-* 'to break (intr.)', *gəl-/~est-* 'to boil (intr.)', *keköv-/~est-* 'to cough', *šešnev-/~est-* 'to sneeze', *lārz-/~est-* 'to tremble', *lev-/~est* 'to shake', *asi-/~st-* 'to spill', *učər-/~est-* 'to return', *terek-/~est-* 'to crack (intr.)', *deri-/~st-* 'to get torn', *pəsi-/~st-* 'to come undone, to get torn', *čel-/~est-* 'to drip', *pex-/~est-* 'to decay', *nav-/~est-* 'to search', *su-/~est-* 'to rub', *mul-/~est-* 'to rub', *yu-/*

13 This is in fact a complex verb: *qam* 'care' and **har* 'to eat' (corresponding to Persian *yam xordan* 'to worry about, to care for') which occurs in some other dialects as well, but usually with the meaning of 'to keep, to take care of'. In this dialect, however, the verb is used as a plain one since, unlike the compound verbs, in the imperative it takes the modal prefix *be-*, see **18.2**. Note however that 'to eat' has also a different present stem at this stage of the dialect: *far-* as well as *har-*.

~est-[14] 'to chew', *sa-/~st-* 'to be able to', *ur-/~est-* 'to grind, to make flour', *dörü-/~st-* 'to harvest', *zun-/~est-* 'to know'. Under this category may be subsumed *küy-/küst-* 'to pound', *ur-/~ist-* 'to make dough'[15], and *funi-/hunist-* 'to doze'.

8) By changing the final vowel of the stem I from *-ü* to *-i* ; this applies in my notes to only two verbs *bü/bi* 'to be, to become' and *šü/ši* 'to go' (in the conjugation of the subjunctive of these two verbs *-u* and *-ü* both occur, *-ü* appearing in the 3rd person singular).
9) By generalizing the stem I; e.g., *tast-* 'to be throttled' and *bāst-* 'to bind' (this is also a large category in both Kalāsuri[16] and Northern Tāleši[17]).
10) In a few verbs the stem I and II are more removed from each other, as a result of historical phonetic developments and cannot be synchronically easily classified; e.g., *uy-/uma-*[18] 'to come', *zu-/zand-* 'to give birth', *bier-/vārd-* 'to bring'. Essentially they belong to the category (1).

10.0. *Verbal prefixes*

10.1. There are three verbal prefixes used, namely *be-*, *ma-*, and *na-*. *be-/bi-/b-* is used in the imperative, and occasionally in the subjunctive and the present (qq.v.) when the stem is plain (i.e., includes no preverb); e.g., *b-uy!* 'come!', *b-ay!* 'get up!', *b-ayzā!* 'get up! (pl.)', *be-mārdene* 'I die/I shall die', *be-hārde-(y)ne* 'I eat'. In transitive verbs *be-* is followed by the 3rd person enclitic pronoun *-š* with the narrowing of *-e-* into *-i-* resulting in *biš-* (*biž-* when the stem begins with a voiced phoneme). *-š* must have referred originally to the object of the verb, but at this stage the enclitic pronoun *-š* when preceded by *bi-* has lost its objectival sense and *biš-* serves as a plain modal prefix; e.g., *biš-kiš!* 'kill!', *biž-yan!* 'hit!', *biž-fiž!* 'throw!', *biž-deren!* 'tear!', *biž-lerzun!* 'shake!', *biž-bā!* 'carry!', *biž-biān!* 'bring!', *biš-fāz mon biš-yan(e)* 'let me hit'.[19]

10.2. The superfluous *-š/-ž* occurs also sometimes after a preverb; e.g., *pə-ž run!* 'separate!, pull off!', *vi-š kā!* 'fasten!', *pə-ž de!* 'pile up!', *qaray be-š faren* 'I must eat'.

11.0. *ma-* is used in prohibition, but only in the imperative; e.g., *ma-še!* 'don't go!', *ma-beram!* 'don't cry!', *u-ma-ka!* 'don't open!', *takun ma-han!* 'don't move!'

14 In careful speech an original *v* appears before *-est*, *yuvest-*.
15 The informant insisted that this is a different verb than *ur-/urest-* even though their present stems are the same.
16 See E. YARSHATER: "The Tāti Dialect of Kalāsur." In: *Languages of Iran: Past and Present. Iranian Studies in memoriam David Neil MacKenzie.* Wiesbaden 2005 (Iranica 8).
17 See B. V. MILLER: *Talyšskij jazyk.* Moscow 1953, p. 138.
18 In *cār vu-/cār uma-* 'to turn' a *v-* appears in the stem I and *-y* has dropped.
19 This development is shared by the Tāti dialect of Kalāsur and Xoynarud, in the north-eastern corner of Azerbaijan, see YARSHATER 2005, p. 273 §5.4.2.

12.0. *na-/ne-* is used for negation, but in the subjunctive also for prohibition; e.g., *ne-šu-še qaray* 'you (sing.) must not go', *ut-j-e* (i.e., *ut-š-e*) *ke na-šune* 'he said that I should not go', *ke vārg čoro-ye-ž* (i.e., *-š*) *nefare* 'so that the wolves (sing.) will not devour its flock', *ninde* (i.e., *ne-nde*) 'they are not'.

13.0. Endings. Essentially one set of endings is employed for all tenses (but see the ergative construction for the past transitive verbs, **6.1**); it consists of the enclitic form of the verb 'to be' (see **16.0**), thus making all tenses basically a periphrastic one. The endings are: 1. *-en/-embe*, 2. *-eše*, 3. *-e*, 4. *-embe*, 5. *-inie*, 6. *-ende*. The initial vowel of the endings may drop if it is preceded by a vowel or may change in combination with such a vowel or else it is altered on account of its environment. In some tenses the ending of the 2nd person plural is abbreviated to *-ie* (but see the perfect).

13.1. *-embe* seems to be originally the 1st person plural, but it is used also for the 1st person singular (cf. **16**a, b and c) apparently out of the villagers' habit of referring to themselves in the plural as in colloquial Persian.

14.0. Preverbs are non-modal prefixes which modify the meaning of the basic verbs and whose places change according to the structure of the sentence in which they occur. The following preverbs were noted: ***ar-*** 'down'; e.g., *ar-ginestə* 'to fall (mostly down)', *ar-yiə* 'to sieve (lit. to hit down)', *ar-kārdə* 'to pour'; ***vi-*** 'down'; e.g., *čest-en leng-em vi-duy* 'the shoe is pressing my foot', (*vi-duə* 'to press, to wring'), *vi-biə* 'to close (intr.)', *vi-umə* 'to bend down (intr.)', *vi-kardə* 'to close (trans.); to fasten', *vi-gatə* 'to plait', *sarem vi-gi!* 'plait my hair! (lit. my head)', *vi-nuə* 'to fold', *bar ge-vi* 'the door was closed'; ***pe-/pə-*** 'up'; e.g., *pə-getə* 'to lift', *pe-duə* 'to pile up', *pə-šie* 'to boil over' (cf. *šie pə* 'it boiled over', *ene pə-še* 'it is boiling over'); ***u-*** 'out, aside, etc.'; e.g., *u-kārdə* 'to open', *u-š-ka!* 'open!', *u-duə* 'to drive out, to push aside' (*u-ž de!* 'drive out!'), *aloqun u-ren/u-de!* 'pull out the grass (pl.)!', *bezə müyun u-ren!* 'pull out the goat's hair (pl.)!', *gavə-ž u-ne, sārd be* 'lift its lid (so that) it cools', *u-ž-ne ružə var* 'place it in the sun'; ***pašu*** 'back'; in *pašu-ž-de!* 'give back!', *pašu-ž-yān!* 'hit back!', *pašu-ž-ne!* 'shove back!' *pašu-ž gi!* 'take to the side/to the back!', *zir-em pašu-m duā* 'I gave back yesterday'. On the other hand, *pašu* may in fact consist of the adverb *paš-* and the preverb *u-*. In this and some other cases where the meaning of the preverb is clear such as *pe-/pə-* 'up' and *ar-* 'down', it is difficult to distinguish between a preverb and an adverb; ***pu-*** is apparently the result of the combination of *pə-* and *u-;* e.g., *pu-ž vāž* (i.e., *pə u-ž vāž*) 'pull out!', *səqə pu (v)āžj!* 'dig out the stone!', *zir pu-m vāte* 'I dug out yesterday'. Note, however, that *pu (v)āžj-/~āt-* is the only example with this combined preverb (?) that I came across. NB. *pu-* as a preverb should not be confused with *pu-* 'foot' which occurs also in some complex verbs; e.g., *čəst-əš pu bie* 'he put on his shoes (lit. his shoe became foot)'; *zir be pu-ž bie* 'he put on (his shoes) yesterday'; *pukārdə* 'to put on shoes or socks (trans.)'. This verb has been generalized to mean 'to put

on'; it is mostly used for shoes, socks and pants, and less frequently for clothes; e.g., *qaray ulatun-em pu karane* 'I must put on my clothes', but not for shirts.

15.0. *Complex verbs*

15.1. As in Persian a fairly large number of verbal meanings are expressed with the help of a noun and an auxiliary verb. Chief among the latter are *šiə* 'to go', *kārdə* 'to do, to make', *yiə* 'to hit', *biə* 'to be, to become', *duə* 'to give', *umiə* 'to come'; e.g., *küf šiə* 'to swing'; *pur kārdə* 'to fill', *herd kārdə* 'to break into pieces', *rust kardə* 'to fix', *guvdar kardə* 'to yawn', *hay kārdə* 'to drive, prompt (an animal)', *urda kārdə* 'to make flour'; *vuš yiə* 'to light, to kindle', *qiā yiə* 'to shout', *mavnā yiə* 'to mow', *belā yiə* 'to bleat'; *zeru biə* 'to wake up (intr.)'; *var duə* 'to let go', *vuy duə* 'to winnow' (cf. Pers. *bād dādan*), *nāqu duə* 'to keep'; *cār umiə* 'to stroll'.

15.1.1. In this category are to be included the verbs which have complements of a Turkish origin; e.g., *dādmiš kārdə* 'to taste', *āləšmiš bie* 'to be kindled', *söymiš kārdə* 'to like', *injitmiš kārdə* 'to hurt', *towlamiš b(i)ə* 'to turn (intr.)', *ferramiš b(i)ə* 'to turn (intr.)', a Turkish form possibly with a Karingāni or Persian base.

16.0. *'To be'*

As the enclitic present of the verb 'to be' provides endings for a number of tenses, and its non-enclitic form is used in the formation of some others, its paradigm is given here.

a) From the stem **ah-*:
Present : 1. *-en(e)/-embe*[20], 2. *-eše*, 3. *-e(n)*, 4. *-embe*, 5. *-inie*[21], 6. *-ende* (the initial vowel of these forms generally drops out when preceded by a vowel); e.g., *mun Hasan-en* 'I am Hasan', *sarbāz embe* 'we are soldier(s)'.
Negative of the above: 1. *nine*, 2. *niše*, 3. *nie*, 4. *nimbe*, 5. *ninie*, 6. *ninde* (the stress falls on *ni-*).

b) From the secondary stem *hest-*:
Present : 1. *hest-ene*, 2. *hest-eše*, 3. *hest*, 4. *hest-embe*, 5. *hest-inie*, 6. *hest-ende*.
Negative of the above: 1. *nist-ene*, 2. *nist-eše*, 3. *nist-e*, 4. *nist-embe*, 5. *nist-inie*, 6. *nist-ende*.

c) From the stem *bav-*:
Imperative: 1. *be!* 'be!', *bunā!* 'be! (pl.)'.
Subjunctive: 1. *bünen*, 2. *büše*, 3. *bü*, 4. *bümbe*, 5. *bünye*, 6. *bünde*.
Preterit: 1. *bine*, 2. *biše*, 3. *bie*, 4. *bimbe*, 5. *binye*, 6. *binde* (the stress falls on the first syllable).

20 See **13.1.**
21 Often an abbreviated form, i.e., *-ie* is used as an ending.

Pluperfect: 1. *hestā bine,* 2. *hestā biše,* 3. *hestā bie,* 4. *hestā bimbe,* 5. *hestā binye,* 6. *hestā binde* 'I had been, you had been, etc.' (The perfect could not be obtained; the informants used the preterit instead.)

17.0. *Tenses and moods*

17.1. Tenses and moods based on the stem I are: the imperative, the subjunctive, and the conditional present.

18.0. The *imperative* is formed with the stem I, with the modal preverb *be-/bi-/b-* for intransitive verbs and *biš-/biž-* for transitive verbs if they are plain, that is, have no preverb, and the ending nil for the singular and *-ā* for the plural (see **4.0** and **10.1**); e.g., *biš-keš!* 'kill!', *biž duā!* 'give! (pl.)'. NB. In *veyri/veyrižā!* 'run!' however, the prefix *be-* is not used.

18.1. If the transitive verb has a preverb, then its imperative does not take *be-/bi-*, but the enclitic *-š/-ž* is optionally, if infrequently, employed; e.g., *ar-kā!* 'pour!', *u-š-kā!* 'open!'

18.2. The final consonant of the stem tends to drop out in the imperative singular of some verbs, but appears in the plural before the vowel ending; e.g., *arkā/arkarā!* 'pour! (sing. and pl.)', *veyri!/veyrižā!* 'run!', *bay!/bayžā!* 'get up!', *biž-qamā!/biž-qamarā!* 'make!' The following irregular imperatives occur: *še!/šunā!* 'go! (sing. and pl.)', *bure!/buražā!* 'come!', *biž-de!/biž-danā!* 'give!', *biž-ne/biž-nanā!* 'put!' NB. The plural of *biž-deren!* 'tear!' is *biž-dernā.*

19.0. The *subjunctive* is built with the stem I, the modal prefix *biš-/biž-* usually when the verb is transitive and bears no preverb, and the following endings: 1. *-(e)ne/əmbe*[22], 2. *-(e)še,* 3. *-e,* 4. *-umbe,* 5. *-(i)nye,* 6. *-(e)nde* (the vowels in parenthesis appear after a consonant); e.g., 1. *mon embe xāš ke fes-ene,* 2. *te še xāš ke fesiše,* 3. *avə-n xāš ke fes-e,* 4. *ame-mbe xāš ke fes-umbe,* 5. *šeme-nye xāš ke fesinye,* 6. *ay-ende xāš ke fesende* 'I want to sleep, you want to sleep, etc.'. Cf. *biš fāz mon biž-yan(e)* 'let me hit', *te biž-yan-eše* '(that) you hit (sing.)', *qaray ar-eš-kar-ene* 'I must pour' (*ar-kārdə* 'to pour'), *embe xāš ke šun-en dies-en(e)* 'I want to go (and) see', *biž-duž-e* '(that) he sews'. The subjunctive of 'to go' is conjugated as follows: 1. *šu-n/šu-nene,* 2. *šuše,* 3. *šu,* 4. *šu-mbe,* 5. *šu-nye,* 6. *šu-nde*; example of compound verb taking *be-*: *be-u-ren-imbe* '(that) I pull out'.

20.0. The *conditional present.* From the few examples I have noted it appears that the conditional present is built with the stem I followed by the marker *-i* and the subjunctive endings; e.g., *agā te far-i-še mon iye be hārdene* 'if you eat, I will eat too', *agā vender-ene te bu-i-še be-umiše?* 'if I wait for you to come, do

22 The initial vowel of *-əmbe,* is unstable and may change to *-i-* or *-u-* or be dropped according to its environment or for differentiation from a preceding vowel; see the endings of the present (**21.1**) which are essentially the same as the endings of the subjunctive.

you come?'. The fact that *-i-* is not simply a narrowed form of *-e-*, which would make the conditional present identical with the subjunctive, may find support in Kalāsuri, a closely similar dialect, if we take its conditional present, which is distinct from its subjunctive, as possessing the marker *-u-*.[23]

20.1. In a couple of examples of transitive verbs the subjunctive is used as the conditional present even though the modal prefix *be-* is lacking; e.g., *agā faren(e) ba-mārdene* 'if I eat, I shall die', *agā sayan(e) behārde-ne* 'if I want, I eat'.

21.0. Tenses and moods based on the stem II are: the present, the continuous present, the preterit, the imperfect, the perfect, the past conditional (unreal), the subjunctive perfect, and the pluperfect.

21.1. The *present* is built with the stem II, the indicators of the persons or 'endings' (which basically are the same as the endings of the subjunctive see **19.0**), and the modal preverb *be-* (but see **21.1.1**); e.g, 1. *mun rā be-het-ene*, 2. *te rā be-het-əše*, 3. *avə rā behet-ie*, 4. *amə rā behet-əmbe*, 5. *šeme rā behet-inye*, 6. *ay rā behet-ənde* 'I sleep early, you sleep early, etc.'. Examples from transitive verbs: 1. *mun be-get-ene*, 2. *te beget-əše*, 3. *beget-ie*, 4. *amə beget-əmbe*, 5. *šeme be-get-inye*, 6. *ay beget-ənde* 'I take, you take, etc.'. In negative verbs the negative marker *ne/ni* may come between the stem and the 'ending'; e.g., *pül ti-ni-še?*[24] 'don't you take money?'

21.1.1. The personal indicators may separate from the verb and come before the stem or before the object of a transitive verb as if they were freestanding pronouns. In such cases the modal prefix *be-* is often omitted and the 3rd person singular 'ending' appears as *en*; e.g., 1. *embe het(e)*, 2. *še het(e)*, 3. *en hete*, 4. *əmbe hete*, 5. *nye hete*, 6. *ənde hete* 'I sleep, you sleep, etc.'. Examples from a transitive verb: 1. *mu(n) embe hārd*, 2. *te-eše hārd*, 3. *av en hārd*, 4. *ame-mbe hārd*, 5. *šeme-nye hārd*, 6. *ay ende hārd* 'I eat, you eat, etc.'[25]; some other examples: *vinče āmi-zua-ž en-ume* (*-ž* is voiced *-š*) 'he saw (that) this cousin is coming', *de mašk em-vārde* (*em-* for *en*-before a labial) 'he is bringing two skin churns', *eše-še ke?* 'where are you (sing.) going?', *embe šo šār* 'I am going to the city (i.e., Tabriz)'; *a kordā-n beri* (the *-e* of *en* is dropped after *ā*) 'that knife cuts'; *Hasan be-tie*[26]*/Hasan en te* 'Hasan takes', *čame-em qonši en hār tanə pülə te, paš-əž doy nie* (*-əž* for *-əš* before a voiced consonant) 'this neighbor of us takes everyone's money and does not give (it) back', *ay en pül get* 'he takes money', *ayənde pül get* 'they take money', *āsbə nde jav hārd, aloq harde ninde* 'horses eat barley,

23 See YARSHATER, forthcoming, and **7.3**.

24 See note 26 for *tie* 'to take'.

25 In rendering *ə* and *e* vowels in the above conjugations I am following my notations as taken at the time of the interview. Obviously a more thorough study of Karingāni phonetics is needed to ascertain the proper distribution of the two vowel phonemes.

26 I.e., *te-e*, cf. *tān!* 'take!', *tan-e* '(that) it takes', *ten-ene* 'I take', *ave be-ti-e* 'he takes', *ta-me* 'I took'; for *be-tie* cf. *be-yātie* '(the barley) ripens' and *be-sistie* 'it breaks'.

do not eat grass'. The modal prefix *be-* is also omitted in complex verbs, that is, verbs with a preverb (see **21.2**).

21.1.2. When the present of a transitive verb responds to a conditional verb, the prefix *be-* may come either before the stem, or in transitive verbs before the object of the verb; e.g., *agā far-n(e) be-mārd-ene* 'if I eat I shall die', *agā sayan(e) be-hārd-ene* 'if I want, I eat'; *xug en aloq hārd-e be güžd hārd-e nie* 'boar(s) eats grass, do(es) not eat meat'.

21.2. When a verb has a preverb, the 'endings' may follow the subject or more commonly come between the preverb and the stem; e.g., *te ma-še, Hasan barə u-e-kārd* 'don't you go, Hasan opens the door', *te maše, ame barə u-mb-kārd* 'don't you go, we open the door'.

21.3. If the object of a complex transitive verb is an enclitic pronoun, normally it comes after the preverb and before the 'ending', which is then followed by the stem; e.g., *te ma-še, ay u-eš-unde-kārd* (*unde* instead of *ənd*, apparently by assimilation to the preceding *u*) 'don't you go, they open it', *ay u-šun-unde-kārd* 'they open them'.

21.4. Thus the 'endings' may: a) follow the stem, b) precede the stem, c) precede the object of a transitive verb, and d) come between the preverb and the stem in complex verbs; e.g., a) *mun beget-en-e* 'I take'; *mun rā behet-ene* 'I sleep early'; b) *embe še, eše še*, etc. 'I am going, you are going, etc.'; c) *embe nun pāte, te-eš nun pāte*, etc. 'I bake/I am baking bread, you bake/you are baking bread, etc.'. The above apply also to the continuous present. NB. In my examples when the 1st person singular 'ending' precedes the stem, it is always *embe*, but when follows the stem, it is *-(e)n(e)*. Whether this is by chance or otherwise needs further study.

21.5. In a number of examples, as seen above, the stem is followed by *-e*; some other examples: *em herdan be-het-e nie* 'this child does not sleep', *mun be-hārd-e nin* 'I do not eat', *mun be-zunest-e nin* 'I do not know'. I have postulated that the verbal stem followed by *-e* forms a gerund (although this is also the form of the infinitive and one could perhaps equally consider it as such)[27]. If this should explain the presence of *-e* in a number of examples, then one must assume that sometimes *-e* is dropped and the bare stem retains the gerundive sense (see the continuous present, **22.0**).

22.0. The *continuous* or *progressive present* is formed by the gerund, namely, the stem II followed by *-e*, the marker *-i* which follows the gerund and is practically pronounced *-y-* after the *-e* of the gerund, and the personal indicators; e.g., 1. *hete-y-ne*, 2. *hete-y-še*, 3. *hete-y-nye* (note the addition of *-n-*), 4. *hete-y-mbe*, 5. *hete-y-nye*, 6. *hete-y-nde* 'I am sleeping, you are sleeping, etc.'; transitive: 1. *pāte-y-ne*, 2. *pāte-y-še* 'I am cooking, you are cooking, etc.', *kāšte-i-ne/*

27 The same form occurs in a closely related dialect, that of Kalāsur and Xoynarud for the present and the imperfect, see YARSHATER, forthcoming, **8.1** and **8.6**.

kāšte-y-ne 'I am sowing', *čeči kāšte-iše/kāšte-y-še* 'what are you sowing?', *dur kāšte-ine/kāšte-y-ne* 'I am planting a tree' (notice that *-e* of *-ene* is palatalized after the preceding *-e*). However, in a number of examples the marker *-i-* does not occur so that the boundary between the present and the continuous present disappears; e.g., *dur en bevest(e)* 'the tree is shaking', *pā-n āstā kušte* 'dogs (sing.) eat bones (sing.)', *embe gāndem arie* 'we are sieving wheat', *embe bādam sende* 'we are cracking almond(s)', *embe ulat šešte* 'we are washing clothes', *še zuneste čuka xiāra küngü be-herāt-end-e?* 'do you know (sing.) where they are selling/they sell good cucumber(s)?', *em xiārun en-ie herāt-e?* 'are you selling/do you sell these cucumbers?', *zuneste ni-š če-qederi čuk-e!* 'you don't know how good it is!' It will be noted that in the majority of the above examples the 'endings' are brought forward and precede the verb or the object of the verb.

22.1. The continuous present serves also for the *future*; e.g., *čani sor gāndem kāšte-i-ne/kāšte-y-ne* 'next year he will be sowing', *te sabā če kur karde-i-še/karde-y-še* 'what are you doing/will you do tomorrow', *mun sabā hete-y-ne* 'I shall sleep/am sleeping tomorrow', *mun sabā šie-y-ne šəkār* 'tomorrow I shall go hunting'.

22.2. The present or the continuous present sometimes is used to denote habitual state or action; e.g., *pā-n āstā hušte* 'dogs (sing.) eat bones (sing.)'; *še zuneste?* 'do you know?'

22.2.1. The semantic boundary between the present, the continuous present or future is not always clear and in some of my examples they appear interchangeably; e.g., *sābā-sari en be-še šār* 'tomorrow I go/I am going/I shall go to the city', *čani sor gāndem kāšte-inie* 'next year he sows/is sowing/will sow wheat', *eše če kor kārde/če kor kārde-iše?* 'what are you doing/what do you do?', *zul derest kārde-imb* 'we are making/we make charcoal', *sābā-sari nun pāte-iše?* 'will you bake bread/be baking bread tomorrow?'; negative: *zuneste-nin čeče kü-e* 'I don't know what it is from', *hašte nie šumbe* 'he is not letting/does not let us go'.

23.0. The *preterit* of intransitive verbs is built by adding the personal endings to the stem II; e.g., 1. *vāšt-ene*, 2. *vāšt-eše*, 3. *vāšt-e*, 4. *vāšt-embe*, 5. *vāšt-inie*, 6. *vāšt-ende* 'I jumped, you jumped, etc.'; cf. the preterit of 'to go' which is as follows: 1. *ši-ne*, 2. *ši-še*, 3. *ši-e*, 4. *ši-mbe*, 5. *ši-nye*, 6. *ši-nde* 'I went, you went, etc.'

23.1. The initial vowel of the endings may be palatalized into *i* depending on its environment; e.g., *ay veyrtinde* 'they ran'.

23.2. In the case of the transitive verbs, which follow the ergative construction (see **6.1**), as the verb accords with its object, it can have only two forms: one for singular and the other for plural objects; they are built respectively like the 3rd person singular and plural of the intransitive verbs; e.g., *bar-ə-š ukārd-e* 'he opened the door (lit. the door was opened by him)', *bar-ə-š ukārd-ende* 'he opened the doors'. The agent of the verb is indicated by an oblique noun or

pronoun and is often resumed by an enelitic pronoun. When only an enclitic pronoun is explicitly mentioned, one gets the appearanee of a paradigm with six persons; e.g., *vot-m-e, vot-i-e, vot-če/vot-jje, vot-mun-e, vot-yun-e, vot-čun-e,* 'I said (lit. was said by me), you said (lit. was said by you), etc.'.

24.0. The *imperfect* is built with the stem II by adding a stressed *-e* to it followed by the preterit of the verb 'to be'. The stem plus a stressed *-e* may be eonsidered a past partieiple with a gerundive sense (see **21.5** and **26.0**). The formation of the imperfeet in transitive and intransitive verbs is the same sinee the imperfeet does not follow the ergative construetion. The stem may take the prefix *be-* when the stem is plain; e.g., *(be)veyrte-bine* 'I used to run', *zir beveyrte bine lengem gineste seqe* 'yesterday I was running when my foot hit (against a) stone', *be-pāte-bine del-am dašte* 'I was cooking when my stomach (began) to aehe', *dim-ij šešte bia* 'and he used to wash his faee'. The preterit of 'to be' may eome between the preverb and the stem; e.g., *bel-eš pi-bia-get* 'he used to piek up his spade' (*pə-/pi-* a preverb indicating upward movement). NB. As noticed by the above examples, the imperfeet sometimes denotes a past progressive action.

25.0. The *perfect* is built with the stem II and the perfeet marker, stressed *-ā*. The endings, which in my examples preeede the verb are: 1. *-me,* 2. *-eše,* 3. *-(e)n(e),* 4. *-embe,* 5. *-ye,* 6. *-ende,* whieh differ from the general endings, but perhaps not to the extent of constituting a separate set of endings; e.g., *ni-me-šiā* 'I have not gone', *Hasan en-šiā* 'Hasan has gone', *ame nimbe šiā* 'we have not gone', *šeme nye-šiā?* 'have you (pl.) not gone?', *ay ende-šiā* 'they have gone', ef. *ay šinde* 'they went'. If the verb has an object, the 'endings' may precede both the verb and its objeet; e.g., *te tā esā eše Kalbolāi šiā?* 'until now have you gone to Karbala?'

25.1. In transitive verbs, as was the case with the preterit, only the 3rd person singular and plural are used, with enclitic pronouns as optimal agents indicating various persons; e.g., *te tā (be)esā nun en-pātā* 'have you until now (i.e., ever) baked bread?', *pinš kat nun-em en-pātā (*pronounced *em-pātā*, see **4.0**) 'five times have I baked bread', *diesene durun uv-šun en-hārdā yā na* '(that) I see (if) the trees have been watered or not (lit. have drunk water)', *čemene čestə xos ninde dutā* 'my shoes are not well sewn'.

26.0. The *past conditional (unreal)* is built with the preterit of the verb plus *-ay* as the marker (the *-e* that attaehes itself in the preterit to the stem is oeeasionally absent); e.g., *bie čuk ne-ye hārde, hārdi-ay bemārde biše* (*-ye* is the enelitie pronoun as the agent, *-i* represents the same) 'it was good you did not eat (it), had you eaten, you would have died', *bie čuk ne-m hārde, hārd-em-ay be mārde bine* 'it was good that I did not eat (it), had I eaten, I would have died', *agā hard-č-ay* 'if he had eaten (*-č* is the 3rd person enelitic pronoun *-š*)', *hārde-mun-ay* 'had we eaten', *hārde-yun-ay* 'had you eaten', *agā heten-ay mārde bine* 'if I had

slept, I would have died', *het-ay-embe* 'had we slept'. The marker *ay* could precede the endings, therefore *agā heten-ay* and *agā het-ay-n* are both correct.[28]

27.0. The *subjunctive perfect* is made of the perfect stem, that is, the stem I plus *-ā* (see **25.0**) and the subjunctive of the verb 'to be'; e.g., *agā mon serastā bunen(e)* 'if I should have laughed', *age te veyrtā büše* 'if you should have run (away)'.

27.1. In transitive verbs, as in the perfect, the 3rd person singular and plural are used with the subject indicated by an oblique noun or pronoun; e.g., *agā mon votā bü* 'if I should have said', *agā te votā bü* 'if you should have said'.

28.0. The *pluperfect* is made of the perfect stem and the preterit of the verb 'to be'; e.g., *mardā bia* 'had died', *šü šiā bia* 'she had married (lit. had gone [to] husband)'. It differs from the imperfect only by having *-ā* added to the stem II instead of *-e*, cf., *šet-eš hārde bie* 'was drinking milk', *šet hārdā bia* 'had drunk milk'. Notice that *-ā*, when followed by enclitic pronouns beginning with a consonant, is generally articulated as *-a*; e.g., *ya-šun bie, dezde-šun kešta binde, geta-šun binde, bārda-šun binde hasb* 'they had beaten, had killed the thieves, had seized them, (and) had taken them to jail'.

29.0. *The Causative*

29.1. The *causative* is made by adding *-un* or *-en* to the stem I or else to the common stem of the verb; e.g., *biš-ser-un* 'make laugh', *biž-beram-un* 'make cry', *barə ma-lārzen* 'do not shake the door', *biž-der-en!* 'tear!' (cf. *ulat deriste* 'the garment was torn'), *em durə lev-un!* 'shake this tree!' (cf. *dur en levest* 'the tree is shaking'), *Hasanə herdanə-ž het-un-ie* 'Hasan put the child to bed (lit. to sleep)' (cf. *herden hete* 'the child slept'), *veyruž-en!* 'make run (away)!' (cf. *veyri!* 'run (away)!'), *xāš-č-e veryže* 'he wants to run away', *beru-ž veyrte* 'his brother ran away'. NB. Karingāni uses two stems for 'to sleep': *het-* and *fes-*, both have causatives in *-un*, *xāš-č-e herdanə fes-un-e* 'he wants to put the child to bed (lit. to sleep)', *sastə nie herdanə fesune* 'he cannot put the child to sleep'.

30.0. The *Passive*. Karingāni appears to have no device for forming the passive. In *xāš-č-e deri* 'it is about to be torn (lit. it wants to be torn)', *deriste* 'it was torn' (Persian *pāre šod*), *be-deristie* 'it will be torn', *hiš malü nia derist* 'it never gets torn' may be detected a trace of the passive in *-i*, but considering the vacillation of the vowels in the dialect it is probably easier to explain *-i* in *deri* as a variant of *-e*.

28 It will be noted that in such conditional sentences the verb in the main clause is put in the imperfect, as in Persian, cf. Pers. *agar mixordam, mimordam* 'if I had eaten, I would have died'. Although, the more common usage is to have pluperfect in both the conditional and the main clause: Pers. *agar xordeh budam, mordeh budam.*

31.0. *Non-finite forms*

31.1. The *infinitive* is made of the stem II and the marker *-ə*; e.g., *detə sabā-sari rān-dā čuk-e* 'to milk in the early morning is good', *hiški ži yan hošdə kü pisetə-ž ni vindā* 'no one has seen any harm from taking a wife' (*ži* is the conjunction and *-ž* is the 3rd person singular enclitic pronoun which has been voiced), *veyrtə* 'to run', *kernə* 'to draw', *qamārdə* 'to make', *serestə* 'to laugh', *šiə* 'to go', *umə* 'to come', *yātə* 'to ripen', *vošiə* 'to kindle', *beriə* 'to cut', *ür-kārdə* 'to sweep', *biə* 'to become', *hüvār biə* 'to learn'. Note also *duə/doy* 'to give', *yi(ə)* 'to hit'.

32.0. The *past participle* is made with the stem II and the marker *-a* which is articulated farther back as *-ā* when final; e.g., *arista ruven* 'spilled ghee', *beria tanef* 'broken rope', *bia nun* 'well baked bread (lit. well-been or well-become)', *čenia vel* 'picked flower'. In *čele pinž ru toston-unda ši-undā* 'forty-five days gone past summer' and *toston-unda i mu mund-undā* 'one month left of the summer', *-a/-ā* of *ši-* and *mund-* has been absorbed by the initial vowel of *undā* 'from'. NB. Since the attributive adjective also takes *-a*, the above examples by themselves do not necessarily confirm *-a* as the ending of the past participle; the inference, however, can be made from the perfect, the subjunctive perfect and the pluperfect which are formed with past participle.

Notes on the Khotanese Secular Documents of the 8th–9th Centuries

Yutaka Yoshida, Kobe

Introduction

The publication of P.O. Skjærvø, *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library* (hereafter *Catalogue*),[1] has marked a new epoch in the studies of the history of Khotan during the 8th–9th centuries, in that almost all the secular documents discovered in Khotan have now been published with reliable translations and this situation enables non-specialists of the Khotanese language to work on the history of pre-Islamic Khotan. Apart from the materials housed in the British Library, the other two major collections are the so-called Hedin collection edited by H. Bailey 1961 and those mss. that are preserved in the St. Petersburg branch of the Istitute of Oriental Studies and were published by R.E. Emmerick and M.I. Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja in 1993 and 1995.

While reviewing the *Catalogue* I have come across a few places on which I have different opinions from Skjærvø's. All the points concern the understanding of Chinese elements in the texts and I venture to suppose that I, being a non-specialist of Khotanese, can understand better than Western scholars when it comes to the problems of the Chinese influence on Khotan.

It is my great pleasure to contribute this short paper to the volume commemorating the late Professor R.E. Emmerick. It was he who asked me to write a review of Emmerick and Vorob'ëva-Desjatovskaja 1995 and it was that very occasion which raised my continuing interest in the Khotanese texts, in particular the secular documents discovered in the oasis of Khotan.

Signum 副

It has been generally assumed that a Chinese character *fu* 副 often encountered in the secular documents denotes "copy", which is supposed to refer to the fact

1 P.O. Skjærvø: *Khotanese manuscripts from Chinese Turkestan in the British Library. A complete catalogue with texts and translations* London 2002.

that the manuscript bearing 副 is a copy of the original which is to be kept elsewhere for later reference.[2] As far as the meaning of the character is concerned this interpretation is not entirely out of place, since it means "aide, assistant, deputy" among others. Nevertheless, if one examines all the contexts where the character appears it seems clear that it was employed by a Khotanese official named Sudārrjuṃ as his signum. Let us see one example: Or. 11344/5, cf. *Catalogue*, pp. 109–110.

1 spāta sudārrjuṃ tta parī [SPACE] pha[rṣa
2 spāta budarmä pīḍakä hauḍe se ...
... ...
8 parau tsve 副

"(1) The *spāta* Sudārrjuṃ orders thus: [To] the *pharṣa* [Sāṃdara ? ...]
(2) I have given a writ for the *spāta* Budarma that: ...
(8) [On ...] the order went out [to you]. COPY"

SKJÆRVØ is certainly right in assuming that the order was addressed to *pharṣa* Sāṃdara, because the latter is a regular addressee of Sudārrjuṃ's orders, e.g. 11252/6, 11252/12, 11252/16, 11252/25, 11344/3, 11344/12, etc.[3]

H. KUMAMOTO once discussed the types of Khotanese secular documents and among them the first type is what he calls "orders *(parau)*".[4] There he cites the following formula from SI P 103.41 which he describes as one of the most consistent among the Khotanese orders:

spāta ṣṣaṇīrakä tta parī [SPACE] gayseta sīḍakä vara u mūra-haṃgāṃ vara
...
kaji māśti kṣemye haḍai ttā parau tsve SIGNUM

"General Ṣṣanīraka orders thus: --- To Sīḍaka there in Gaysāta and the money-collectors there. ... Kaji (= 2nd) month, 6th day, the order went out (to you)."[5]

Ṣṣanīraka's signum (see fig. 1) looks like a Chinese character *luo* 洛 but is slightly modified by adding another □ below. It is almost certain that his signum is derived from the Chinese character 洛 and the reason why it was selected is that its Middle Chinese pronunciation **lak* was similar to that of the final part of his name, i.e. *-rakä*. Similarly Saṃgabuda's signum found in SI P 103.23 and SI M

Fig. 1

2 Cf. G. HALOUN apud BAILEY 1961, p. 71, and *Catalogue*, p. lxxv.
3 Hereafter, when referring to the British Library collection, page references to the *Catalogue* are omitted; one can easily look up the text and translation in an appropriate place in the *Catalogue*. Similarly, the texts and facsimiles of the mss. belonging to the St. Petersburg collection can readily be found in EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1993 and 1995; signatures of the mss. are headed by SI, e.g. SI P 103.23 or SI M 53.
4 Cf. KUMAMOTO 1996, p. 33.
5 What KUMAMOTO translates as "general" corresponds to *spāta* in the text.

53 looks like *sang* 桑, of which the Middle Chinese pronunciation **sang* would represent the first syllable of his name.[6]

In view of the parallelism between Or. 11344/5 and the formula studied by Kumamoto, it is almost certain that 副 is nothing but Sudārrjuṃ's signum. As far as I can see from the printed texts, all the documents attesting the signum 副 can be shown to have belonged to Sudārrjuṃ. For example, one finds the signum in Or. 11242/31; although the name Sudārrjuṃ is not found in the text itself, the prosopography makes it likely that the document belonged to such lists of inspectors as Or. 11252/32 or Or. 11252/35 in which Sudārrjuṃ issues an order. It is to be noted in passing that another such signum *jun* 俊 encountered in Hedin 8 is translated by Bailey as "urgent" and that in IOL Tib N 2220 (Balawaste 0150) as "excellent" by Skjærvø.[7] In fact the character is a part of the name of a Chinese official Zhaojun 趙俊, who appears in a Chinese document also discovered in Balawaste.[8] The exactly samilar way of affixing one's signature, which itself is a part of the name of an official in charge, at the end of a document is seen in Dx. 18927 edited by Professor H. Kumamoto in this volume; in this case an official is named Wei Zhongshun 魏忠順 and he wrote *shun* 順 at the end of two receipts glued together, one in Chinese and the other in Khotanese.

The last question to be asked is the reason why Sudārrjuṃ employed this particular character for his signum; there is no similarity between his name and 副 in respect of their pronunciation. Similarly, *ṣṣau* Śattuṃ wrote a Chinese character *xin* 信 as his signature, cf. SI P 94.2, but there seems to be no connection between his name and the signum.[9] Therefore, we must leave this problem for further consideration.[10]

parmäca "message (exchanged between peers)"

In the above-cited article Kumamoto describes yet another type of document referred to as *haṣḍi* "report", cf. Kumamoto, *ibid.* It is well known in Khotanese philology that *parrau* and *haṣḍi* are a kind of antonym, in that *parrau* is a message sent from superior to inferior while *haṣḍi* from inferior to superior. Then, one may ask, what was the Khotanese term denoting a message addressed between peers? If one looks through the woodslips of the Hedin collection, one

6 Middle Chinese forms are cited from Karlgren 1957.
7 Cf. Bailey 1961, p. 92, and *Catalogue*, p. 574.
8 Cf. Maspéro 1953, p. 186, no. 449, Balaw. 0160.
9 *ṣ(ṣ)au* is a title held by an official comparable to governor or prefect.
10 Skjærvø also wrongly follows Bailey in understanding two short parallel strokes encountered in Or. 11252/2 as representing a Chinese character *xing* 行 and in translating it as "OK", cf. Bailey 1968, p. 34. In fact, these two strokes are a kind of punctuation indicating the end of each section, cf. Kumamoto 1996, p. 46.

notes that the majority of them were orders addressed to Vaśi'rasaṃga, who seems to have been a simple village official; the orders were dispatched from one of two *spāta*s, Vimaladatta and Budadatta. In some cases the orders had been conveyed to the *spāta*s from an *āmāca* "minister". For example in Hedin 48 Vimaladatta orders Vaśi'rasaṃga to collect the tax of coins and cloths, and that particular order had been issued by an *āmāca*. Sometimes Vimaladatta passes to Vaśi'rasaṃga those orders which have come to him via some other *spāta*s. Thus, the order recorded in Hedin 61 was first sent by *spāta* Devaka to *spāta* Vimaladatta, then the latter forwarded it to Vaśi'rasaṃga. In the text, what was passed from *spāta* Devaka to Vimaladatta is referred to as *parmäca*, which is translated by BAILEY as "message", while what the *āmāca* had sent to Vimaladatta is called *parau*. The situation leads one to presume that messages exchanged between *spāta*s were called *parmäca* and this presumption is borne out by the fact that all the messages forwarded to Vaśi'rasaṃga from *spāta* Ṣīlā via *spāta* Budadatta (Hedin 36, 39, 41, 53, 68) are referred to as *parmäca*.[11]

One letter found in the British Library collection, IOL Khot Wood 3, is a letter addressed by *spāta* Tturgaśi to *spāta* Sīḍaka. It begins and ends with the following expressions:

a1 @spāta tturgäśi spāta sīḍaki pu'sūṃ vaña va phemāṃ śūkṣu-
2 hina parau ā si pe'ṃba'ṣī hīyā dva aśām ... ...
b2 ... ... seṃjsīṃji 10 4 mye
3 haḍai ttā parmäca tsvā. SIGNUM

"(a1) I, the *spāta* Tturgäśi, ask the *spāta* Sīḍaka: Now, hither from Śūkṣuha of Phema (2) an order has come that for the Pe'ṃba'ṣī's stable for two horses ... ... (b2) On the 14th (3) day of Siṃjsīṃja the message went out to you."

This formula not only bears out my theory about *parmäca* but also indicates that *parmäca*s were drawn up with the same formula as personal letters characterized by a verb of address *pus-* "ask after (one's health)".

As I once showed,[12] *śūkṣuha* is a transcription of a Chinese word *shouzhuo* 守捉 "garrison" and *phemāṃ śūkṣuha* "(Chinese) garrison stationed in Phema" corresponds to Kancheng Shouzhuo 坎城守捉 which is generally assumed to have been located in modern Uzun Tati, east of Khotan.[13] The Pe'ṃba'ṣī mentioned in the message issued by the Chinese garrison can readily be identified with a Chinese title *bingmashi* 兵馬使 "commissioner for infantry and cavalry". I venture to suspect that this *pe'ṃba'ṣī* is the same officer as 兵馬使 attested in a Chinese document of 789 CE discovered in Balawaste;[14] when the officer visited the Chinese garrison stationed in Phema he issued the order (IOL Khot

11 The etymology of the word (< **pari-maiθ* "to exchange") proposed by BAILEY goes very well with my rendering, cf. BAILEY 1979, p. 219, s.v. *parmica*.
12 YOSHIDA 1997, p. 568.
13 Cf. ZHANG/RONG 1997, p. 342.
14 Cf. MASPÉRO 1953, p. 186, no. 448, Balaw. 0163.

Wood 3) to local officials to collect a tax of pack animals. Incidentally, Sīḍaka was promoted to *spāta* from *auva-haṃdasta* "village-official" in the 19th year of King Viśa' Vāhaṃ's reign, which Zhang and Rong propose to date to 785 ce.[15] Therefore, my suspicion is not in the least incompatible with the date of Sīḍaka's promotion.

thaiṣ(ṣ)ī < *dashi* 大使 "grand commissioner"

In another message to *spāta* Sīḍaka from yet another *spāta* Īrvapuña found in SI P 136.1, *thaiṣṣī* is mentioned as having given an order to the *āmāca* who passed that message to *spāta* Īrvapuña.

recto
1 spāta īrvapuña spāta sīḍaka pu'sū vaña
2 vā āmācäna parau ā si thaiṣṣī va ysumā-
3 ña-vrrahaunaja pasetaka śtāka 400 cira kṣvā au-
4 vā pasā bida kṣeṃ pasā hālai

verso
1 pasetaka pārrva dva tvī pase 90 pasetaka
2 himārä 20 8 pasetaṃ(?) vāra śau cu
3 nä paḍāda japāṇakä pāḍaka buḍa ṣā ni
4 pramāna

"I, *spāta* Īrvapuña ask after (the health of) *spāta* Sīḍaka. Now the order has come from the minister: "For the Thaiṣṣī are necessary 400 sheepskins(?) for winter clothing. (Imposed) on the sheep in the Six Towns of Cira (is): 6½ sheep are to deliver two sheepskins. You have 90 sheep. That makes 28 sheepskins. [90/6.5 = 13.68; 13.68 × 2 = 27.36. 27.36 being rounded off and raised to 28.] One sheepskin of them is (still) owed, which is not ... Japāṇaka brought a document, but it is not authoritative."[16]

From the text one sees that the *thaiṣṣī* ordered the *āmāca* to collect a total of 400 sheepskins either in Khotan or in the area governed by that *āmāca*; the tax in question is described as *ysumāña-vrrahaunaja* "for winter clothing". It is well known that the Khotanese designation is a word for word translation of Chinese *dongzhuang* 冬裝 "winter garments", which is a kind of tax introduced

15 For the promotion of Sīḍaka, see Kumamoto 1996, p. 33. On the dating of Viśa' Vāhaṃ's reign several hypotheses have been advanced: cf. Kumamoto's article in this volume. In this paper I follow Zhang and Rong's theory of 1997, according to which Viśa' Vāhaṃ mounted the throne in 767 ce rather than 769 ce as argued by Kumamoto. I am preparing an article supporting Zhang and Rong's dating against Kumamoto's.

16 The text and translation have been improved in several places. For *āmācäna* rather than *āmācä va* see Yoshida 1997, p. 569; on the reading *thaiṣṣī* cf. Kumamoto 1997, p. 244. Lines recto 3 to verso 2 have been re-transcribed and translated by Skjærvø in Emmerick/Skjærvø 1997, p. 74.

during the Tang period.[17] Thus far *thaiṣṣī* has been generally assumed to be a loanword from Chinese *dashi* 大師 "great (Buddhist) teacher".[18] However, the context of SI P 136.1 makes that assumption unlikely and I propose to identify *thaiṣṣī* with Chinese *dashi* 大使 "grand commissioner", a title given to one of the highest ranks of the Chinese administration. I am not sure whether that particular *thaiṣṣī* mentioned in the text was the leader of the Chinese garrison stationed in Kucha or the general resident in Khotan and leading the Khotanese division. For the latter possibility one may refer to Rong Xinjiang's recent proposal to identify Ser-the-śi and Ka-the-śi of the *Li yul lung-bstan-pa* "Prophecy of the Li country" respectively with Xie Dashi 謝大使 and Gai Dashi 蓋大使.[19] According to the Tibetan text King Vijaya Dharma built a temple in cooperation with the Chinese minister Ser-the-śi.

If my assumption is correct it is possible to explain a somewhat curious fact that a Tibetan minister bears the title *thaiṣ(ṣ)ī*. In Or. 11252/12 and Or. 11344/3 one finds a combination *thaiṣī bulāni rmąmi śi'rä*. Apparently he was one of the Tibetan masters *(hvāṣṭa)* staying in Khotan.[20] In my opinion, the leader of the Tibetan garrison stationed in Khotan was referred to as *thaiṣī* in Khotanese just as that of the Chinese army. The word *thaiṣ(ṣ)ī* had been naturalized in the Khotanese language as a term denoting a foreign officer commanding the troop stationed in Khotan. It was a legacy of the Chinese dominion lasting almost one century from the latter half of the seventh century, a subject to which RONG XINJIANG has dedicated a whole article.[21] Incidentally, the *peg-seng* attested in a Tibetan text discovered in Khotan is a loanword from Khotanese *pa'kisina* "ordinary people", which itself had been borrowed from Chinese *baixing* 百姓 "id." and naturalized in the Khotanese language by the end of the eighth century.[22]

Bulāni rmąmi śi'rä is attested several times in Khotanese texts and SKJÆRVØ identifies him with a namesake *(blon rma bzher)* encountered in a Tibetan text discovered in Miran, cf. *Catalogue*, p. 87. SKJÆRVØ's identification seems to go very well with my assumption to see *thaiṣṣī* as a Khotanese word designating a supreme commander of a foreign army stationed either in Khotan or in Central Asia in general. One document (Or. 11344/3) where he appears is dated to the 33rd year of an unnamed king; according to the chronology recently proposed by ZHANG and RONG 1997 the king is to be identified with Viśa' Vāhaṃ and his 33rd year corresponds to 799 CE. Following this dating one may venture to equate Bulāni Rmąmi śi'rä with Lun Mangre 論莽熱 (Blon Mang Bsher) recorded in the *Xin Tangshu*, vol. 146B; he was captured in the first Chinese month in 802 CE during the severe battle between Tibet and Tang over the con-

17 Cf. ZHANG/RONG 2002, p. 229.
18 Cf. BAILEY 1961, p. 163 and KUMAMOTO 1997, p. 243.
19 Cf. RONG 1993, p. 13.
20 Cf. EMMERICK/SKJÆRVØ 1997, pp. 179–181.
21 Cf. RONG 1993.
22 See YOSHIDA *apud* TAKEUCHI 1995, p. 281.

trol of Nanchao in what is now Yunnan. His appearance now in southwestern China is surprising but not entirely unexpected, because the Samarkandian and Arab troops had been transported to Nanchao by the Tibetans, who had prisoned them in Central Asia by that time.[23] Professor Moriyasu draws my attention to the fact that in the Chinese sources Lun Mangre (Blon Mang Bsher) bears a title *nei zaixiang* 内宰相 "inner minister", and that it is practically the same as his namesake's title *nang-rje-po chen-po* "great inner minister" attested in the Tibetan text.

pe'ma "floss silk"

Skjærvø was able to discover the relationship between the deliveries of cloths by Hv(rr)īviṭa and Visarrjāṃ recorded in Hedin 15 and the orders to collect cloths found in Hedin 1, Hedin 13, and Or. 11344/4.[24] Hedin 15 is known to belong to the group comprising Hedin 16 (possibly also Hedin 19), Domoko C, and Domoko D, where receipts of cloths in the 35th and 36th years of an unnamed king are recorded. The orders recorded in Hedin 1, Hedin 13, and Or. 11344/4 are all issued in the 35th year and there is practically no doubt as to the close relationship between the two groups of the texts. As stated above, Zhang and Rong propose to identify the unnamed king with Viśa' Vāhaṃ and argue that the 35th year corresponds to 801 ce. The texts belonging to the former group (i.e. Hedin 15, etc.) are bilingual records of the dates, amounts, and taxpayers' names of the deliveries of cloths *(thau)* in Khotanese and Chinese. Comparison of the two versions has revealed a few intriguing facts about the history and culture of Khotan. One point to which due attention has not yet been paid is that the Chinese counterpart of *thau* is called 絁紬 which denotes cloth woven from yarn spun out of floss silk. As Zhang and Rong argue, the cloth in question is the very material that Xuanzang lists among the special local products of Khotan in the *Xiyiji*.[25] They also draw attention to the fact that in the Chinese version the tax collected was referred to as *jinfeng* 進奉, which used to be the designation of special local products presented to the reigning emperor. Then they suggest that the emperor in question is not that of the Tang Dynasty but the Tibetan *btsan-po* "king". That the Tibetans were much interested in collecting Khotanese silk cloths may also be indicated by Or. 11252/29 where Bulāni Rmąmi śi'rä gives orders to collect corns for silk-worm raisers *(pira-vāraa)*.

Thus the collection of cloths *(thau)* recorded in Hedin 15, etc. was undertaken in accordance with the orders seen in Hedin 1, etc. In these orders the cloths in question are called *pe'mīnai thau*, and it is natural to suppose that

23 Cf. Beckwith 1987, pp. 157–158.
24 Cf. Emmerick/Skjærvø 1997, p. 140, and *Catalogue*, p. 109.
25 Cf. Zhang/Rong 1997, pp. 349–350, 359 with n. 39.

thau (pl. *thauna*) found in Hedin 15, ete. is to be equated with *pe'mīnai thau*. Consequently, *pe'mīnai* means "(made out) of floss silk" and *pe'ma* "floss silk", although the latter has generally been understood as meaning "wool" mainly on the etymologieal ground.[26] If this assumption is correet, the original Iranian word **pašma* meaning "wool" eame to designate "floss silk" in Khotanese.[27]

A Tibetan text of the Hedin eolleetion, Hedin (Tibetan) 2, is a eontraet of borrowing *men-dri*, a kind of silk eloth.[28] In the eontract Li Sar zhong borrows the eloth. He is identified with *spāta* Sudārrjuṃ by BAILEY[29]and TAKEUCHI is eertainly right in assuming that the text was written in the same year as Hedin (Tibetan) 1 and 3 on the ground that his name also appears there. The latter two texts were drawn up in a snake year, which is proved to be 801 CE by ZHANG and RONG.[30] *Men-dri* is also attested in the *Li yul lung-bstan-pa* where it designates a kind of silk eloth woven by the queen who had brought silk-worms from China when she got married with a Khotanese king Vijaya Jaya. All these situations lead one to suppose that *men-dri* is exaetly the same material as what is ealled 絳紬 in Chinese, well-known product of Khotan, and that the product was greatly demanded by the Tibetans around 800 CE possibly due to the battle fought against China over Nanchao, for which great amount of war expenditure must have been needed. In my opinion *spāta* Sudārrjuṃ, spelled *(spa) li sar zhong* in Tibetan, was faced with heavy taxation of the silk eloth imposed by the Tibetan occupation forees but was not able to pay off and finally asked for a loan from a Tibetan official, for whom the contract was drawn up in Tibetan.

In this connection I should like to add a tiny piece of evidenee whieh lends colour to my theory to identify *pe'ma* with "floss silk" rather than "wool". As one ean see from IOL Khot 157/2, a unit for measuring the amount of *pe'ma* is *thaṃga*. The same unit is employed for measuring *kapāysa* "eotton".[31] It is to be noted in passing that the Chinese eounterpart of *thaṃga*, *cheng* 秤, is found in SI P 103.49 where one reads 緤花陸秤; although H. VETCH interprets the sentenee in a totally different way and translates it as "six (pieces of) cotton, estimated ...", the most likely translation is "eotton six *thaṃga*".[32] I am grateful to Professors MORIYASU and ARAKAWA who saw in summer 2004 a photograph of a Chinese doeument reeently discovered in Khotan, where eotton is also measured with that character. If *pe'ma* denotes wool, wool in Chinese doeuments would be measured with the same unit. However, the unit for *yangmao* 羊毛 "wool"

26 Cf. BAILEY 1979, p. 249.
27 I should like to take this opportunity to mention that the Sogdian cognate *pšm* is attested in an unpublished fragment So 10200(8), where *š'w pšmw* corresponds to Chin. 黒羊毛 "black wool" of *Taishō Tripiṭaka*, vol. 22, p. 1025, b–c.
28 Cf. TAKEUCHI 1995, pp. 187–190.
29 BAILEY 1961, p. 56.
30 ZHANG/RONG 1997, p. 350.
31 The Sogdian counterpart of *thaṃga* is *ônk*, on which see YOSHIDA 2000 [2002], p. 159.
32 Cf. VETCH *apud* EMMERICK/VOROB'ËVA-DESJATOVSKAJA 1995, p. 157.

encountered in a Chinese document Dx. 18915 is *jin* 斤 which corresponds to Khotanese *kiṇa* borrowed from the same Chinese word.[33] Therefore, 羊毛 is most *unlikely* to refer to what is designated by the Khotanese word *pe'ma*. This conclusion deprives the Khotanese lexicon of a word for the most common material; what was the Khotanese word for "wool"? I must leave this question for specialists of Khotanese philology, successors of our most regretted Professor R. E. Emmerick to whose memory this short article is dedicated.[34]

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33 On the Chinese text see Zhang/Rong 2002, pp. 222–224.

34 Can *be'ma* attested in SI P 103.26 and measured by *kiṇa* be a Khotanese word for "wool"?

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Abbreviations

Languages

AIr.	Ancient Iranian
Akk.	Akkadian
Alb.	Albanian
altindoar.	altindoarisch
altir.	altiranisch
altpers.	altpersisch
Arab./arab.	Arabic/arabisch
Aram./aram.	Aramenian/aramäisch
Arm./armen.	Armenian/armenisch
Av./av./avest.	Avestan/avestique/avestisch
Bab.	Babylonian
Bāğ.	Bāğalānī
baktr.	baktrisch
Bal.	Balochi
Bibl. Hebr.	Biblical Hebrew
BS	Buddhist Sanskrit
Buddh.	Buddhist
Buddh.Sogd.	Buddhist Sogdian
Chin.	Chinese
Chr.	Christian
Chr. Man.	Christian Manichaean
Chr. Sogd.	Christian Sogdian
Dig.	Digor (Ossetic)
El.	Elamite
Engl.	English
frühmittelpers.	frühmittelpersisch
Gahv.	Gahvāre
Georg./georg.	Georgian/georgisch
Gōr.	Gōrānī
Gour.	Gourāgū'ī
Gr./griech.	Greek/griechisch
Hebr.	Hebrew
IA	Indo-Aryan
IE	Indo-European
IIr.	Indo-Iranian
ind.	indisch
Ir./iran.	Iranian/iranisch
Ishk.	Ishkashmi

It.	Italian
JP	Jewish Persian
Kand.	Kandūlē'ī
Khot./khot.	Khotanese/khotansakisch
Khuf.	Khufi
Khwaresm.	Khwaresmian
Kurd.	Kurdish/Kurdisch
L.Av.	Later Avestan
Lat.	Latin
LKh./LKhot.	Late Khotanese
M	Manichaean Text of the Turfan Collection
Man.	Manichaean
Man.MP	Manichaean Middle Persian
Man. Parth.	Manichaean Parthian
Man. Sogd.	Manichaean Sogdian
MIr.	Middle Iranian
mittelpers.	mittelpersisch
MMP	Manichaean Middle Persian
MP/mp.	Middle Persian/mittelpersisch
MPers.	Middle Persian
MPers.B	Middle Persian: Book Pahlavi
MPers.M	Manichaean Middle Persian
MPers.Parth.	Middle Persian and Parthian
MPT	Middle Persian in Turfan
MSogd.	Manichaean Sogdian
Munj.	Munji
Nous.	Nousūdī
NP/NPers./np.	New Persian/neupersisch
NWIr.	North-West Iranian/nordwestiranisch
OAv.	Old Avestan
OEngl.	Old English
OHG	Old High German
OI	Old Iranian
OIA	Old Indo-Aryan
OInd.	Old Indian
OIr./OIran.	Old Iranian
OKh./OKhot.	Old Khotanese
OP/OPers.	Old Persian
Oss.	Ossetic
Pa	Parthian
Pā.	Pāve'ī
Pahl./pahl.	Pahlavi
Parth./parth.	Parthian/parthisch
PaT	Parthian in Turfan
Pāz./Paz.	Pāzand
Pe./Pers./Prs.	Persian
Phl.	Pahlavi

PIA	Proto-Indo-Aryan
PIE	Proto-Indo-European
PIIr.	Proto-Indo-Iranian
PIr.	Proto-Iranian
pkt.	Prakrit
Prth.	Parthian
Psht.	Pashto
PT	Pahlavi Texts
Pth.	Parthian
Rush.	Rushani
scr.	sanscrit
Sgd.	Sogdian
Shughn.	Shughni
Skr./Skt./skt.	Sanskrit
Sogd.	Sogdian
Syr./syr.	Syriac/syrisch
Tib.	Tibetan
Tokh.	Tokharian
TS	Tumshuqese/Tumshuksakisch
Turk.	Turkish
Uig./uig.	Uigur
Ved./vèd.	Vedic Sanskrit/vèdique
WMIr.	Western Middle Iranian [= Middle Persian and Parthian]
Yaghn.	Yaghnobi
YAv.	Young Avestan
Yazgh.	Yazgulyami
Za.	Zarde'ī
Zaz.	Zazaki
Zor. MPers.	Zoroastrian Middle Persian

Sources

AmH	Ariaramnes Hamadān inscription
A^3Pa	Artaxerxes III Persepolis a inscription
Aps	*Aparimitāyuḥ-sūtra*
AsH	Arsames Hamadān inscription
AV	*Atharvaveda*
Ay. Wuz. Mihr	*Ayādgār ī Wuzurg-Mihr*
Ay. Zar.	*Ayādgār ī Zarērān*
Bdh./*Bd.*	*Bundahišn*
Bhaiṣ.	*Bhaiṣajyaguruvaiḍūryaprabharāja-sūtra*
Chr.	Chronicles (Old Testament)
Curt.	*(Liber Pater)*
DB	Darius Bīsotūn inscription
Dd	*Dādestān ī dēnīg*
Dēnk.	*Dēnkard*

D^2Ha	Darius II Hamadān a inscription
Dk/DK	*Dēnkard*
DKM/*DkM*	*Dēnkard Madan*
DNa	Darius Naqš-e Rostam a inscription
DNb	Darius Naqš-e Rostam b inscription
DPd	Darius Persepolis d inscription
DSf	Darius Susa f inscription
DSj	Darius Susa j inscription
DZc	Darius Suez c inscription
Ex.	Exodus (Old Testament)
Ez.	Ezekiel (Old Testament)
G	*Gāh*
GB	*Greater Bundahišn*
Gen.	Genesis (Old Testament)
Gr.Bd.	*Greater Bundahišn*
H	*Hādōxt Nask*
Hand. Adurb. Marasp.	*Handarz ī Ādurbād ī Māraspandān*
Hec.	*Hecuba*
IB/*IBd.*	*Indian Bundahišn*
InVS	Indian *Vīdēvdād-Sāde*
Ir.Bd.	*Iranian Bundahišn*
IrVS	Iranian *Vīdēvdād-Sāde*
Iph. Taur.	*Iphigenia Taurica*
Kyr.	*Kyrupaedie*
Lev.	Leviticus (Old Testament)
Lk.	Luke (New Testament)
Macc.	*Book of Maccabees* (Old Testament)
Mañj	*Mañjuśrī-nairātmya-avatāra-sūtra*
Matth./Mt.	Matthew (New Testament)
MB	*Maitrī-bhāvanā-prakaraṇa (Exposition of the cultivation of loving kindness) of the Buddhāvataṃsaka-mahāvaipulya-sūtra*
MHD	*Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* Modi
MHDA	*Mādayān ī Hazār Dādestān* Anklesaria
MirMan.	*Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesisch-Turkestan I–III.* Ed. by F. C. Andreas and W. B. Henning
Mt.	Matthew (New Testament)
N.	*Nērangestān*
Npi/NPi	Narseh inscription Pāikūlī
Num.	Numbers (Old Testament)
Ny	*Niyāyišn*
Oikon.	*Oikonomikos*
OT	Old Testament
Pahl.RivDd.	*Pahlavi Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān ī dēnīg*
Pers.	*Persai*
PRDd	*Pahlavi Rivāyat* accompanying the *Dādestān ī dēnīg*
PV	Pahlavi-*Vīdēvdād*
Ps.	Psalms

Rāma	*Rāmāyaṇa*
RV/*Ṛv.*	*Ṛg-Veda*
S	Mcxeta Bible
Salemann, Man.	*Manicaica*. 5 vols. Ed. by C. Salemann. St. Petersburg 1907–1913
ŠGW/ŠGV	*Škand gumānīg wizār*
Si/Sid.	*Siddhasāra*
ŠKZ	Šabuhr I at the Kaʿba-ye Zardošt
Šnš	*Šāyest nē šāyest*
Suv	*Suvarṇabhāsottamasūtra*
Tim.	Timothy (New Testament)
Tit.	Titus (New Testament)
Tr.	*Trachiniai*
V	*Vīdēvdād*
Var. Hist.	*Varia Historia*
Vd/Vid.	*Vīdēvdād*
Vim	*Book of Vimalakīrti*
VkN	*Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*
Vyt	*Wištāsp Yašt*
Wiz.Zadspr./WZ	*Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*
XPa	Xerxes Persepolis a inscription
XPf	Xerxes Persepolis f inscription
XPh	Xerxes Persepolis h inscription
XPl	Xerxes Persepolis l inscription
XV	Xerxes Van inscription
Y	*Yasna*
YH	*Yasna Haptaŋhāiti*
Yt.	*Yašt*
Z	*The Book of Zambasta*
Zādspram/Zs	*Wizīdagīhā ī Zādspram*

Periodicals, series and books

AAASH	*Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*
AbstrIr	*Abstracta Iranica*
AcIr	*Acta Iranica*
AcOr	*Acta Orientalia*
ADAW	Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philologisch-Historische Klasse. Berlin (1831–1945)
AION	*Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli*
AIUON	*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*
AKM	Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
AM	*Asia Major*
AMI [NS]	*Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* [Neue Serie]
AnnIPhO	*Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*

AoF	*Altorientalische Forschungen*
AOH	*Acta Orientalia Academiae scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest*
APAW	Abhandlungen der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
ArOr	*Archiv Orientální*
ARWAW	Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Opladen
BAI	*Bulletin of the Asia Institute*
BASP	*Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*
BiOr	*Bibliotheca Orientalis*
BSL	*Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique Paris*
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*
BSOS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*
BTT	Berliner Turfantexte
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago.* Chicago 1956–.
CAJ	*Central Asiatic Journal*
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum
CLI	*Compendium linguarum iranicarum.* Ed. by R. Schmitt. Wiesbaden 1989
CSEL	Contribution to the Studies of Eurasian Languages
EI^1	*Enzyklopaedie des Islām.* Leiden 1913–1938
EI^2	*The Encyclopædia of Islam.* New ed. Leiden 1960–.
EIr	*Encyclopædia Iranica.* Ed. by E. Yarshater. London/New York
EW	*East and West*
GIrPh	*Grundriss der iranischen Philologie.* Ed. by W. Geiger/E. Kuhn. Strassburg 1895–1904
GOS	Groningen Oriental Studies
HdO	*Handbuch der Orientalistik.* Leiden/Köln
IF	*Indogermanische Forschungen*
IIJ	*Indo-Iranian Journal*
IndTib	Indica et Tibetica
IOL	India Office Library
IPN	*Iranisches Personennamenbuch*
IrAnt	*Iranica Antiqua*
IT	*Indologica Taurinensia*
JA	*Journal Asiatique*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JCOI	*Journal of the Cama Oriental Institute*
JEĀS	*Journal of the European Āyurvedic Society*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JSAI	*Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*

معاونت کتابخانه‌ای

KZ	[Kuhn's] *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen*
LOS	London Oriental Series
MDP	*Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique en Perse*
MIO	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*
MSS	*Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft*
NGGW	*Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*
NGWG	*Nachrichten von der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse*
NTS	*Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap*
OLA	*Orientalia Lovanensia analecta*
OLZ	*Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy
RANL	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*
RE	*Revue d'égyptologie*
REA	*Revue des Études Anciennes*
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
SBB	Sacred Books of the Buddhists
SBE	Sacred Books of the East
SHAW	Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse
SMSR	*Studi e materiali di Storia delle Religioni*
SÖAW	Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
SOL	*Studi Orientali e Linguistici*
SOR	Serie Orientale Roma
SPAW	Sitzungsberichte der Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Sprache	*Die Sprache*
StII	*Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik*
StIr	*Studia Iranica*
TIES	*Tocharian and Indo-European Studies*
TLSM	Trends in Linguistics. Studies and monographs
TPS	*Transactions of the Philological Society*
TSAM	*Tradional South Asian Medicine*
VDI	*Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*
VOHD	Verzeichnis der Orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland
VSUA	Veröffentlichungen der Societas Uralo-Altaica
ZAS	*Zentralasiatische Studien*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZII	*Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*
ZS	*Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*